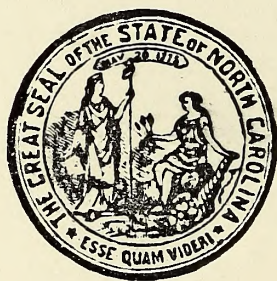






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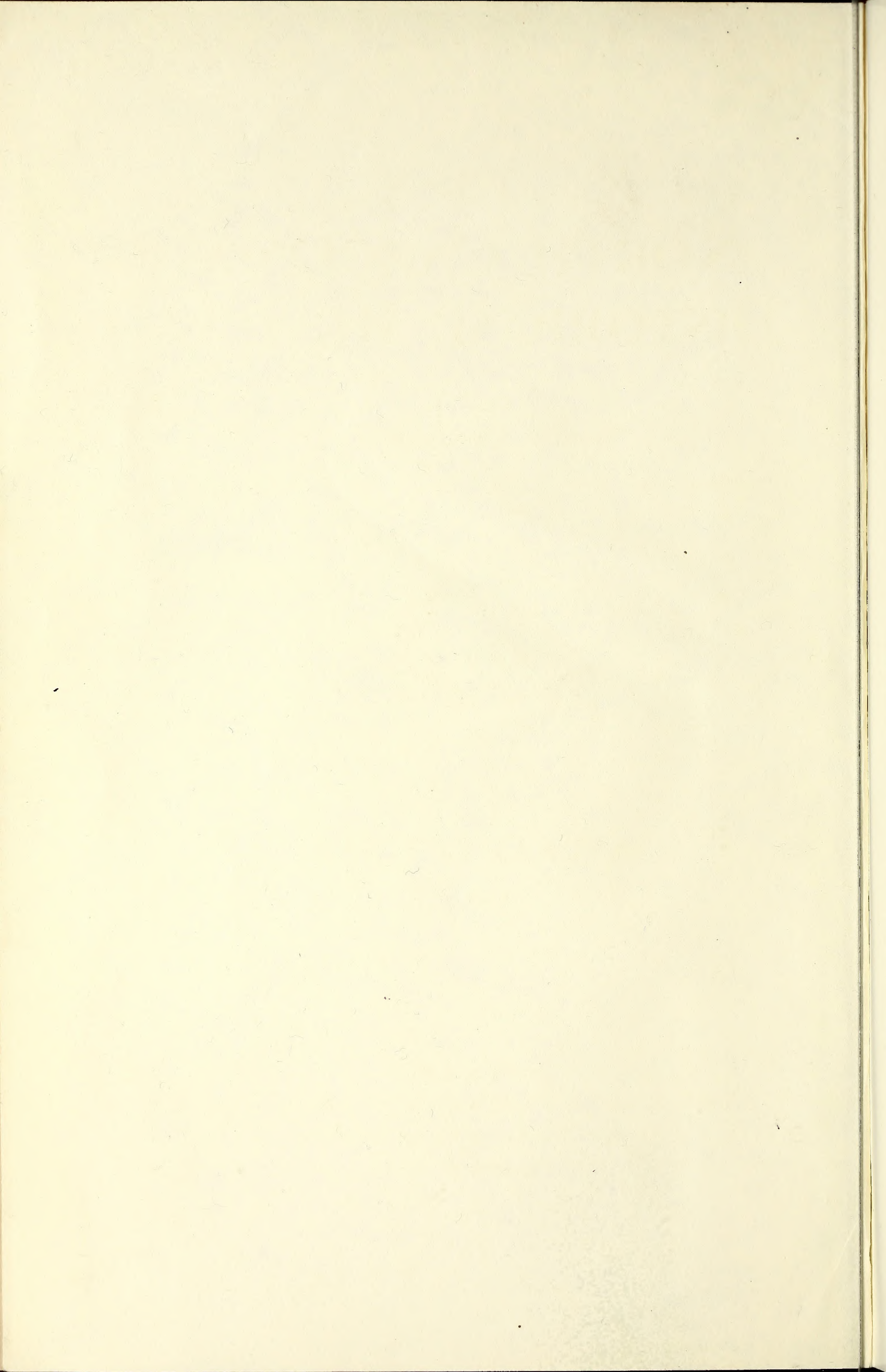
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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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NUMBER 1

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## SIDNEY WELLER: ANTE-BELLUM PROMOTER OF AGRICULTURAL REFORM

By C. O. CATHEY

The practice of agriculture in the United States underwent revolutionary changes during the ante-bellum period.<sup>1</sup> Although far less spectacular than developments occurring in the political field, these changes were destined to bring the nation into a position of predominance in the world of agriculture. As the tide of westward migration flowed into the rich, deep lands of the midwest and southwest a vast increase occurred in the number of acres devoted to farming. The demand for an increase in the efficiency of labor led to the introduction into farming of many new or improved implements—more, in fact, than had been introduced in the previous three thousand years. Iron and steel plows with replaceable parts, the cradle, mowing, reaping, threshing, and horse-power machines, to mention the most important, rapidly stepped up the efficiency and productivity of agricultural labor.<sup>2</sup> As a result of the experiments of such pioneers in agricultural chemistry as Justus von Liebig of Ger-

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<sup>1</sup> The best general account of agriculture in the United States to 1860 is to be found in Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, 1925), and Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern States to 1860* (Washington, 1933, 2 vols.). A general account of ante-bellum North Carolina agriculture is contained in the author's "Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860," an unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina (1948). Most of the information for this paper was uncovered during my research on that project.

<sup>2</sup> For a chronology of major American inventions of the period 1790-1860, see Roger Burlingame, *March of Iron: A Social History of Union Through Invention* (New York, 1938). For a good account of the evolution of such implements as the plow, mower, reaper, scythe, shovel, spade, hoe, fork, cotton gin, etc., see *United States Census of 1860* (Agriculture), xi-xxix.



many and Sir Humphrey Davy of England, informed agriculturists the world over began to think of the soil, for the first time, as a living, breathing thing which required intelligent attention in order to produce best results.<sup>3</sup> Scientific knowledge was applied in agriculture as never before.<sup>4</sup> Informed farmers began to understand that they were engaged in a sort of mining business involving the extraction from the air and soil of certain elements vital to the growth of plant life. Experimentation for the purpose of developing more efficient farming was greatly stimulated. For the first time in the history of the nation an agricultural press was established to serve as a vehicle for the exchange of ideas and to chronicle the changes being brought about.<sup>5</sup> Agricultural societies, fairs, and lobbies made their appearance also.<sup>6</sup> For the first time, state aid in the form of public schools,<sup>7</sup> agricultural schools,<sup>8</sup> and internal improvements was sought by the farming interests.<sup>9</sup> Never before had the agricultural population given so much thought towards improvement of its condition. As a result, the more enlightened farmers began to abandon the extensive and wasteful practices of their pioneer forefathers in favor of more careful methods. Farming gradually became a less custom-ridden business, weighed down

<sup>3</sup> Milton Whitney, *Soil and Civilization: A Modern Concept of the Soil and the Historical Development of Agriculture* (New York, 1925).

<sup>4</sup> Alfred Charles True, *A History of Agricultural Experimentation and Research in the United States, 1607-1925, Including a History of the United States Department of Agriculture* (Washington, 1937).

<sup>5</sup> For the best account of this development, see Albert L. Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (New York, 1935).

<sup>6</sup> Wayne Caldwell Neely, *The Agricultural Fair* (New York, 1935).

<sup>7</sup> John Sherwood, editor of North Carolina's first agricultural journal, said the lack of an adequate public school system was one of the strongest influences retarding agricultural reform in North Carolina. *Farmer's Advocate*, 1 (September, 1838), 36. An Onslow County farmer wrote: "General intelligence is as essential to successful agriculture as it is to good legislation. The friends of agriculture must first become the friends of general education. . . ." *North Carolina Farmer*, III (August, 1847), 70.

<sup>8</sup> The suggestion was made in 1856 that a state-supported agricultural school be established in each congressional district of North Carolina. *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury, N. C.), December 9, 1856. The agricultural press of the United States in this period was, perhaps, more persistent in its advocacy of agricultural education than in any other measure of reform. A. L. Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860*, 51.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Caldwell argued that the lack of adequate transportation facilities in North Carolina in the 1820's kept the people of the state in a "depressed and embarrassed" circumstance. (Joseph Caldwell), *The Numbers of Carlton, Addressed to the People of North Carolina, On a Central Railroad Through the State* (New York, 1828), 39.



by ignorance and superstition, and more an activity conducted on an intelligent basis.<sup>10</sup> These changes were reflected by tremendous increases in the volume, variety, and value of American farm output.

Many North Carolinians were aware of the changes being made in agriculture and some played an active part in bringing them about. Shortly after 1800 several editors in the state began to devote a section in their newspapers to agricultural subjects. Although most of the material appearing in these columns was reprinted from out-of-state papers, soon local contributors began "to take pen in hand." Local and state agricultural societies were founded and fairs were held. In the 1830's the state had its first periodical devoted exclusively to agricultural subjects. From then until 1860 seven such papers were published in the state. Although none secured sufficient patronage to enable it to survive more than five years, these papers provided an outlet for, and encouragement to, those who wished to write on agricultural subjects. New ideas and ways of doing things did not find quick or easy acceptance by ante-bellum North Carolinians. Ignorance and superstition were too prevalent in the population. As might be expected in such a circumstance, the farmer's attachment to customary ways of doing things was strong; and all proposals of change were looked upon with suspicion. Improvement did not come easily.

There were some farmers, however, who were alert to the changes being made in agriculture and undertook to profit by them. One of these was Sidney Weller of Halifax County. Perhaps no person in North Carolina was better informed of the progress being made in agriculture nor more active in promoting agricultural reform. Certainly, no ante-bellum North Carolinian wrote more in the interest of agricultural reform. To him the promotion of agricultural reform was a "benign cause" and he frequently expressed the desire to see agriculture prosper throughout the nation. ". . . agri-

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<sup>10</sup> In partial answer to the query: "Can Farming be an Intellectual Pursuit?" the editor of one North Carolina newspaper asserted: "The time is fast coming when our farmers must look at more intently, and comprehend more clearly, the principles of good husbandry." *Carolina Watchman*, May 4, 1848.



culture, including its various branches," he wrote, "confessedly lies at the foundation of human society and welfare; and, therefore agricultural improvement is of utmost importance to all."<sup>11</sup> Although Weller saw in North Carolina "a state which . . . pressingly needs the lights and improvements of Agriculture," he addressed himself neither entirely to North Carolinians nor to farmers.<sup>12</sup> If he had a local or sectional bias it was not reflected in any of his writings.

Like most of those engaged in the promotion of agricultural reform, Weller was a farmer himself. He moved from Orange County in New York to Brinkleyville in Halifax County, North Carolina, in the 1820's, settling in that place on a 400-acre farm, for which he paid a dollar and a half an acre. This land was described as "miserably" and "proverbially" poor and was said to be dear at that price. With the aid of hired hands and the application of the most advanced farming methods, this farm was brought into a high state of productivity and became a source of satisfactory profit to the owner.<sup>13</sup> Weller never became a planter in the traditional sense, but engaged instead in general farming, viniculture, and in the operation of a small nursery.

Weller's success in restoring fertility to his worn-out acres was recounted in an article entitled, "To Make Poor Old Land Good, and the Good Better."<sup>14</sup> Such improvement, it was emphasized, could not be made without knowledge, skill, and industry. The importance to the farmer of working hard and giving close attention to the details of farm management were also stressed. "For instance," he wrote, "while some . . . were spending their time, in attending election treats, fish-fries, and the like, to listen to artful demagogues talking

<sup>11</sup> *Farmer's Register*, V (January, 1838), 637.

<sup>12</sup> *Farmer's Advocate*, I (March, 1839), 212.

<sup>13</sup> *Farmer's Register*, VI (November, 1838), 492-493; *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 44-45; *Report of the United States Commissioner of Patents* (Washington, 1853), 308-309. Weller stated his qualifications as follows: "College degrees or a thorough liberal education. And credentials in both mineral and vegetable lines of medical practice; and general historical and political knowledge. . . ." *Press* (Tarboro, N. C.), May 22, 1847. For several years after settling in North Carolina, Weller was the principal of Quankey Academy and of Brinkleyville Academy in Halifax County. He drew high praise from the trustees of these institutions for his work as principal. Letter, Mrs. Leon Anderson to the author, July 7, 1949.

<sup>14</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1865), 44-46.



about hard times . . . I was taking the pains to make a crop of ruta бага, at the rates of 600 bushels per acre. . . .”<sup>15</sup>

In building up his soil and keeping it in a high state of productivity, Weller used a scheme of crop rotation and considered it of “very great importance.”<sup>16</sup> Unlike the great majority of farmers at that time, he considered the practice of planting a field in the same crop several years in succession to be “highly improper and unfarmerlike.”<sup>17</sup>

Manuring had a major part in restoring fertility to those worn-out acres. Weller referred to it as “the farmer’s gold mine, or secret of wealth,” and considered the collection and judicious application of manures of “the utmost importance towards improvement of old lands. . . .”<sup>18</sup> Instead of broadcasting the manure over the land, as many farmers did, here it was distributed into drills.

The facts all indicate that a very large part of the suitable agricultural land in North Carolina had been abused in the same manner as this farm at Brinkleyville. The average farmer held to the opinion that economically it was cheaper to clear new lands than to fertilize the old. Furthermore, the process of wastage of the soil was speeded up by the almost general neglect to plant cover crops or to establish proper drainage.

In 1820 the amount of land in North Carolina abandoned because it was no longer sufficiently productive was, perhaps, even greater than the acreage then in cultivation. Faced with the realization that the supply of new ground was exhaustible, thousands of North Carolinians, rather than engage in the slow process of soil restoration, were abandoning their farms and emigrating southward and westward.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 44-45.

<sup>16</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 44-45.

<sup>17</sup> *Farmer’s Journal*, II (January, 1854), 310.

<sup>18</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 45.

<sup>19</sup> Most contemporary accounts agree that economically, politically, and socially, North Carolina was in a serious crisis during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. George W. Jeffreys, one of the state’s leading agricultural reformers, wrote in 1819: “In North Carolina the state of agriculture is at the lowest ebb; I speak not this with reproach, but with the deepest regret. . . . Our present, is a land-killing system, which must be altered for the better; for if persevered in, it must ultimately issue in want misery and depopulation.” *Farmer’s Own Book: A Series of Essays on Agriculture and Rural Affairs; in Forty-Seven Numbers* (Raleigh, 1819), 5.



Among other bad results of this chain of developments, land prices were depressed and farmers' morale was lowered. Weller's success in restoring fertility to his soil, undoubtedly, helped correct that condition. Certainly, by 1860 the farmers' outlook was much improved.

Weller's most spectacular success did not come with the reclamation of his land, but from his efforts in promoting the planting of *morus multicaulis*, or the Chinese mulberry tree. The leaves of this tree were to be used as food for silkworms in the development of an American silk industry. Enthusiasm for this project was felt all over the nation, and during the late 1830's and early 1840's it rose to fever pitch. There was scarcely an issue of the better-known agricultural journals which did not carry at least one article directed towards the promotion of this cause.

Weller was the first North Carolinian to show any interest in producing silk and to introduce the planting of mulberry trees in the state. His interest in this project was attracted by an article which he had read in the *American Farmer* in 1833. A mulberry tree was procured from a Baltimore nurseryman for one dollar and planted on the farm at Brinkleyville. Because the demand for mulberry trees, or buds from which the tree could be sprouted, reached such fantastic proportions, Weller reported that \$10,000 worth of stock was sold in the next six years from this single tree.<sup>20</sup>

Weller's enthusiasm for this development did not end with the selling of mulberry buds. Silkworms were purchased and some silk was produced. He undertook to interest others in doing likewise by offering to sell silkworm eggs and to buy and reel cocoons, or to act as an agent in finding markets for raw silk and cocoons.<sup>21</sup>

The silk cause, however, did not prosper. Persons experienced in this business in France and Italy failed in North Carolina. The climate seemed to be unfavorable for silk production. About the time the silkworm was expected to

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<sup>20</sup> *Farmer's Register*, VI (November, 1838), 492-493. Buds from these mulberry trees were advertised, in 1839, at \$30 per 1,000 "to be forwarded with due care to any place directed; at the risk of the buyer," for cash in advance. *Farmer's Advocate* I (March, 1839), 224.

<sup>21</sup> *Farmer's Advocate*, III (January, 1842), 229; *Farmer's Advocate*, III (April, 1842), 318.



spin cocoons it often contracted a disease called the yellows and died. At first, Weller refused to be discouraged by failure and suggested that silk could be successfully produced by using methods adapted to the American climate.<sup>22</sup> He failed, however, to discover such methods and finally gave the project up as "hopeless of profit in the South" because of the sudden vicissitudes of weather.<sup>23</sup>

Although others in the state, including a college president, joined in the effort to develop a silk industry in North Carolina, Weller played the leading role. Of his part in this project, one editor wrote: ". . . his fame is as inseparably associated in the mind with the *Morus Multicaulis* Tree, as that of General Jackson with the Hickory."<sup>24</sup>

Although Weller spoke of grape growing and wine making as only "incidental" activities on his farm, he won greatest renown as the developer and promoter of what he called an "American System" of grape culture, and an "American System" of wine making. Undoubtedly, he was the author of more articles on these subjects than any American of his time. These were published in nearly every agricultural journal in the land. James Dunwoody Brownson De Bow, editor of *De Bow's Review*, recognized Weller as "one of the most successful vintners in the whole South—we might say in the Union."<sup>25</sup> De Bow offered, as a service to the general public, to distribute free of charge a large number of the *Reviews* in which Weller's articles had appeared.<sup>26</sup> The section of the 1845 Patent Office Report devoted to agriculture carried two original articles by Weller on these subjects, and reprints of others which had appeared in the *North Carolina Farmer*, the *Farmer and Mechanic*, *Albany Cultivator*, and the *American Farmer*.<sup>27</sup> In the same year, one of his articles entitled, "Wine Making as Practiced in North Carolina," was read

<sup>22</sup> *Farmer's Advocate*, III (January, 1842), 229.

<sup>23</sup> *De Bow's Review*, IV (November, 1847), 317.

<sup>24</sup> Reprint from the *Reporter* (Warrenton, N. C.) in the *Press* (Tarboro, N. C.) May 22, 1847.

<sup>25</sup> *De Bow's Review*, VIII (March, 1850), 245.

<sup>26</sup> *De Bow's Review*, VI (September, 1848), 204.

<sup>27</sup> *Report of the United States Commissioner of Patents* (Washington, 1845), 932-948.



before the American Agricultural Association and became the subject of a special report to that body.<sup>28</sup>

As a result of years of experience in general farming, Weller came to the conclusion that the methods to be employed in the cultivation of any crop should be determined by the circumstances of soil and climate. For this reason, he strongly urged American grape growers to abandon European methods in tending their vineyards and to adopt what he called an "American System." "The European system is briefly that of keeping the vines *humble*," he wrote, "or that of planting them close, and by trimming, not permitting them to attain but a few, say three or four, feet in height."<sup>29</sup> Many Frenchmen, it was pointed out, skilled in the culture of grapes in France, had "totally failed" to produce good grapes when using French methods in America. Often, too, when pruned in the European manner, the vines died.<sup>30</sup> "America must throw herself, in this matter and others, on her own resources," he said; "and at most only take hints from foreign men and books, on subjects of agriculture."<sup>31</sup> His "American System," in short, was one which would permit the vines to expand with a minimum of pruning, supporting them on scaffolds or arbors built for the purpose.<sup>32</sup> After following this practice for years, Weller asserted that in quantity and quality of product his vineyard was producing more grapes and wine per acre than were being produced in French vineyards or those of any other wine making country in Europe.<sup>33</sup>

Weller not only renounced foreign methods in grape culture but also foreign varieties of grapes. After prolonged experimentation, the conclusion was reached that domestic varieties, properly managed, would produce better results.<sup>34</sup> The Halifax, a native North Carolina grape, was found to be excellent in every respect and "equal to any in the United States."<sup>35</sup> From this grape a variety was produced which was named "Weller's Halifax." This grape received wide acclaim

<sup>28</sup> *Monthly Journal of Agriculture*, I (November, 1845), 243-246.

<sup>29</sup> *Farmer's Register*, IV (December, 1836), 459-460.

<sup>30</sup> *Farmer's Register*, IV (December, 1836), 456-460.

<sup>31</sup> *Farmer's Advocate*, III (January, 1842), 228-229.

<sup>32</sup> *Farmer's Advocate*, III (January, 1842), 228-229.

<sup>33</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 41.

<sup>34</sup> *Farmer's Advocate*, III (January, 1842), 227-228.

<sup>35</sup> *Farmer's Register*, V (January, 1838), 636.



and was distributed at premium rates to many parts of the country.<sup>36</sup> Although more susceptible to climatic limitations than the Halifax, Weller considered the scuppernong, another native of North Carolina, the finest grape grown in the South—particularly for wine making.<sup>37</sup>

It was found that domestic vines were improved by grafting to the fox grape, a hardy, undomesticated variety which grew in North Carolina.<sup>38</sup> Weller's methods in making grafts and propagating cuttings of vines were described in one of his articles.<sup>39</sup> In all, experiments were conducted with over one hundred varieties of grapes. From this long list twenty-six varieties were selected as outstanding, and were classified according to quality and adaptability for planting in the South.<sup>40</sup> Weller was familiar with the efforts to improve the quality of grapes grown in America by the pioneers in that field.<sup>41</sup> Their findings were put to the test in his vineyard. ". . . experiment is the great test of utility in all arts," he wrote, "and especially in that appertaining to agriculture. . . ."<sup>42</sup>

Throughout the decade of the 1840's Weller's vineyard of over six acres was the largest and most productive in the state, and only exceeded in the nation in volume of product by those of Nicholas Longworth of Ohio—reputedly the largest grape and wine producer in the country.<sup>43</sup>

A large part of the grape harvest was used in the making of wine—a process in which Weller also evolved an "American System." The temperance movement, which was then being pushed in the nation, might be helped, he thought, by encouraging the substitution of wine for the ardent spirits. Wine, it was said, is one of the very best medicines, and lest the reader object to it on religious grounds, attention was called to that passage in the Bible wherein Timothy was

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<sup>36</sup> *Farmer's Advocate*, III (January, 1842), 227-228; *Farmer's Advocate*, III (April, 1842), 317-318.

<sup>37</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (January, 1846), 171.

<sup>38</sup> *De Bow's Review*, IV (November, 1847), 312-313.

<sup>39</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (October, 1845), 102-103.

<sup>40</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (November, 1845), 136-138.

<sup>41</sup> *De Bow's Review*, IV (November, 1847), 311.

<sup>42</sup> *De Bow's Review*, IV (November, 1847), 311.

<sup>43</sup> *De Bow's Review*, VII (July, 1849), 59; *De Bow's Review*, XII (May, 1852), 470.



directed to take "a *little* . . . for his *stomach's sake*. . . ." However, Weller emphasized that to those in good health the stimulant of wine was unnecessary.<sup>44</sup>

Weller's wine making formula was based on the assumption that American-grown grapes were lacking in saccharine content, and, in order to make good wine, required the addition of sugar or brandy.<sup>45</sup> This conclusion was reached after numerous unsuccessful experiments in which European and northern wine making methods were employed. After he began adding sugar or brandy his wine making efforts became "uniformly successful."<sup>46</sup> Briefly, his instructions for making wine were as follows:

1. Use only sound, ripe grapes. Mash grapes with a roller.
2. Press out the juice as in cider making.
3. Strain juice through woolen blanket.
4. Add two pounds or more of sugar to the gallon of juice.
5. Put juice in a clean cask and store cask in a cool place or cellar.
6. Draw off wine from cask by spigot, after it has quit working, and put in bottles or barrels.<sup>47</sup>

The addition of the correct amount of sugar, a matter to be determined by the sweetness of the juice, Weller called the "True Secret of American Wine Making."<sup>48</sup>

In the Weller winery a record book was kept in which detailed notations were made on the processing of each run of wine. No detail that might have significance in determining the quality of the product was overlooked. Each barrel of wine was given a number corresponding with the number given the run from which it was taken. This system was recommended to other vintners with the statement that it had been used "with happy effect" for years. "By turning to his

<sup>44</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 41-43.

<sup>45</sup> *Monthly Journal of Agriculture*, I (November, 1845), 243-245. The editor of this journal sent Weller's article on wine making to Colonel Edward Clark of Brooklyn for criticism. Colonel Clark argued that the addition of sugar or brandy would be unnecessary if the vines were pruned and cultivated. *Monthly Journal of Agriculture*, I (November, 1845), 246.

<sup>46</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 40-41.

<sup>47</sup> *Farmer's Register*, IV (December, 1836), 42-43.

<sup>48</sup> For one of his articles on this subject, see *De Bow's Review*, VIII (July, 1849), 59-62.



book," he wrote, "the vintner is never at a loss to learn, from the *past*, wisdom for the *future*." <sup>49</sup>

Weller's wine received high praise from those who tried it. James D. B. De Bow wrote that it was "gaining much celebrity" in New Orleans, and requested an article for his *Review* on the subject of wine making. Weller was quick to oblige. <sup>50</sup> Four samples of his scuppernong wine were exhibited at the North Carolina State Fair and won four first prizes. This exhibit led the editor of one farm journal to remark: "This gentleman deserves the patronage of those of our people who use wine, and nothing will give more celebrity to his vineyard than this display which he has made." <sup>51</sup>

Weller sold his wine by the bottle, gallon, or barrel at premium prices over a wide area of the country. During the period 1840-1854 his yearly product ranged from forty to seventy barrels. Undoubtedly, Weller's enthusiasm and example in this direction contributed towards North Carolina's leading the Union in 1840 in the production of wine.

His success in selling Chinese mulberry trees led Weller to establish a small nursery on his farm, from which were sold grape vines, fruit trees of nearly every kind, ornamental shrubs, "all selected with reference to adaptedness to southern climes," and vegetable seeds. <sup>52</sup> The fruit trees were grafted and budded in an effort to bring out the best qualities in each variety. These were sold at prices ranging from twenty to fifty cents each, "according to sorts, size, and scarcity in the market." Experiments were also conducted for the purpose of producing better varieties of strawberries and vegetables for the nursery trade. <sup>53</sup> Despite the transportation handicaps, stock from this nursery was boxed in damp sawdust or moss and shipped, with good success, to places as far away as New Orleans and St. Louis. <sup>54</sup> As in every other phase of Weller's farming activities, the results

<sup>49</sup> *De Bow's Review*, VII (July, 1849), 62.

<sup>50</sup> *De Bow's Review*, IV (November, 1847), 310.

<sup>51</sup> *Farmer's Journal*, II (November, 1853), 241.

<sup>52</sup> *Farmer's Advocate*, III (January, 1842), 227-230.

<sup>53</sup> *Farmer's Advocate*, III (January, 1842), 227-230. Weller's method of getting and propagating cuttings was described in *North Carolina Farmer*, I (October, 1845), 102-103.

<sup>54</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (October, 1845), 102-103.



of his experience in developing this nursery, particularly the vineyard part of it, were shared with the reading public in many articles published in local newspapers and in the leading agricultural journals.

Weller believed that success in general or diversified farming was often determined by the amount of attention given by the farmer to what he called "the small things."<sup>55</sup> In keeping with this idea he was always alert to discover new methods or new crops which might add to the profitableness of his farming venture. This may be seen in his success in exploiting the market for Chinese mulberry trees. In like manner, Weller's interest was attracted to the artichoke—a crop which was receiving enthusiastic acclaim in the farm journals. Seed of the Jerusalem variety of that vegetable, which was the most popular of several varieties available, were secured from a source in Georgia, and three bushels were planted. From this first planting a yield of from 700 to 1,000 bushels per acre was harvested.<sup>56</sup> After experimenting with this plant, the conclusion was reached that the artichoke would grow well in any soil in which the Irish potato would grow. The artichoke was then strongly recommended as a substitute for the potato "where it is no longer safe to cultivate on account of its destructive disease." The artichoke was also praised as an important auxiliary renovator of the soil and as a profitable crop for fattening hogs.<sup>57</sup>

The okra plant similarly excited Weller's interest. Seed for planting were procured from the Patent Office and other sources. The results were most satisfactory. The seed of this plant were highly recommended as the best available substitute for coffee.<sup>58</sup> No mention was made of any other manner in which okra was used. Apparently, the interest in the plant sprang, at least in part, from the desire to find a substitute for coffee.

Rhubarb, or pie plant, was another vegetable which received considerable mention in the agricultural journals.

<sup>55</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, II (December, 1846), 161.

<sup>56</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, II (December, 1846), 161.

<sup>57</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, II (January, 1847), 169-171. Farmers found the artichoke to be one of the easiest crops to grow.

<sup>58</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, II (December, 1846), 161-162.



Weller stocked this plant in his nursery and voiced the opinion that it merited even more attention than it was receiving. He also gave an account of his methods in cultivating the plant.<sup>59</sup>

Articles in the agricultural press praising the qualities of such crops as ruta bagas, pumpkins, rohan potatoes, and clover led to experimentation in their culture on the Weller farm.<sup>60</sup> These were all successfully grown and duly reported upon by the grower. Like Edmund Ruffin, the great Virginia reformer and student of North Carolina agricultural prospects, Weller concluded that clover did not thrive in the state because the climate was unfavorable to its growth. He began planting peas instead.

Damage to crops by disease and pests of various kinds was the subject of frequent complaint by ante-bellum farmers. Plant diseases were more difficult to guard against, and very little was accomplished towards reducing the losses caused by their presence. Bugs and insects, however, presented a more obvious target. The chinch bug, perhaps the most frequently mentioned and harmful of the pests which attacked the small grain crops, particularly aroused Weller's ire. In 1840, he proposed that a premium fund be established to reward anyone who suggested a means of eradicating that pest. Previously he had tried, without success, to guard against the chinch bug by following the suggestion that tomatoes planted around the grain field would keep the bugs away.<sup>61</sup> He found that cabbage lice could be guarded against by sprinkling dry dirt on the plants while the dew was on.<sup>62</sup> To keep the bugs away from grape vines, Weller treated his vines with a decoction containing tobacco and red pepper.<sup>63</sup> Despite the great amount of attention given these problems, very little was accomplished in the ante-bellum period towards reducing crop losses resulting from either diseases or pests.

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<sup>59</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (November, 1845), 121-122.

<sup>60</sup> *Cultivator*, III (November, 1836), 122; *Cultivator*, VII (December, 1840), 35; *North Carolina Farmer*, I (January, 1846), 172-173.

<sup>61</sup> *Cultivator*, VII (August, 1840), 131.

<sup>62</sup> *Cultivator*, XII (June, 1845), 194.

<sup>63</sup> *Cultivator*, XII (June, 1845), 194.



Weller was constantly on the alert to discover better ways of doing things. Undoubtedly, he was less restrained by tradition in the conduct of his farming activities than his neighbors. For example, while they persisted in using the old-fashioned method of planting corn in hills, Weller adopted the practice of planting it in drills or rows. Although predictions of failure were to be heard on every hand, he succeeded in producing more corn per acre than anyone using the old system.<sup>64</sup>

In 1853 Weller placed third in the state in the corn sweepstakes contest sponsored by the North Carolina Agricultural Society. The product from one acre was seventy-three and a fraction bushels. As required by the rules governing that contest, a detailed report in writing was submitted to the society covering all the work done on the prize-winning acre.<sup>65</sup> Prior to planting, Weller treated the seed corn for protection against crows and other pests with a thin film of tar, and rolled it either in plaster of paris, ashes, or dry earth.<sup>66</sup>

It is difficult to measure the extent of Sidney Weller's contribution to the development of agriculture. After looking through the records, one is impressed by the fact that he gave his whole-hearted support to every proposal which was directed towards an improvement in farming both in the state and in the nation. Unlike many of the friends of agricultural reform, who accepted the new ideas and methods and quietly adopted them in their farming, Weller refused to be quiet and urged the movement forward with intelligence, energy, and enthusiasm.

Agricultural societies, as agencies for the promotion of reform, were given his active support. He belonged to the Halifax County society and represented it at the meeting, in 1852, in which the state society was organized.<sup>67</sup> In commenting on the work of these bodies, Weller wrote:

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<sup>64</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, II (April, 1847), 253-254.

<sup>65</sup> *Register* (Raleigh, N. C.), March 4, 1854.

<sup>66</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, II (April, 1847), 253-254.

<sup>67</sup> *Farmer's Journal*, II (July, 1853), 113.



They have a great tendency to advance the agricultural interest of the country, thereby advancing every other interest, greatly promoting the comfort and happiness of the people, fixing more firmly the bonds of republican union, at the same time guarding against factional discord.<sup>68</sup>

Agricultural fairs, whether local, state, or sectional, were encouraged at every opportunity. Weller helped plan the first North Carolina State Fair in 1853, and won several premiums for exhibits of vegetables, fruits, and wines. Like most advocates of better farming, he expressed the hope that state and county fairs "will be common in our country. . . ." <sup>69</sup>

Edmund Ruffin once referred to Weller as a successful "book-farmer."<sup>70</sup> Undoubtedly, reading on agricultural subjects did contribute a great deal towards his success as a farmer. On one occasion he said: "I began . . . by taking the *American Farmer*. . . ." <sup>71</sup> He subscribed to two or more agricultural papers most of the time and contributed articles to these and many others. He solicited subscriptions in his community for several farm papers and undertook to overcome the farmers' prejudice against what was generally called "book-farming."<sup>72</sup> He emphasized in his writings that "knowledge is power in farming." In reply to the question as to how the farmer might acquire knowledge, he answered: ". . . *reading* on the subject of agriculture is one excellent and principal means. . . ." <sup>73</sup> ". . . wherever . . . (agricultural papers) are to be seen, a light is sure to be shed upon the subject which has been hitherto hidden by the cloud of ignorance."<sup>74</sup> Each farmer was urged to regard his agricultural paper as important to his success as his hoe or plow. Such a course would lead not only to an improvement in the quality of farming, but also to a solution for the problems which confronted the state.<sup>75</sup>

Weller was among the first to extend good wishes to the editors of new agricultural journals. These greetings were

<sup>68</sup> *Farmer's Journal*, II (January, 1854), 309.

<sup>69</sup> *Farmer's Journal*, II (January, 1854), 309.

<sup>70</sup> *Farmer's Register*, VI (November, 1838), 492.

<sup>71</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 45.

<sup>72</sup> *Farmer's Journal*, II (January, 1854), 310.

<sup>73</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 44.

<sup>74</sup> *Farmer's Journal*, II (January, 1854), 309-310.

<sup>75</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 44.



usually accompanied by one or more articles for publication or reprinting. Unlike the great majority of ante-bellum North Carolinians, Weller enjoyed writing about his farming activities. Having no false sense of modesty like some who signed their articles "Agricola," "Cincinnatus," "Clod-hopper," and the like, Weller let his identity be known. His writings dealt with nearly the whole range of the agricultural reform movement, but most attention was given to the culture of grapes and the making of wine.<sup>76</sup> Although he planted cotton on his farm, cotton growing was not the subject of any of his articles. Tobacco and rice planting were also neglected. His remarks were generally addressed to farmers rather than to planters—a fact of significance in ante-bellum North Carolina, for the state was overwhelmingly a farming rather than a planting state.

Weller was very confident in his opinions. He was, perhaps, as well educated as any person connected with agriculture in the state. He demonstrated in his writings that he was familiar with the work of the outstanding authorities in the fields of agriculture, chemistry, medicine, and political science, and even quoted the Bible to strengthen his views. He often used such an expression as: "I speak from experience and knowledge."<sup>77</sup> After reading a few of Weller's articles, one gets the feeling of having been lectured to. This reaction was expressed by a political enemy who referred to Weller's writings as "learned lucubrations."<sup>78</sup>

Weller realized that the state's progress in agriculture was being seriously retarded by the farmer's attachment to old, out-moded practices, and to an unwillingness to try the new.<sup>79</sup> In nearly every article this situation was attacked, and farmers were urged to wake up from their Rip Van Winkle agricultural sleep.<sup>80</sup> Like many of those associated in the movement for agricultural reform, he was overly optimistic of the results to be expected. He was a successful farmer and seemed determined to share the secrets of his

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<sup>76</sup> *Farmer's Register*, V (January, 1838), 637.

<sup>77</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (December, 1845), 153.

<sup>78</sup> Reprint from the *Reporter* (Warrenton, N. C.) in the *Press* (Tarboro, N. C.), May 22, 1847.

<sup>79</sup> *De Bow's Review*, IV (November, 1847), 310.

<sup>80</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, I (August, 1845), 44.



success with others. In referring to himself as "the farming public's humble servant," as he usually did in transmitting his articles, Weller indicated a spirit of humility and sincerity which seemed to motivate his efforts.<sup>81</sup> His activity in behalf of an improved agriculture continued until his death on March 1, 1854, at his residence in Halifax County.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> *North Carolina Farmer*, II (January, 1847), 171.

<sup>82</sup> *Raleigh Register*, March 15, 1854.



## THE GREAT MIGRATION FROM NORTH CAROLINA IN 1879

By JOSEPH H. TAYLOR

One of the most fascinating of historical studies is the movement of peoples over the face of the earth. There are aspects of romance, pathos, and tragedy attached to the various movements. Caesar, in his account of the campaigns in Gaul, speaks of peoples following the going down of the sun. In fact, one of the major causes of the downfall of ancient Rome was the constant human pressure that was exerted from the east. The Huns of Attila were pressed by Mongolian hordes. The Germanic barbarians were pushed on by the Huns fan-wise into Italy, France and Britain. The Western Hemisphere was discovered and settled by people who were responding to an apparent resistless urge to move.

The great migrations of history have occurred during times of serious social, economic, or political upheavals. Invasions, revolutions, famines, and persecutions have uprooted, through the centuries, millions of men, women and children, and have sent them on their ways looking for real or imagined Canaans. The seeds of the Industrial Revolution were sown when hard times, brought on by the Black Death and the Statute of Laborers, set in motion migratory waves from the English manorial estates to London, Glasgow, and Dublin. Immigration to America in the seventeenth-century was stimulated by the religious upheavals in Europe. In the years following the American Revolution, the United States became the haven for the oppressed of all the earth. The American Civil War—or more accurately, the Second American Revolution—was no exception to the rule. As a sequel to Sherman's devastating march, and the heart-breaking surrender at Appomattox, hundreds of thousands of Americans from all sections of the country heeded Horace Greeley's admonition to go west. Between 1870 and 1880 there migrated from the fifteen former



slave states to Kansas alone 59,193 whites and 19,116 Negroes.<sup>1</sup>

Under ordinary circumstances, it would have been expected that the lately emancipated slaves would have left the South in large numbers. They were a primary cause of the long and bitter struggle, but no respectable place in a society of free men had been envisaged for them. Spiritually, they were aliens in a hostile country. In 1879 the nation was attracted to movements among the colored population from the southern states bordering on the Mississippi River. Contemporary reports reveal that "there was no appearance of organization or system among these persons."

The irregularity and absence of preparation in these migrations indicate spontaneousness and earnestness. Bands moved from the plantations to the Mississippi River and thence to St. Louis and other cities with no defined purpose, except to reach some one of the new states west of the Mississippi where they expected to enjoy a new Canaan.<sup>2</sup>

On April 17, 1879, a convention of colored people was held in New Orleans, which was attended by 200 persons. Out of the meeting came a resolution "that it was the sense of the convention that the colored people of the South should migrate."<sup>3</sup> An appeal for material aid was made to the official and moral influence of the President of the United States, to the Republican party, and to the country at large.

On May 7th, the Nashville Colored Convention met with delegates in attendance from thirteen states (Alabama, Arkansas, Indiana, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Tennessee). Among a large number of resolutions, the Convention resolved, "That it is the sense of this conference that the colored people should emigrate to those states and territories where they can enjoy all the rights which are guaranteed by the laws and Constitution of the United States . . . and we ask of the United States an appropriation of \$500,000 to

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<sup>1</sup> *Ninth Census of the U. S., Vital Statistics*, (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1873), 328-35; *Tenth Census of the U. S.* (1880), 484-87.

<sup>2</sup> *Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia*, (New York, 1879), 354.

<sup>3</sup> *Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia*, 357.



aid in the removal of our people from the South.”<sup>4</sup> The Kansas Freeman’s Relief Association was organized with Governor John P. St. John as president. With the Governor were associated other state officials. Among the purposes of the organization, as stated in an appeal on June 26, 1879, were: “to care for the needy; to maintain the honored traditions of our state, which had its conception and birth in a struggle for freedom and equal rights for the colored man. She has shed too much blood for this cause to now turn back from her soil these defenseless people fleeing from the land of oppression.”<sup>5</sup>

The New York *Tribune* in an editorial argued that “it would be an interesting experiment to reserve a portion of the magnificent domain from the tribes which have no need of it, and set it apart for colored colonization. In the territory the blacks could raise the crops to which they are accustomed and relieved from the hand of proscription and injustice under which they labor in the Southern States, they could in a few years show what are the capacities of their race when it has a fair chance.”<sup>6</sup>

On December 15, 1879, Senator Voorhees, a Democrat from Indiana, offered the following resolution in the United States Senate:

Whereas large numbers of Negroes from Southern States, and especially from the State of North Carolina, are emigrating to the Northern States, and especially to the State of Indiana, and Whereas it is currently alleged that they are induced to do so by the unjust and cruel conduct of their white fellow-citizens toward them in the South: Therefore,

Be it Resolved, That a Committee of five members of this body be appointed by its presiding officer, whose duty it shall be to investigate the causes which have led to the aforesaid emigration, and to report the same to the Senate. . . .<sup>7</sup>

The next day, Senator Windom, a Republican from Minnesota, offered the following amendment to the Voorhees resolution:

<sup>4</sup> *Appleton’s Annual Encyclopedia*, 1879, 358.

<sup>5</sup> *Appleton’s Annual Encyclopedia*, 537.

<sup>6</sup> *Tribune* (New York), June 3, 1879.

<sup>7</sup> *Congressional Record*, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, 104.



And be it further resolved, That in case said committee shall find that said exodus of colored citizens from the South has been caused by cruel and unjust treatment, or by the denial or abridgment of personal or political rights, they shall further inquire and report to the Senate: First, what, if any, action of Congress may be necessary to secure to every citizen of the United States the full and free enjoyment of all rights guaranteed by the Constitution; second, whether with the peaceful adjustment of all sectional issues may not be best secured by the distribution of the colored race, through their partial migration from those States and congressional districts where, by reason of their numerical majority, they are not allowed to freely and peacefully exercise the rights of citizenship; and third; that said committee inquire and report as to the expediency and practicability of providing such territory or territories as may be necessary for the use and occupation of persons who may desire to emigrate from their present homes in order to secure the free, full, and peaceful enjoyment of their constitutional rights and privileges.<sup>8</sup>

Senator Windom's amendment was defeated by a vote of 25 to 18. There were thirty-three senators recorded as being absent on the roll-call vote.<sup>9</sup> The original Voorhees resolution was approved 27 to 12, with thirty-seven senators failing to answer the roll call.<sup>10</sup> The mid-term elections of 1878 returned Democratic majorities in both the Senate and House of Representatives for the first time since 1861. Vice-President Wheeler, thereupon, appointed three Democrats, Voorhees, Vance of North Carolina, and Pendleton of Ohio and two Republicans, Windom of Minnesota and Blair of New Hampshire—to the special committee.

The committee sat for a total of fifty-three days between January 19 and April 27, 1880. It examined 157 witnesses, forty-seven of whom were listed as "colored." Its report, as finally submitted, embraced two volumes totaling 1,564 pages. Part I of the report was devoted to North Carolina, the only state specifically mentioned in the Voorhees resolution. The committee devoted the first nineteen days, between January 19 and February 23, 1880, to North Carolina. Sixty-four witnesses, nineteen colored, were examined.

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<sup>8</sup> *Congressional Record*, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, 124-25.

<sup>9</sup> *Congressional Record*, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, 159.

<sup>10</sup> *Congressional Record*, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, 170.



The responsibility for directing the movement of Negroes from North Carolina was placed by witnesses and by the Democratic members of the committee on two agencies and one group of Negroes. The agencies were the Emigrant Aid Society of Washington, D. C., and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The Negro group was headed by Samuel Perry, Peter C. Williams, and Taylor Evans.

According to testimony before the committee, the Emigrant Aid Society was organized as a charitable agency to aid emigrants from North Carolina, who had gotten as far as Washington, to go to Indiana, Ohio, and a few to Kansas. The leaders of the Society were: O. S. B. Wall, president, a native North Carolinian, veteran of the Civil War, lawyer, and the first Negro justice of the peace in the District of Columbia; and J. W. Cromwell, auditor, native Virginian and Treasury Department clerk. The Society was strictly a District of Columbia institution, supported by voluntary contributions.

The treasurer of the Society, A. M. Clapp, testified that the first contributions amounting to \$39.00 were received on May 6, 1879. Up to January 10, 1880, Clapp reported that approximately \$2,000 in contributions were received from individuals, churches, and societies. He presented to the committee an itemized statement showing that all funds received had been paid out for transportation of emigrants.<sup>11</sup> In answer to an inquiry concerning the scope and purpose of Negro emigration, Cromwell replied that there was no movement except "in so far as it is entered into by persons, independently of each other, in their respective localities. No colored men could ever have originated this movement. It was spontaneous, so far as its origin was concerned."<sup>12</sup>

President Wall's theory of the exodus was that with the return of the ex-Confederates to power in North Carolina "things relapsed into pretty much their old condition . . . we have got into a state of things so dark and oppressive that there must be some ventilation." He held that Negro freedom was contingent upon their leaving the South. "I believe," he continued, "that it was a spontaneous movement, and if any-

<sup>11</sup> *Senate Reports* No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 36.

<sup>12</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 13.



body had any agency in it it was our Heavenly Father, the great Creator of us all."<sup>13</sup>

J. P. Dukehart, southern passenger agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, testified that he went to North Carolina on order of his employer to look into the matter of selling tickets to prospective emigrants. A commission (called a drawback) for each ticket sold was allowed to the leaders of all emigrant parties. On this particular mission, Dukehart sold 763 tickets. For those emigrants who became stranded in Washington, the Emigrant Aid Society arranged with the B. & O. to carry them to Indianapolis for \$9.00 per head, with a \$1.00 drawback.<sup>14</sup>

Dukehart disclaimed any political motives in his dealings with the colored people. In his testimony he said that he made it perfectly clear to the prospective migrants that "I am here to sell tickets: If you don't want them I can get out." In explaining the causes of the movement, he stated that "just as long as those people have money or can get money to pay their fare they will keep going until they receive letters from those ahead telling them not to come, or some of them are brought back to tell them the status of their affairs out there."<sup>15</sup>

The star witness during the period of the North Carolina hearings was a young former slave, Samuel L. Perry, then thirty years of age. Perry, along with the missing, and often referred to, Taylor Evans, was one of the chief engineers of the migration. Whether he was a tool of Republican politicians, hoping to drain off enough of unneeded voters from North Carolina for service on the more crucial battlefield in Indiana, or whether he was a Moses commissioned by the Almighty to lead his people from Egypt to the land over Jordan, is not revealed by his testimony.

According to this young Washington "expatriate" the idea of leaving the South was first broached in little meetings. As far back as 1872 pamphlets were received from Omaha, Nebraska, describing lands made available by the Homestead

<sup>13</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 45, 46.

<sup>14</sup> *Senate Reports* No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 32 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Senate Reports* No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 77.



Act. In revealing how he operated, Perry stated, "We would meet and talk about it Sunday evenings—that is, the laboring class of our people—the only ones I know anything about; I had not much to do with big professional Negroes, the rich men. I did not associate with them much."<sup>16</sup> The first idea was to go out West in a colony. In 1876 a petition was sent to the North Carolina legislature praying that Congress be asked to set the Negroes apart somewhere in the West. "But," said Perry, "they gave us some schools and one thing or another, and we all got satisfied; that's the college you hear so much talk about and the asylum."<sup>17</sup> Perry next talked of conditions in North Carolina, conditions that throughout human history have spurred people to move. In the fall of 1878 the crops were short and times were hard, and there was a terrible "cleaning out" of colored people. Sometimes there would be two or three wagons at one man's house. People—both white and black—gathered in groups and talked of the impact of the mortgage system.

Although a common farm laborer, Perry was above the average in literary attainments. He was a subscriber to the New York *Herald*, in which he read reports of people going to Kansas and other points west. "We thought we could go to Kansas," he continued. "We came together and formed ourselves into a colony of some hundred men; that was all we was to have. It was not to be considered an exodus; we did not use the word emigration. . . . We thought we could probably go North somewhere and find somebody that would stand behind us with money enough to help us."<sup>18</sup> The group hoped to receive money from the National Emigrant Aid Society, and presented to that organization the following petition signed by 168 persons:

We, the undersigned colored people of the second Congressional district of North Carolina, having labored hard for several years, under disadvantages over which we had no control, to elevate ourselves to a higher plane of Christian civilization; and whereas our progress has been so retarded as to nearly nullify all our

<sup>16</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 280.

<sup>17</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 281.

<sup>18</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session Part I, 281.



efforts, after dispassionate and calm consideration, our deliberate conviction is, that emigration is the only way in which we can elevate ourselves to a higher plane of true citizenship;

As our means are insufficient to emigrate without the aid of friends, we therefore petition your honorable body, through our worthy agents, Samuel L. Perry and Peter C. Williams, for aid to emigrate to some of the Western States or Territories.

And we furthermore agree to be bound by any contract that they may enter into in these efforts to secure aid for our transportation and settlement; and your petitioners will every pray.<sup>19</sup>

The members of the group raised \$54.00 to send Perry and Williams to Kansas and southern Nebraska or Colorado. They left North Carolina on September 15, 1878, for Washington, where they presented their petition to the Emigrant Aid Society. Perry and Williams were informed that the Society had no funds available to finance the proposed colony. They remained in Washington for thirteen days following the discouraging news.

After receiving the adverse decision of the Emigrant Aid Society, the emissaries from North Carolina had to change their plans. Since no additional money to supplement the \$54.00 was forthcoming from the home front, the two men went to Indianapolis rather than returning home. In the Indiana capital they lectured in a Negro Baptist Church and received a collection of \$4.10. They used this money and what remained of the \$54.00 and went to Greencastle, Indiana. Here they were told that homes and land could be found in Indiana. Why go to Kansas or Colorado? Here work was plentiful and wages good. According to Perry, however, he and Williams insisted that they were commissioned by their group in North Carolina to seek out lands in Kansas, Nebraska, or Colorado. The Indianians informed them that no assistance could be expected from those communities, so they returned to North Carolina with circulars extolling the glories of the Hoosier State.

Senator Voorhees, the Indiana Democrat, questioned Perry very closely on his experiences in Indianapolis. He wanted to know if politics had anything to do with Perry's and Williams'

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<sup>19</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 36.



decision to go to Indianapolis and Greencastle when they had in the beginning only \$54.00 and no promise of any additional funds. Perry finally admitted that Indiana Republicans were friendly to the movement, and that a total of \$620.00 was raised in Indianapolis to pay the fares of persons wishing to go to Indiana.

Throughout the hearings the gist of much of the testimony of witnesses—white and colored—was that Perry, Evans, Williams, and other Negro leaders were primarily concerned with the drawbacks promised by the railroad companies. Perry emphatically denied he benefitted personally from his activities, and stated that all moneys received by him and Williams were turned over to the Emigrant Aid Society.<sup>20</sup>

Upon his return to North Carolina, Perry was indicted for assisting in forging papers “or something of that kind. They called a witness on the stand, and one man swore very hard.”<sup>21</sup> Before his case was called for trial Perry fled from North Carolina, thus forfeiting his bond. At the time of his appearance before the Senate committee he was a “fugitive from justice.”

The fact that Perry was a former slave, that his experiences—with the exception of the trips to Washington and Indiana—had been confined to North Carolina, that he was not an educated man, and that he was out of line with “the big professional Negroes” makes his story of the causes of the movement interesting reading to say the least.

There were, according to Perry, complaints of oppression among Negroes. He made much of the dissatisfaction with the laws of North Carolina, particularly the Landlord and Tenant Act<sup>22</sup> which forbade “a man moving any part of the crop till

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<sup>20</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 296.

<sup>21</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 293.

<sup>22</sup> The much-discussed Landlord and Tenant Act was passed by the North Carolina General Assembly on May 12, 1877. Section 1 of the act provided that where lands had been rented or leased by written or verbal agreement, or cultivated by a cropper, all crops raised on such land would be considered the possession of the land owner at all times until the rent had been paid and all stipulations contained in the agreement should have been performed. If the stipulations had not been performed then such damages resulting therefrom would have to be paid. This lien, to quote a significant part of the act, “. . . shall be preferred to all other liens, and the lessor . . . shall be entitled against the consent of the lessor. . . .” *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina*. The second session established safeguards for the



his rent is paid, and leaves that to the landlord to settle himself; he is the man to say about that as whether advances are made." The act, he continued, "gives the landlord the right to be the court, sheriff, and jury."

Perry stated that there was widespread unrest among the colored population because, as he testified, "they cannot feel that their former masters will ever recognize them as their equals. They cannot stand up to a white man and demand their rights, especially from their former masters, and they think, and I do, if we was out in some territory—I don't mean Indiana—I think it would be different."

With reference to his relations with his own former master, William S. Perry, Samuel Perry related the following experience: "I went to my old master . . . and worked with him up there in 1875, and he talked of putting a stick on me. I thought that I was a citizen, and that was going too far; but you know I could not go back and talk to him like any other man."<sup>23</sup>

Perry charged the courts with unfair treatment of colored people. Northern men who had established schools had been driven out; the people had been stripped of the right to elect county officers; there was a justice of the peace who declared that a "n—— is no more a human being than a horse is a mule." He complained of the existing road law in North Carolina which required ten days of labor each year from every able-bodied male between the ages of 18 and 45. They took a colored preacher out of the pulpit and put him to work, and "that busted up our revival."

At the end of the pole, opposite Samuel Perry, was James E. O'Hara. O'Hara was born in New York but had been a resident of North Carolina since 1862. For five years he served as chairman of the board of county commissioners of Halifax County, as well as engrossing clerk of the 1868 Constitutional Convention, member of the 1875 Constitutional Convention, Republican presidential electoral nominee in

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tenant against conduct on the part of the landlord that was out of harmony with the terms of the agreement. The sixth section makes it a misdemeanor for the tenant or any other person to remove, from rented or leased land, the crop without the consent of the landlord. *North Carolina Session Laws 1876-77*, Chap. 283.

<sup>23</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 299.



1876, former member of Congress from the second North Carolina district, prosecuting attorney, and a plantation owner.

In the opinion of O'Hara, there was nothing spontaneous about the movement of Negroes from North Carolina. Rather, he claimed, it was "induced by a class of persons who come and tell the people they will get better wages by going to Indiana, and that when they get there they will be well taken care of."<sup>24</sup> In the matter of educational facilities, O'Hara stated that there was no discrimination between colored and white. He boasted that the North Carolina rural schools "will compare favorably with those in any rural district in any section of the country."

In the opinion of O'Hara the industrious colored men did not leave North Carolina. "So far as I can learn," he stated, "it is just the floating population that are leaving. . . . I do not think that they are leaving for the same cause that people leave Germany, Ireland, Scotland, England, etc."<sup>25</sup>

As a former prosecuting attorney O'Hara testified that in the courts no true bill could be found unless a colored man was on the jury. Such discrimination as existed in the administration of justice was against a man because he was poor, not because he was black. "There is the same race prejudice," he continued, "that there is between white men and colored men everywhere, but to a less extent than in some Northern States. The Southern man knows the Negro, the Northern man does not."

When asked how prejudice was shown to a less extent in North Carolina than in the Northern States, O'Hara replied that it was shown from a social point of view. "For instance, in the North you will seldom see a white man and a colored man eating together; in the South it is nothing unusual to see that. It is nothing unusual in the South to see a white man driving a buggy and his servant sitting beside him; it is unusual to see that in the North."<sup>26</sup> Senator Windom, one of the Republican members of the committee, broke in with,

<sup>24</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 52.

<sup>25</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 55.

<sup>26</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 55.



"I am trying to find the paradise for the Negro, and I think I have found it at last. There is no race prejudice at all down there."

Another important Negro witness was Charles N. Otey, Otey was born in Raleigh in 1851 and stayed there until he was sixteen years old, but he had lived in Washington for eleven years. He was in the freshman class at Oberlin College for three months, and also attended Howard University, where he graduated from the liberal arts college in 1873, and from the law school in 1876. Otey edited a weekly newspaper, the *Argus*, and taught in a public county high school near Washington.

He declared that "the most ignorant class in North Carolina had been deluded by Perry, Williams, and Taylor. . . . These three men had been among the most ignorant class of the country people and had told them that the United States government wanted them to go to Indiana,"<sup>27</sup> Otey, who was an orator of note, spoke of the bitter opposition of practically every intelligent colored and white man in North Carolina to the exodus. "With malice toward none but with charity for all, I say that the exodus from North Carolina is a fraud." He stated that the most kindly relations existed between the white and colored people, and that "the colored people (of North Carolina) as a mass are more intelligent than in any other Southern State. They always had more opportunities for acquiring an education. . . . They have what no other State in the South possesses—an asylum for the deaf, dumb, and blind. A Democratic legislature has appropriated money for the erection of an insane asylum. At present the colored insane are in the white asylum, than which there is no finer in this country."<sup>28</sup>

Ellis Hilliard, a colored farmer from Wilson County, stated that the associations between the races was of a pleasant character; that some colored people left the state just to have a big ride; and that the chief cause of the disturbance was whiskey.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 103.

<sup>28</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 104.

<sup>29</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 254ff.



Napoleon Higgins, [a Negro farmer from Goldsboro,] praised the Landlord and Tenant Act as a good law. Its object was to give the landlord a lien on everything that the tenant had. "I think," said Higgins, "I am entitled to that."<sup>30</sup>

Joseph Adams, [another Negro] from Goldsboro, reported that Taylor Evans told him that any colored man could make two or three dollars a day in Indiana, and furthermore "that the colored and white people were about on an equality—all sociated together." Adams stated that he started to Indiana to make a better living. He was not influenced by the chance to marry a white woman, because he already had a wife.<sup>31</sup>

Julius A. Bonitz, white editor and proprietor of the *Goldsboro Messenger*, saw no reason why Negroes should leave North Carolina. There was no political oppression, and he had sought in vain for reasons for the migration. "Those who have left my section," he said, "are of a roving, migratory disposition. They look upon the prospect of a journey north as a grand excursion. If the movement had continued as it began, several thousands, perhaps, would have left, where only a hundred had gone now. It has had a very demoralizing effect upon the laborer in our section."<sup>32</sup> Bonitz spoke of the meetings held under the auspices of Perry and Williams. At these meetings speeches were made and the unpleasant features of North Carolina life were dwelt upon and exaggerated.

Bonitz was of the opinion that educational facilities for the two races were equal. No discrimination was shown in favor of white mechanics, for instance. In fact, concludes Bonitz, "the condition of the colored population in our section has greatly improved, both morally and otherwise."<sup>33</sup>

E. C. Barden, a Goldsboro farmer-bank president, testified to the good feelings between the races. He attributed the exodus to one or two colored men (Perry and Williams) who were paid to influence the colored people.<sup>34</sup>

R. C. Badger also testified before the committee. A North Carolina office-holding Republican, he had served in the Gen-

<sup>30</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 261.

<sup>31</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 394, 395.

<sup>32</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 133.

<sup>33</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 134.

<sup>34</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 208.



eral Assembly. He was a member of the 1875 Constitutional Convention, was a justice of the peace, a prosecuting attorney, and a recorder of deeds. Badger told the committee that educational facilities in North Carolina were better for Negroes than anywhere else in the South, and that in every other respect the lot of the Negro was improving. "I am intimately wrapped up in their projects," he stated. "I was opposed to slavery. . . . There was a time in 1871 up to about two and a half years ago that they were treated with great barbarity during the time of the K. K. . . . I took occasion to consult the colored solicitor . . . and he goes further and says that he sees no distinction made between them on account of their color at all. I do."<sup>35</sup>

How wide an area was affected by the exodus of Negroes from North Carolina? How many Negroes actually left the state for Indiana? What verdict, if any, should the student of history hand down after studying the available evidence? Unfortunately the answers to these questions are not clearly forthcoming from official records.

The Republican minority on the special Senate committee alleged that in the spring of 1879 thousands of colored people from the states along the lower Mississippi, "unable longer to endure the intolerable hardships, injustices, and sufferings inflicted upon them by a class of Democrats in the South, had, in utter despair, fled panic-stricken from their homes and sought protection in Kansas; in the same year only a few hundred men, women, and children, discontented with their condition in North Carolina, and hoping to improve it, migrated to Indiana." Former congressman James E. O'Hara estimated that between 2,500 and 3,000 emigrants left North Carolina in the last six months in 1879. They were principally from Greene, Jones, Lenoir, and Wayne counties. Julius A. Bonitz, the Wayne County editor, indicated that only a hundred had gone, but he probably had his own county in mind.

In its final report, submitted to the Senate on June 1, 1880, the special committee divided strictly along party lines. The Democratic majority attempted to show from witnesses summoned that there was no validity to the charges that Negroes

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<sup>35</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, 398.



in North Carolina were being deprived of their citizenship rights. Positively, they sought to show that under the circumstances, the Negro was fairly and justly treated, and that it would be to his disadvantage to go to Indiana. The Democrats also contended that politics motivated the movements of Samuel Perry and Peter Williams from Washington, D. C. to Indianapolis and Greencastle, Indiana, and that they were in touch with leading Republican politicians in Indiana who furnished the bulk of funds for transporting Negroes from North Carolina.

The Republican members of the committee, on the other hand, sought to show that conditions in North Carolina were unfavorable to the Negroes. They minimized the importance of what they termed the "so-called exodus." They emphatically denied that political considerations had anything to do with the movement of Negroes from North Carolina to Indiana. "The utter absurdity of this theory should have been apparent to everybody, for if the Republican party proposed to import Negroes into Indiana for political purposes, why take them from North Carolina? Why import them from a State where the Republicans hope and expect to carry the election, when there were thousands upon thousands ready and anxious to come from States certainly democratic. Why transport them by rail at heavy expense half way across the continent when they could have taken them from Kentucky without any expense or brought them up the Mississippi River by steamers at merely nominal cost? Why send 25,000 to Kansas to swell her 40,000 Republican majority, and only seven or eight hundred to Indiana?"<sup>36</sup>

This has been a study of a period in our history following close upon the heels of a bloody civil war. In that war a once-proud people had been badly beaten and humiliated. The passions of men were at the boiling point. The defeated South—attempting to salvage something from the wreckage about it—set up the black codes, only to have the powerful *Chicago Tribune* remind it that the men of the North would convert the section into frog ponds before they would "allow any

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<sup>36</sup> *Senate Reports*, No. 693, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I, vii.



such laws to disgrace one foot of soil in which the bones of our soldiers sleep and over which the flag of freedom waves."

Democrats, both North and South, were still smarting under the severe and poetic tongue-lashing given them by Colonel Ingersoll in 1876. Said the orator:

Every State that seceded from the Union was a Democratic State. Every ordinance of secession was drawn by a Democrat. Every man that endeavored to tear the old flag from the heaven it enriches was a Democrat. . . . Every man that shot down Union soldiers was a Democrat. . . . The man that assassinated Abraham Lincoln was a Democrat. . . . Every man that raised bloodhounds to pursue human beings was a Democrat. . . . Every man that tried to spread smallpox and yellow fever in the North was a Democrat. . . . Soldiers, every scar you have on your heroic bodies was given you by a Democrat. Every scar, every arm missing, every limb that is gone is a souvenir of a Democrat.<sup>37</sup>

In the light of the foregoing testimony, and in view of exaggerated statements made in the heat of political campaigns, it is the judgment of the writer that the migration of Negroes from the South in 1879 was not of extraordinary historical significance. It was a perfectly normal movement and was to have been expected. It was a tragic movement, however, in that the migrants were social and political outcasts, fleeing a country where they, at the moment, would be tolerated only as drawers of water and hewers of wood. They sought a haven among strangers in a strange land—a land where the physical elements conspired to make life hard, and for which two and a half centuries of servitude had provided scant preparation. The tragedy is further deepened by the fact that while the former slaves were responding to a natural urge to seek out a promised land where all would be peace, leaders in legislative halls attempted to turn their plight at home or abroad to political advantage.

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<sup>37</sup> Morrison and Commager, *Growth of the American Republic*, II (New York, 1950), 8.



## FOREIGNERS IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1900-1950

By LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

A comprehensive examination of foreign (i.e., non-English-language) travel books dealing with the United States during the period 1900-1950 has revealed twenty-six titles that contain material on North Carolina. Six are in Danish, six in German, six in Spanish (four Argentine, one Chilean, one Peruvian), four in French, and one each in Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish and Italian. In no case has any foreigner written a comprehensive travel book about North Carolina, and in most instances the state was an unavoidable part of an itinerary to and from Washington, D. C. and Florida. Nevertheless, the generally objective and disinterested character of foreigners' comments is sufficient to justify recording all of these titles.

In some instances there are "purple patches" which have their place in the documentary history of the state; and, strangely enough, it is not the world-famous authors, such as Julien Green and Johannes V. Jensen, who have written the most important descriptions of life and manners in North Carolina. Gunhild Tegen, a young Swedish girl, wrote an unforgettable account of religious experience among Negroes. Santiago Marín Vicuña's version of the enthusiasm of Cameron Morrison and Frank Page for good roads is a classic interview. It would be difficult to find a better description of Valdese than that of Edmondo Mayor des Planches. Hakon Mielche's discussion of the race problem is considerably more constructive than that which may be found in the books of hundreds of foreign do-gooders who have travelled in the south.

Just as in the case of virtually every other southern state, except Kentucky and Missouri, the most interesting single topic of discussion for foreign travellers is the race problem. At least seven of the visitors to North Carolina give a good deal of attention to this subject. In general, the state is not as severely criticized as are nearly all states further south. It



is significant to note, however, that most foreign travellers (the *weltmüde* Julien Green being the single exception) confined their travels to the western side of the Atlantic Coast Line tracks, mainly in the Piedmont area but to some extent in the mountains. They know almost nothing about the position of the Negro in the economy of the North Carolina coastal plains.

North Carolina's system of higher education ranks along with the race question in importance for foreign travellers. Seven foreigners visited the campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, three visited Duke University (formerly Trinity College), and one visited North Carolina State College in Raleigh. In 1924-25 two Germans, an Argentine, and a Chilean devoted a major portion of their time in the United States to an inspection of North Carolina's highways. The agricultural and industrial development of the state seems to have eluded foreign visitors; perhaps most of them had already been surfeited with evidence of America's industrial prowess during visits to the Northeast and Middle West. On the other hand, communities such as Durham, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, High Point and Asheville leave visitors with a distinct impression of a nascent but sturdy bourgeois civilization not unlike that of the Middle West.

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Aabye, Karen. *Dejligt at Amerika ikke ligger langt herfra*.

Copenhagen, Steen Hasselbalchs Forlag, 1949. 138 p.

En route via Greyhound bus to Florida, Miss Aabye spends one night in a Raleigh tourist home and is charmed with the hospitality of that community. Date: Probably 1948.

Beauvoir, Simone de. *L'Amérique au jour le jour*. Paris,

Éditions Paul Morihien, 1948. 390 p.

Simone de Beauvoir, author of *Le deuxième sexe*, looks at the South existentialist-style and is considerably less impressed by manifestations of racial antagonism and economic troubles in Raleigh than in other southern cities. Date: April 4, 1947.



Brückmann, H. R. *Americana; ein Brevier für Amerika-Reisende*. Berlin-Neukölln, Verlag von Dr. Adolph Ihring Nachf., 1938. 113 p.

"Der amerikanische Mohr" (pp. 101-104) is the caption of the brief chapter describing the Negro as Brückmann saw him in New York, North and South Carolina, Alabama and Tennessee. He simply describes typical characteristics of the American Negro with no reference to social and economic problems. Date: Probably 1937.

Chessex, Cyril. *Pulsations américaines*. Paris, La Hune, 1946. 333 p.

Chapter V ("Vers le sud," p. 165-172) gives roadside impressions of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Date: Sometime between 1940 and 1946.

Clauson-Kaas, Knud. *Vi ruller gennem Amerika*. Copenhagen, Casper Nielsens Forlag A/S, 1948, 304 p.

There are brief comments on the Dismal Swamp and Winston-Salem, pp. 51-61. Date: 1946-1947.

Feuchtinger, Max, and Neumann, Erwin. *Bericht über eine Studienreise in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika*. Berlin-Charlottenburg, Studiengesellschaft für Automobilstrassenbau, 1925. 74 p.

Two German engineers study in detail the planning, construction, and care of North Carolina highways. Date: Spring of 1925.

Gandía, Enrique de. *El gigante del norte; una visión de Estados Unidos*. Buenos Aires, Editorial Claridad, 1942. 335 p.

A guest of the State Department, Gandía visited Greensboro, Durham, and Chapel Hill and devotes considerable attention to descriptions of the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill) and Duke University. He speaks with special approval of the programs of instruction in Hispanic studies. Date: 1941.

Geist, Margarethe. *Mit dem Eselwagen durch U. S. A.* Herausgegeben von Adelgunde Gruner, mit farbigen und schwarzen Bildern von Marie Luise Scherer. Stuttgart, K. Thienemanns Verlag, 1933. 108 p.

In this children's book there is a brief but lively account of Greensboro and Asheville, with particularly informative observations on mountains and mountaineers near Asheville and Chattanooga. Date: 1912-1914.

Green, Julien. *Journal*, 1935-1939. Paris, Librairie Plon, 1939. 242 p.



Between pages 86 and 102 Green describes his rambles in Virginia and North Carolina. He visited Murfreesboro, Durham, Nag's Head and Roanoke Island. In Durham he is amused by the naivety of a group of University of North Carolina students and by the famous statue of Bull Durham. All in all, it is one of the most pleasing (but not most significant) books in this list. Date: May 2, 1937—June 27, 1937.

Jensen, Johannes Vilhelm. *Fra Fristaterne; Rejsebreve, med et Tilbageblik*. Copenhagen, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1939. 137 p.

Just as in the report of his trip undertaken in 1896 (*Den ny Verden; til international Belysning af nordisk Bondekultur* [Copenhagen, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1907; 254 p.]), Jensen's itinerary is not quite certain; but it is known that much of his information came from a person familiar with conditions of the Negro in North Carolina. In his first book he touched upon none of the essential problems of race relations and viewed the Negro as a member of an inferior race. He is no more instructive in the report of his 1939 trip, and he complacently looks forward to a solution of the problem with full assimilation in a matter of one to five centuries. Date: 1939.

Kurtz, Roberto. *La verdad sobre Estados Unidos*. Buenos Aires, Imprenta Luis Vegga, 1924 (?). 300 p.

Most of this book deals with the author's inspection of North Carolina highways in conjunction with the preliminary conference to the First Pan-American Highway Congress (Buenos Aires, 1925). He visited Trinity College (now Duke University), the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), Yanceyville, Greensboro, High Point, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, King's Mountain, Chimney Rock, Asheville and Sylva; and he includes many photographs of scenic and historic places. His main interest was highway construction and scenery. Date: May, June, July, 1924.

Kuyper, H. S. S. *Tweede reis naar Amerika; vier weken te Washington (rondom de eerste Internationale Arbeidsconferentie)*. Amsterdam, W. ten Have, 1921. 117 p.

Although Kuyper never went south of Washington, this title is interesting as a bit of North Caroliniana for the account, on pp. 37-43, of a trip down the Potomac with Josephus and Addie Daniels on the presidential yacht *Mayflower*. Date: November, 1920.

Leitner, Maria. *Eine Frau reist durch die Welt*. Berlin, Agis-Verlag, 1932. 200 p.



Chapter 5 ("Fahrt ohne Geld in den Südstaaten") includes a brief visit to the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill) with a cursory description of the plant. Date: 1932 (?).

Marín Vicuña, Santiago. *Por los Estados Unidos*. Santiago de Chile, Editorial Nascimento, 1925. 276 p.

Marín Vicuña, a member of the Pan-American Highway Commission, visited North Carolina to inspect the state's roads. He describes visits with Governor Cameron Morrison and Highway Commissioner Frank Page, whom he calls "fanatic proponents of good roads"; with Professor Sturgis E. Leavitt at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), where he was pleased by the library's collection of Latin-Americana; and with industrial leaders in Greensboro, Winston-Salem, High Point, Charlotte, Asheville, and Sylva. There is a brief survey of North Carolina history with special reference to her highways, and interesting sidelights on traditions and customs. Date: June, 1924.

Mayor des Planches, Edmondo. *Attraverso gli Stati Uniti per l'emigrazione italiana*. Torino, Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1913. 321 p.

In Salisbury (pp. 87-90), where he was shown about by Congressman Henderson, Mayor des Planches sees a typical small southern city. Valdese (pp. 90-98) is described in some detail, especially with respect to its economy but also with reference to the Italian background of the towns people. George Vanderbilt squired him on his brief inspection of Asheville (pp. 98-99). Date: July, 1911—November, 1912.

Mielche, Hakon. *Ovre i Staterne*. Copenhagen, Steen Hasselbalchs Forlag, 1938. 351 p.

Mielche, a correspondent for *Jyllands Posten*, toured the entire South, stopping in North Carolina at Winston-Salem, Franklin, and Durham. He is remarkably sensitive to the basic elements of life in each locality he visited, and his treatment of Negroes and poor whites shows considerable insight into the basic problems. Date February-June, 1938.

Nielsen, Roger. *Amerika i Billeder og Text*. Copenhagen, H. Aschehoug & Co., 1929. 319 p.

This work by a press attaché at the Danish Legation in Washington is one of the most monumental of all travel books on twentieth-century America. Each state is given a separate section and is treated from geographical, historical, political, ethnological, sociological, economic, commercial, educational and agricultural standpoints. Date: Probably shortly before publication.



Reissig, Luís. *Algunas observaciones de un viaje por América*. Buenos Aires, Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores, 1947. 48 p. On p. 36 there is a brief note on the Chapel Hill campus of the University of North Carolina, but there is no further information on programs on instruction and research at this institution. Date: 1946.

Repetto, Nicolas. *Impresiones de los Estados Unidos*. Buenos Aires, Librería y Editorial "La Vanguardia," 1943. 253 p. Repetto, a Latin American journalist brought to the United States during the last war by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, gives a factual account of North Carolina State College, Raleigh, on pp. 4-8, with high praise for its programs of instruction and research, especially in the agricultural field. Date: 30 April-5 August 1943.

Rojas, Rosa Maria. *Estados Unidos romantico*. Lima, Enrique Bustamente y Ballivian Co., 1942. 53 p. On pp. 9-20 there is a poem entitled "La Chapel Hilliada" describing the impressions of a group of Latin American students who visited the Chapel Hill campus of the University of North Carolina on February 27, 1941. The treatment is extremely superficial. Date: 27 February 1941.

Ross, Ralph Colin. *Von Chicago nach Chungking; einem jungen deutschen erschliesst sich die Welt*. Berlin, Verlag Die Heimbücherei, 1951. 252 p. This is a rather refreshing travel book by a young German who was killed in Russia in 1941. With his parents he travelled southward from Richmond to Florida, giving his impressions of North Carolina on p. 70. His notes are brief but striking, especially with relation to the Negroes and the salient geographical characteristics of the countryside. Date: 1939 (?).

Scheffer, Paul, and Clauss, Max, and Krauss, Julius. *USA 1940; Roosevelt-Amerika im Entscheidungsjahr*. Berlin, Im Deutschen Verlag, 1940. 206 p. On pp. 59-60 there are brief notes on the tobacco factories of Durham, Duke University, and the Chapel Hill campus of the University of North Carolina. The treatment is rather superficial and always from the Nazi viewpoint. Date: 1939-1940.

Skard, Sigmund. *Amerikanske problem*. Trondheim, F. Bruns Bokhandels Forlag, 1949. 164 p. (Edv. Normanns Legats Skrifter, No. 1). Skard does not indicate an itinerary, but he did visit North



Carolina and was acquainted with North Carolinians. On pp. 92-97 he discussed the Negro problem in the South condemning the situation but offering no constructive ideas. Date: Skard spent the entire period of World War II in the United States.

Tegen, Gunhild Nordling. *Jorden runt i krigstid*. Uppsala, J. A. Lindblads Förlag, 1948. 350 p.

Miss Tegen's extended tour of the South gives a great deal of attention to the race problem. In Durham, N. C., she manages to see a trace of the Negro's religious attitudes during the course of a visit to a service at White Rock Baptist Church. Date: 1941.

Thomas, Louis. *Les États-Unis inconnus*. Paris, Librairie Académique, 1920. 288 p.

Charlotte (p. 189-199) is described as a typical medium-sized southern city, with brief historical notes, descriptions of its physical aspects, and accounts of civic activities. Date: 1919.



## PLACE NAMES ON OCRACOCKE ISLAND

By C. A. WESLAGER

Until recent years, the fishing community of 500 to 600 people occupying the southwest end of Ocracoke Island, a twelve-mile ribbon of sand between Pamlico Sound and the Atlantic Ocean, had little direct contact with the outside world. Now the modern forces of radio, an occasional motion picture, parties of visiting fishermen, and jeeps left by the U. S. Navy during the war on a previously motorless island have stimulated acculturation. Nevertheless, as recent as the summer of 1949 the inhabitants still had no doctor, dentist, undertaker, jail, police officers, paved streets, or local government.

Part of the present population is descended from the so-called "bankers" whose livelihood was partially dependent upon the spoils of the sea.<sup>1</sup> This segment of the population still speaks a language which in idiom and accent is unlike that heard on the Virginia or Carolina mainland. Popular writers have referred to this manner of speech loosely and perhaps inaccurately as "Elizabethan" although there can be no doubt that some of the seventeenth and eighteenth century English has survived in the speech.<sup>2</sup>

The early English influence is also very strong in the place names on Ocracoke, and this article attempts to show something of the people through the names given to places. First, let it be stressed that the majority of the place names have not been previously recorded, either on maps or state docu-

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<sup>1</sup> "Bankers" were notorious spoilers who salvaged cargoes from wrecked ships and pillaged vessels anchored off the island. William B. Marye has brought to my attention a number of references in the *Colonial Records of N. C.*, one of which under date of April 4, 1749, is pertinent: "Information he received on his way to Newbern gave him reason to suspect that the Bankers (a set of people who live on certain sandy islands lying between the Sound and the Ocean, and who are very wild and ungovernable, so that it is seldom possible to excite any Civil or Criminal Writs among them) would come in a body and pillage the ships, etc." William L. Saunders, compiler. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IV (Raleigh, 1886), 1305. See also Volume XII, 140, 488 for additional reference to wrecks and wreckers on Ocracoke.

<sup>2</sup> A. Brown, "Cape Stormy; Carolina Outer Banks," *The Saturday Evening Post* (August 3, 1940).



ments. For example, the Geological Survey Map of North Carolina (Washington, D. C., April, 1942) shows the island, but "Ocracoke" is the only place name given. *The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey*, published in 1928 and re-issued in 1939, gives for Ocracoke and surrounding waters only thirteen place name entries, two of which are indicated simply as "hill."<sup>3</sup>

With the cooperation of local informants, the writer has compiled a list of place names on the island and in the surrounding waters. These names have been passed down orally as a sort of cultural heritage from one generation to the next. Since many of them have never before been written, the spellings are the writer's interpretation of the local pronunciation. The names have been classified according to physical features to which they apply and in the few instances where "(m)" appears opposite a name it indicates that there is a prior recording on the 1939 *Geodetic Survey* referred to above.

The chief interest in these names is from the point of view of their relationship to history, folklore and linguistics. It is the task of the geographer to project them on a map, if such can be accomplished for so small an area. The ever-changing land features represent problems to the cartographer; for example, two inlets on the ocean side called "Northern Pond" and "Southern Pond" were obliterated in a storm several years ago, and an islet called "Negro Island" was similarly destroyed.

The list follows:<sup>4</sup>

#### REEFS AND SHOALS

Legged Lump (m)  
Clark Reef (m)  
Terrapin Shoal (m)  
Howard Reef (m)

Cockle Shoal  
Beacon Island Shoal  
Buoy Shoal  
Long Rocks

<sup>3</sup> The most recent *U. S. Coast Geodetic Survey* 6th edition, Oct., 1942, does not even show the designation "hill," although a point on the middle of the island is given as "The Knoll." This and "Silver Lake" are the only topographical entries on the map for Ocracoke Island.

<sup>4</sup> I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Needham Simpson, Howard O'Neal, George O'Neal, John O'Neal, Horace Gaskin and Jane Bryant. My companions during this study were Dr. Clement Cobb and Dr. Millard Squires, whose advice and cooperation is also appreciated.



Ocracoke Bar  
 Green Island Shoal  
 Diamond Shoal  
 Hog Shoal  
 Austin's Reef  
 Guess's Reef

Six Mile Hammock Reef  
 Western Reef  
 Drum Shoal  
 Mullett Shoal

## FLATLANDS

Great Swash  
 Little Swash  
 Bitter Swash  
 Scrag Cedars  
 Tar Hole Plain

## BEACHES

Piney Beach  
 "the beach"

## HILL, KNOLLS AND HAMMOCKS

The Knoll (m)  
 Goat Hill  
 Look Shack Hill (also called  
   Loop Shack Hill)  
 First Hammock  
 Second Hammock  
 First Grass  
 Second Grass  
 Little Grass  
 Big Grass

Kwawk Hammock  
 Styron's Hill  
 Scrag Cedar Hill  
 Parker's Hill  
 Six Mile Hammock  
 Kent's Castle  
 Teach's Castle

## POINTS

Gap Point (m)  
 Blackbeard's Point (known also as Springer's Point)  
 Kwawk Point  
 Stone Rock  
 Horse Pen Point

## WOODS

Hammock Woods

Knoll Woods

## CREEKS

Cockle Creek (or simply "the creek")	Shingle Creek
"The Ditch"	Pilinterry Creek
"The Gut"	Island Creek
Big Gut	Hammock Creek
Little Gut	Old Slew Drain
Middle Creek	"The Wells"
Molasses Creek	
Big Oyster Creek	
Little Oyster Creek	
John Gaskin's Creek	
Jack Brandy's Creek	



## ISLANDS

Green Island (m) (also called "Outer Green Island")

Little Green Island (m) (also called "Inner Green Island")

Knoll Island

Cockle Creek Island

## LAKES

Silver Lake (m) (recent name given to artificial harbor—formerly called Ocracoke Creek or Cockle Creek)

## MISCELLANEOUS NAMES AND EXPRESSIONS

"down the banks" (used loosely for area north of Ocracoke Village in the direction of Hatteras Inlet)

"round creek")

"down point") (places near Ocracoke Village)

"up Trent" )

Teach's Hole

Wahab Village (village is locally pronounced "willage;" it is named for Stanley Wahab, a prominent islander who is allegedly descended from an Arab sailor who washed ashore many years ago)

Cupola (m)

"this side of creek" )

"that side of creek") (places in Ocracoke Village)

"the plains" )

"point of the beach") (places along the ocean side of the island)

The names on the foregoing list can be broadly classified as (a) self-descriptive topographical terms; (b) names of birds, fishes, and animals followed by a qualifying topographical term; (c) personal names similarly qualified; (d) places named for happenings, and (e) miscellaneous general terms.

All are so-called "little" names which originated with unlettered people, not the government, and became established through folk usage. Perhaps there is no better example in America of the place name pattern of the earliest English settlers which, due to the isolation of Ocracoke Island, escaped mainland political influences for more than 200 years and still survives. Here we find such simple, unimaginative terms as "big" and "little," "down" and "up," "first" and "second"; names which are a gauge of distance from a given point, i.e.,



"Six Mile Hammock"; names typical of the homely practice of using a river or creek as a natural dividing line, e.g., "this side of [the] creek" versus "that side of [the] creek"; or simply "round [the] creek."

The personal names attached to places (Parker, Styron, Austin, Howard, Clark, Guess, John Gaskin, Jack Brandy) also hearken back to an English custom of acknowledging the individual and his property in place names.<sup>5</sup> These persons have long since been dead, but their names live on in the folk toponymy through periods of changing land ownership. It is significant that the names were those of ordinary landowners and fishermen—not heroes or historical figures.

"Hog Shoal" illustrates the island practice of naming a place after an event which happened on the spot. It was, so the story goes, because hogs were once found stranded there. "Tar Hole Plains" and "Molasses Creek" are said to have received their names from ships carrying cargoes of tar and molasses that washed ashore during storms. In these instances, events in the unwritten history of Ocracoke are preserved in the place names.

The Ocracoke place name list abounds in old and middle English words; many of these still apply in their oldest meanings, as given in the *Oxford Dictionary*. For example, there are no fresh water streams on the island, and the occupants are dependent upon the rain for their needs. A "creek," therefore, is truly a "tidal channel" and the term is used in a very specific way, as it was in early England. The word "scrag" in eighteenth century England referred to a stumpy tree; thus "Scrag Cedars" is self explanatory. "Shingle," to the former bankers of Ocracoke, referred both to a thin piece of wood and to a specialized physical feature. "Shingle Creek," apparently deriving from the latter, was once used in the sense of a beach covered with loose pebbles.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> George Stewart, *Names On the Land* (N. Y., 1945), comments on this practice as applied to other areas where English influence was strong.

<sup>6</sup> Allen Mawer, edition, *The Chief Element Used in English Place-Names* (Cambridge, 1924). Folk etymology at Ocracoke has it that a vessel loaded with shingles was once wrecked there which gave the creek its name. Along the ocean beach to the north may be seen the timbers from wrecked vessels. One whose prow is still discernible is called "the ghost ship."



"The Wells" describes a place where fresh water, after a rain, rises to the surface, corresponding to the early English concept of a natural well as an issue of water from the earth.

"Great Swash" and "Bitter Swash" are also of interest; a swash was once a body of water moving forcibly or dashing against something, the word being onomatopoeic. Today both names are applied to areas on the narrowest part of the island, although the stranger viewing the expanse of sand would have difficulty finding where "Great Swash" ends and "Bitter Swash" begins.

In "First Grass," "Second Grass," "Big Grass," and "Little Grass" the word grass is applied in the obsolete meaning of herbage in general, and not in the modern restrictive sense of the true grass family (*Poaceae*).

"Reef" is used in the limited sense of a long, narrow ridge of sand or rock in the water, whereas "Shoal" means a place where the water is shallow. The words "hammock" (hum-muck), "gut," "point," "hole," and "knoll" further attest to early English origins of topographical terms rarely applied today.

With two exceptions Indian words are absent from the list, although place names from Indian languages are well represented at nearby places in North Carolina.<sup>7</sup> The name of the island itself is a modification of *Wocokon*, first so recorded in 1585 by Grenville.<sup>8</sup> Later spellings were given as *Woccocon*, *Woccocock*, *Ocacoc*, *Occocock*, *Ocacock*, and finally *Ocracoke*.<sup>9</sup> *Wocokon* is probably derived from the Algonkian *wakauan*, meaning "curve" or "bend," perhaps from the shape of the island. The other Indian word is *terrapin*, which occurs in "Terrapin Shoal," but this is a transfer word that cannot necessarily be attributed to local Indians. The writer made an

<sup>7</sup> It is well known that Hatteras is from the native word Hatorask, and Manteo was a helpful Indian who was one of the first native "Virginians" to be Christianized. See *Travels & Works of Captain John Smith*, Bradley-Arber edition (Edinburgh, 1910), 310; and Robert Beverley, *History of Virginia* (Richmond, 1855), 14. Other Carolina Indian Place-names are found on John White's map, reproduced in H. S. Burrage edition, *Early English and French Voyages* (N. Y., 1906), 248.

<sup>8</sup> "The voyage made by Sir Richard Greenville" in *Hakluyt's Voyages*. Everyman's Library Edition (New York, 1926) VI, 132-139. "The 26 we came to anker at Wocokon, etc."

<sup>9</sup> These names are discussed in the undated pamphlet: Alice K. Rondthaler, *The Story of Ocracoke* (Channel Press, Ocracoke Island).



archaeological reconnaissance of Ocracoke, and was unable to find any evidence of a former Indian occupation. This doubtless explains the paucity of Indian place name survivals, and also confirms Mook's opinion, based on historical data, that Ocracoke was never inhabited by Indians.<sup>10</sup>

Blackbeard the pirate (Edward Teach) holds a cherished position in Ocracoke tradition and folklore, reflected in the place names "Blackbeard's Point," "Teach's Castle," and "Teach's Hole." It will be remembered that on November 22, 1717, Lieutenant Maynard captured the pirate's vessel, the *Adventurer* off Ocracoke, and there slew him. "Teach's Hole" refers to the alleged site of the combat in Pamlico Sound, and "Blackbeard's Point" and "Teach's Castle" are names given to the place on Ocracoke where the pirate is supposed to have lived. Folk etymology has it that on the night preceding his capture Blackbeard, impatient for dawn, cried out, "O crow cock! O crow cock!" which gave the island its name. This belief persists even though Ocracoke was so called a century before Blackbeard's time.

Among the other place name oddities worthy of comment are the following:

"Legged Lump" refers to two sandy reefs off the island in Pamlico Sound. They formerly had the appearance of a pair of gigantic human legs, which resulted in the name "Two Legged Lump," later contracted to "Legged Lump" or simply "Leggedy Lump."

"Kwawk Hammock" and "Kwawk Point" derive from the breeding places of the black-crowned night heron, the word "kwawk" referring to the bird's shrill cry.

"Goat Hill" is a sandy promontory resembling the shape of a goat.

"Horse Pen Point" is a place where formerly wild horses were corralled. There are still a few wild horses on the island, which are rounded up each year on the Fourth of July.

"Look Shack Hill" is a modern name originating during the last war when the United States Navy erected a radar

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<sup>10</sup> Maurice A. Mook, "Algonkian Ethnohistory of the Carolina Sound," in two parts, *Journal, Washington Academy of Sciences*, XXXIV (1944), No. 6, 182-197; XXXIV (1944), No. 7, 214-228.



station on one of the sand knolls on the ocean side of Ocracoke. Although this station has since been dismantled, a designation persists, in which the Anglo-Saxon "look" is combined with an American colloquialism, resulting in an interesting synthesis.

"Old Slew Drain" employs "slew" or "slue" (from the middle English "slogh" or "slough") in the sense of mud or mire.

"Pilinterry Creek" is spelled as the name registered on the writer's ears, the term originating with a briar bush growing on the island. It may be the corruption of an old word used by Captain John Smith in describing Virginia herbs: "There is also *Pellitory of Spaine*, Sasafrage and divers other simples which the Apothecaries gathered and commended to be good and medicinable."<sup>11</sup> "Pellitory" today is used botanically for a genus of low herbs of the nettle family entirely unlike the pilinterry bush of Ocracoke.<sup>12</sup> The latter has been identified as *Zanthoxylum Clava-Herculis* L., commonly called the Toothache Tree from the folk belief that chewing the fresh leaves will cure toothache. This practice is not prevalent today at Ocracoke, although other native plants, such as the Eupon, are used medicinally.<sup>13</sup>

In summarizing this study, it may be said that the uncomplicated, unromantic place names on Ocracoke Island constitute a folk glossary that is exclusively the product of the island population. Every section of the island, from sandy waste to an old slew, has a specific designation known to the occupants, which has been perpetuated by word of mouth. All of the names have topographical applications and the majority of them had their origins with earlier generations having an English background. The names, in many ways, reflect the simplicity of the living pattern of an unsophisticated fishing community and, as we have seen, they give us

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<sup>11</sup> *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, 59.

<sup>12</sup> Julius Bryant, a member of Ocracoke's only colored family, pointed out the bush to me. A clipping was obtained, and later identified by Dr. Robert R. Tatnall.

<sup>13</sup> An unidentified plant, bearing a small pink flower, is locally known as "snake flower." Ocracokians say that if a person steps on it a snake will bite him. The wild gailardia is known as the "Joe Bell" flower, named for the person who first brought it from the mainland.



clues to events in the island history. Regardless of the social evolution that is taking place, the place name pattern has stubbornly resisted change, and will doubtless persist until stronger influences are brought into play. When this takes place—if we may be permitted to speculate—we may expect the older place names to be blotted out and supplanted by newer ones. It would be highly interesting to compile a list of the Ocracoke place names twenty to fifty years hence for comparison with those of today.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Ben Dixon MacNeill for bringing to my attention the following additional Ocracoke names which were not communicated by my informants: Cuttin' Sage Lake, Upper Road Shoal, Blair Channel Reef, Shell Castle Reef, Big Foot Slue, and Nine Foot Shoal.



## THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROANOKE WATERWAY—A STUDY IN INTERSTATE RELATIONS

By PHILIP M. RICE

In the period immediately following the American Revolution, commercial rivalry between states brought forth several attempts to settle disputes over trade routes and to establish closer cooperation among the commonwealths. While some of these efforts resulted in changes of national importance, others were of local concern and their impact on interstate relations frequently has been overlooked. It is within the latter category that the Roanoke project occupies a significant role. Its history has been chronicled on more than one occasion, but the story has been limited to North Carolina's development of the waterway.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the fact has been generally overlooked that the attempts to improve the Roanoke mark one of the first efforts by two states of the Union to institute and carry to fruition a cooperative undertaking in the realm of internal improvements.

The course of action followed by North Carolina and Virginia in their combined efforts to develop the Roanoke waterway depended to a considerable extent on the peculiar geographic factors involved. Had the river merely risen in one state and found a natural outlet in the other, many of the actual problems would have been simplified. The Roanoke, however, is made up of several branches, one of which—the Dan which rises in Patrick County, Virginia—flows twice through North Carolina before joining the Roanoke and the Staunton at Clarksville. The last two rivers have their origin in Virginia's Blue Ridge and after their conflux with the Dan flow once again into North Carolina where their waters empty into a branch of Albemarle Sound. Since the absence of an

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<sup>1</sup> Three accounts include the history of the Roanoke project from the standpoint of North Carolina's internal improvement program: Charles Clinton Weaver, *Internal Improvements in North Carolina Previous to 1860*, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, XVII (Nos. 9-11, 1899); J. Allen Morgan, "State Aid to Transportation in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Booklet*, X (January, 1911), No. 1, 122-154; Clifford Reginald Hinshaw, Jr., "North Carolina Canals before 1860," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXV (January, 1948), No. 1, 1-56.



adequate, natural passage to the ocean prevented the establishment of a seaport on the sound, the commerce of the Roanoke and the Albemarle region tended to seek its market in Norfolk. Thus the course of the river and the destination of its trade gave Virginia a natural advantage which North Carolina found difficult to overcome.<sup>2</sup> In the period from 1783 to 1830, Virginia bent her efforts toward the retention and further development of that advantage, whereas North Carolina attempted to divert the Roanoke trade to her own account. Although the resulting controversy was decided in favor of the former state, the fact that two such divergent interests were combined at all was due in large part to the conscious endeavors of groups in both states to carry out a cooperative undertaking.

The initial attempt to open the Roanoke and exploit its commercial possibilities developed from Norfolk's efforts to regain her pre-Revolutionary superiority as a port. In the early part of the eighteenth century, Norfolk became the chief market center for the produce of a large portion of North Carolina and Virginia.<sup>3</sup> During the ensuing years this position was so strengthened and enlarged that, by 1775, the citizens of the town were able to contemplate a brilliant future in which their teeming harbor would be the principal mart for the entire Chesapeake and Albemarle regions.<sup>4</sup> Within a year, however, there fell a blow that threatened to remove Norfolk from future consideration as a major seaport. In 1776, the disastrous fire which swept the city destroyed virtually all commercial activity and gave the more advantageously situated town of Portsmouth a chance to usurp her neighbor's hard-won trade.<sup>5</sup> Before Norfolk could fully recover from the effects of the conflagration, the situation was rendered even

<sup>2</sup> William Henry Hoyt, editor, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh, 1914), II, 36-38, 125-130, 136.

<sup>3</sup> William Kenneth Boyd, editor, *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1929), 36.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *Norfolk, Historic Southern Port* (Durham, 1931), 50-51.

<sup>5</sup> Fillmore Norflett, editor, "Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport as Seen by Moreau de Saint-Mery in March, April and May, 1794," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XLVIII (July, 1940), 260-262; Report of Wilson Cary Nicholas on the annexation of Gosport to Portsmouth, December 6, 1783, *Virginia House Journal* (November-December, 1783), 51.



more untenable by the activities of a group of Richmond merchants. Aspiring to make their town a seaport in its own right, these merchants attempted a series of devious maneuvers which were intended to make Richmond the place of transfer for all trade descending the James, and thus deprive Norfolk of a major share in the commerce of the interior.<sup>6</sup>

Staggering under a double blow the citizens of Norfolk made a determined effort to regain commercial pre-eminence for their town. This not only involved stalemating Richmond's plans for becoming the emporium of all James River produce, but also required the development of a trade route with the interior and the exploitation of a productive back country. It was to accomplish this that plans were devised for a continuous water connection from Norfolk to the mountains by way of Albemarle Sound and the Roanoke River.

It fell to the lot of Patrick Henry to be the agent for securing legislative sanction for the project. On May 28, 1783, Henry introduced in the Virginia General Assembly a bill providing for the improvement of the Roanoke and its branches.<sup>7</sup> Three days later he brought forth a second measure which capitalized on an eleven-year-old plan for cutting canals from the Elizabeth to the North River.<sup>8</sup> The approval of both measures by the General Assembly placed the entire project on a new level.<sup>9</sup> What had started out as a device to enhance the position of one city had now become a matter of concern to the inhabitants of both states. Without the sanction of North Carolina the improvements on the Roanoke could not become a reality. Descending traffic on the river was effectively barred from tidewater by the falls at Weldon, and only North Carolina could provide the necessary passage. Nor could the connection between Norfolk and the Albemarle

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<sup>6</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (1781-1782), 34-35; *Virginia House Journal* (October-December, 1782), 61; Memorial of Thomas Mann Randolph and others of the city of Richmond, December 11, 1785, Legislative Petitions of Richmond City, Virginia State Library.

<sup>7</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (May-June, 1783), 8, 23.

<sup>8</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (May-June, 1783), 29. The original survey had been authorized in 1772. William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, (Richmond, Philadelphia, and New York, 1819-1823), VIII, 570. Cited hereinafter as *Statutes at Large*.

<sup>9</sup> Both measures were passed in June, 1783. Hening, *Statutes at Large*, XI, 250-252, 332-334.



be successfully completed without similar cooperation. Virginia could construct a canal from the Elizabeth River to Currituck Sound, but the remainder of the route to the North River lay entirely within the jurisdiction of North Carolina and would thus have to be undertaken by that state.

Because of the obvious advantages of that portion of the project which would give the farmers of the interior a direct communication with tidewater, the North Carolina legislature was quick to consider the Roanoke improvements.<sup>10</sup> Acting on a measure presented by Benjamin Hawkins in May, 1784, the General Assembly sanctioned the Virginia proposal and adopted a similar system of appointing trustees for clearing the river, with the provision that the work be undertaken from the Virginia line to tidewater.<sup>11</sup> The second part of the plan, however, did not receive the support of the legislature, and during the ensuing years the conflict over the North Carolina-Norfolk connection came close to wrecking the entire plan.

Meanwhile, Virginians were finding it difficult to agree upon the most practicable route for the canal between the Elizabeth River and the waters of Albemarle Sound. Late in 1784, the proposals for the North River connection were temporarily shelved while the Virginia General Assembly began consideration of a more easterly route through the Dismal Swamp and along the ground urged by George Washington.<sup>12</sup> Unlike the original plan, which could have been undertaken in separate segments by each state, the nature of the new project made it mandatory that a mutual agreement be reached before construction of the canal could be started. Consequently, on January 1, 1785, the governor of Virginia appointed commissioners to meet with a corresponding group from North Carolina for the purpose of selecting the best route for the canal.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Walter Clark, editor, *The State Records of North Carolina*, (Raleigh and Goldsboro, 1886-1907), XIX, 575.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 600-602.

<sup>12</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (1784-1785), 102; George Washington to Hugh Williamson, March 31, 1784, John Clement Fitzpatrick, editor, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799*, (Washington, 1931-1944), XXVII, 378-380.

<sup>13</sup> William P. Palmer, editor, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts from 1652-1869* (Richmond, 1875-1893), IV (January 1, 1758-July 2, 1789), 12.



Before the commissioners could be notified of their appointment the legislatures of both states adjourned.<sup>14</sup> As a result, when the Virginia General Assembly reconvened late in the fall, there was no way of knowing whether or not North Carolina would support the Dismal Swamp project. Rather than lose valuable time, however, the legislature appointed a special committee to draw up a bill to incorporate the Dismal Swamp Canal Company.<sup>15</sup> Although the project was received with both apathy and antipathy the committee set to work, and under the guidance of William Ronald, who had made a personal inspection of the route to the Pasquotank, and James Madison, who was adept at drafting joint stock organizations, the measure gradually took shape.<sup>16</sup> When the proposals were finally completed, Governor Patrick Henry sent the whole, along with an earnest plea for cooperation, to Governor Caswell of North Carolina.<sup>17</sup>

The expected cooperation was not forthcoming. Whether by design or accident Governor Henry's proposals were not communicated to the North Carolina General Assembly during the session of 1785-1786. Considerable agitation for the canal did exist, but there were those who would not countenance a measure intended to drain the commerce of the Roanoke and Albemarle regions into the port of a rival state.<sup>18</sup> Had the governor sided with those who desired a market in Norfolk it is possible that the North Carolina legislature would have sanctioned the Dismal Swamp project at the next session. Richard Caswell, however, did not wish to see Virginia's welfare enhanced at the expense of his own state.

<sup>14</sup> Palmer, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IV, 17.

<sup>15</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (1785-1786), 35.

<sup>16</sup> James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, January 22, 1786, Gaillard Hunt, editor, *The Writings of James Madison Comprising His Public Papers and His Private Correspondence, Including Numerous Letters and Documents now for the First Time Printed*, (New York, 1900-1910), II, 221; James Madison to George Washington, December 9, 1785, Hunt, *The Writings of James Madison*, II, 199. Patrick Henry to George Washington, January 18, 1786, William Wirt Henry, *Patrick Henry, Life, Correspondence and Speeches*, (New York, 1891), III, 343; Patrick Henry to George Washington, November 11, 1785, Henry, *Patrick Henry*, III, 334.

<sup>17</sup> Patrick Henry to Richard Caswell, January 25, 1786, Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII, 506-507.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Caswell to Abner Nash, March 11, 1786, Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII, 507; Patrick Henry to George Washington, November 11, 1785, Henry, *Patrick Henry*, III, 334-335.



Months before the General Assembly met he sought to drum up opposition to the canal,<sup>19</sup> and in his message to the legislature on November 20, 1786, he pointedly drew attention to the loss of prestige which North Carolina would suffer were the state to acquiesce in the project.<sup>20</sup>

The attitude of the governor was to have its effect on the General Assembly. Under the leadership of James Galloway, a trustee for the Roanoke improvements, a committee was formed to meet with the special commissioners from Virginia.<sup>21</sup> Working together, the representatives of the two states drafted a bill to provide for the construction of the Dismal Swamp Canal through North Carolina. The unusual attempt at interstate liaison came to naught, however, when by a vote of 56 to 30 the House of Commons decided to hold the bill over until the next session.<sup>22</sup>

Having temporarily shelved the Virginia proposals, the North Carolina General Assembly focussed its attention on a project designed to render unnecessary the connection with Norfolk. In 1787 and in 1788, acts were passed authorizing subscriptions to be raised for opening a passage between Albemarle Sound and the ocean in the vicinity of Roanoke Island. If this were accomplished, North Carolina could establish her own seaport capable of handling the Roanoke trade and thus dependence upon Virginia would cease to be a factor.<sup>23</sup> In the meantime, Virginia had gone ahead with the incorporation of the canal company,<sup>24</sup> but in vain did Governor Randolph urge North Carolina to recognize the corporation. Governor Samuel Johnston dodged the issue by stating that the North Carolina Assembly had been prorogued in December, 1787, before it could receive the Virginia proposal,

<sup>19</sup> Richard Caswell to Abner Nash, March 11, 1786, Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII, 507.

<sup>20</sup> Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII, 234.

<sup>21</sup> Governor Henry originally appointed William Ronald and the Reverend Robert Andrews as Virginia's commissioners, but Ronald was forced to withdraw to attend his dying wife and John Cowper was assigned in his place. Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII, 26, 36, 56-57, 266, 506-507; Patrick Henry to George Washington, January 18, 1786, Henry, *Patrick Henry*, III, 343.

<sup>22</sup> Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII, 94, 350-351.

<sup>23</sup> Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 932, 965-966.

<sup>24</sup> Virginia incorporated the Dismal Swamp Canal Company on December 1, 1787. Hening, *Statutes at Large*, XII, 478-494.



and when he finally did submit the measure the following November, he did so without recommendation that it be adopted.<sup>25</sup>

Two more years were to go by before North Carolina could be induced to forego her attempts to reach the ocean and concur in the act establishing the Dismal Swamp Company. Even then the measure did not pass without first overcoming heavy opposition.<sup>26</sup> Yet once an agreement was attained the resulting unanimity seemed complete. Each state made all of the rivers, bays, and sounds connecting the Dismal Swamp Canal common highways and open to the traffic of both states without discrimination in regard to tolls or duties.<sup>27</sup>

The delay in reaching an agreement on the Dismal Swamp Canal had, of course, reacted upon the proposed improvements of the Roanoke. Lacking the incentive for undertaking the project until the outlet for the Roanoke trade had been determined, the trustees appointed in 1783 and 1784 failed to commence work on the waterway. Consequently, when North Carolina sanctioned the Dismal Swamp Canal in 1790, both states found that new plans for the Roanoke had to be promulgated.<sup>28</sup> Thus, after seven years of controversy, the legislative problems involved in the cooperative undertaking were finally resolved. Even so the work was not pushed to completion, and a quarter of a century was to pass before the practical and financial handicaps could be overcome and the improvement of the waterway begun.

During the period from 1792 to 1812, work on the Dismal Swamp Canal progressed slowly. Aided by its ability to draw capital from the Commonwealth of Virginia and the citizens of Norfolk, the company carried to fulfillment a portion of the

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<sup>25</sup> Beverly Randolph to Samuel Johnston, January 17, 1788, Clark *State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 439; Samuel Johnston to Beverly Randolph, January 22, 1788, Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 440. Samuel Johnston's message to the General Assembly of North Carolina, November 5, 1788, Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 11.

<sup>26</sup> The bill to incorporate the canal company passed the House of Commons by a vote of 54 to 41, Clark *State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 1015. For a very strongly worded petition protesting the establishment of the company see Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 1082-1083.

<sup>27</sup> James Iredell, *Public Acts of the General Assembly of North Carolina*, (Raleigh, 1804), II, 494-500; Hening, *Statutes at Large*, XII, 478-494.

<sup>28</sup> Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 799, 963; Hening, *Statutes at Large*, XIII, 193-194.



original plan.<sup>29</sup> The Roanoke improvements, however, remained but words on the statute books. The waterway had not been placed under a joint-stock organization but had been dependent for its finances on the subscription system of the colonial period. Furthermore, neither North Carolina nor Virginia subscribed money for the project and there was no large banking center, in the Roanoke area, from which private capital could be secured.<sup>30</sup> Some of the financial disabilities were overcome, but not until the period following the War of 1812 did circumstances prove favourable for the renewal of the Roanoke project on a successful basis.

Shortly before the war, however, Virginia did press for the completion of the waterway. In January, 1811, the commonwealth appointed commissioners to agree with North Carolina on the most practicable plan for extending the Roanoke to tidewater, and simultaneously the General Assembly began consideration of a bill to open the river and all of its navigable branches.<sup>31</sup> North Carolina proved to be more than amenable to the renewal of the project and went so far as to propose that the necessary surveys be undertaken at her own expense. The suggestion ended the spirit of congeniality; Virginia took exception to the method of financing the survey and soon withdrew her support.<sup>32</sup> The immediate burden for the continuation of the project thus fell upon North Carolina and, in 1812, that state chartered the Roanoke Navigation Company to improve the river from Halifax to the Virginia line.<sup>33</sup>

The incorporation of an independent North Carolina company turned Virginia thinking into new channels. While disgruntled citizens talked about establishing a local corporation to work on the Virginia sections of the river,<sup>34</sup> Governor James Barbour urged the construction of a canal connecting the

<sup>29</sup> [First] *Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1816), 7-8; Alexander Crosby Brown, "The Dismal Swamp Canal," *The American Neptune, a Quarterly Journal of Maritime History*, V (July, 1945), 208-213; W. P. Palmer, editor, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IX, 460-461.

<sup>30</sup> For the effect of insufficient banking capital on internal improvements see "Dialogue between Crito and Midas on the Banking Capital of Virginia," *Enquirer* (Richmond), April 23, 26, 1805.

<sup>31</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (1810-1811), 87, 90.

<sup>32</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (1810-1811), 106.

<sup>33</sup> Henry Potter, *Laws of North Carolina*, II, 1240-1259.

<sup>34</sup> Wilson Cary Nicholas to [James Barbour], undated letter in Wilson Cary Nicholas Papers, Library of Congress.



Roanoke and the Appomattox.<sup>35</sup> Were the governor's suggestion to be carried out, Petersburg would receive the trade normally flowing through North Carolina and both the Roanoke and the Dismal Swamp Canal companies would be shorn of future profit. Yet, in spite of possible injury to the corporations, plans were advanced for an elaborate survey of the route to be undertaken by no less an outstanding engineer than Benjamin Latrobe.<sup>36</sup> North Carolina, however, was not to be intimidated by her neighbor's threats to turn the Roanoke trade into Petersburg. In an attempt to gain prestige for the Albemarle route, efforts were made to secure the services of canal engineers as able as Latrobe. Accordingly, in 1813, Peter Browne, one of North Carolina's leading advocates of internal improvements, undertook to interest both Benjamin and Loammi Baldwin in surveying the Roanoke-Albemarle route.<sup>37</sup>

The divergent interests of North Carolina and Virginia might well have impaired the future of the Roanoke improvements had not the British invasion of the Chesapeake region forced aside all action in regard to the proposed surveys. During the remaining months of the war squabbles over the canal project were forgotten, and with the restoration of peace a new era of good feeling temporarily prevailed in the two states. Concurrently with this change in attitude there came a nation-wide upsurge of internal improvement fever that swept both North Carolina and Virginia along in its wake. Beginning in 1815, both states undertook consideration of full scale river and canal programs in which the Roanoke waterway played a significant role. During November and December Archibald D. Murphey completed and submitted to the North Carolina Assembly the first of his famous presentations on the establishment of a state-wide system of internal improvements. In it he emphasized the need for opening the

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<sup>35</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (1812-1813), 8, 27, 119.

<sup>36</sup> Latrobe offered to survey the route between the Roanoke and the Appomattox for \$5,000, an unusually large sum for the time. *Virginia House Journal*, (1812-1813), 27.

<sup>37</sup> Peter Browne to Benjamin Baldwin, June 4, 1813, letter in possession of the author. By way of comparison with Latrobe's fee, Loammi Baldwin requested but \$3 per diem each (plus all expenses) for himself and his brother.



Roanoke to tidewater and for establishing a port on the Albemarle to handle the resulting trade.<sup>38</sup> Some months before, Virginia's governor, Wilson Cary Nicholas, had privately urged the improvement of the Roanoke waterway to Norfolk,<sup>39</sup> and in his December message to the General Assembly he reiterated the necessity for including the waterway in any general scheme of public works which the state might adopt.<sup>40</sup>

The inclusion of the Roanoke project in Virginia's system of internal improvements proved to be one of the most fortuitous factors in consummating the interstate project. The original North Carolina corporation of 1812 had not been successful in raising money or in improving the river. A new company had been organized in 1815 and the capital had been raised from \$100,000 to \$300,000. In spite of the fact that Murphey's plans for a general system of public works did not meet with the approval of the legislature, the state did agree to subscribe \$25,000 in the stock of the new company when private citizens had taken \$150,000. Even this incentive did not have the desired effect. Not until further inducements were offered and Virginia had entered the picture was there widespread feeling that the Roanoke improvements would at last take shape.<sup>41</sup>

The new note of optimism developed from the fact that, during the winter of 1815-1816, the Virginia legislature had become committed to a policy which favored the immediate completion of the Roanoke waterway. At that time the state was preparing to adopt an over-all program of internal improvements. In order to gain the support of tidewater representatives the promulgators of the program played up the Roanoke-Albemarle-Norfolk waterway as the major plum for the area below the fall line.<sup>42</sup> In further substantiating the value of the Roanoke as a major avenue of trade between the

<sup>38</sup> Hoyt, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, II, 19, 23.

<sup>39</sup> Wilson Cary Nicholas to Littleton Waller Tazewell, May 15, 1815, Wilson Cary Nicholas Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>40</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (1815-1816), 6-7.

<sup>41</sup> Potter, *Laws of North Carolina*, II, 1240-1259, 1330-1336, 1381-1385; *Niles' Weekly Register*, X (June 5, 1816), 371-372; *Daily National Intelligencer*, June 4, 1816.

<sup>42</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (1815-1816), 6-7, 75; Wilson Cary Nicholas to Littleton Waller Tazewell, May 15, 1815, Wilson Cary Nicholas Papers, Library of Congress.



mountains and the coast, the state's public works advocates arranged for a practical demonstration of the river's navigable potentialities. Under the direction of Colonel William Lewis, a boat built near the mouth of the Otter River was loaded with mountain flour and launched at Greenhill on the Staunton. Carrying its cargo three hundred and forty miles down the Roanoke, across Albemarle Sound, and up the Dismal Swamp Canal, the vessel arrived in Norfolk concurrent with the legislative debates on the internal improvement program.<sup>43</sup>

Encouraged by the practical demonstration and by the passage of an act to create a fund for internal improvements, private interests promptly secured a charter for a company to improve the Roanoke and its branches within Virginia.<sup>44</sup> As an inducement to investors, the General Assembly exempted the company's canals, locks, and profits from taxation, and set the value of the shares at the unusually low figure of \$50—an amount which could effectively compete with the \$100 shares being offered by the rival North Carolina corporation.<sup>45</sup> Although the provisions of the act might well have secured the support of private capital, Virginia's newly-organized Board of Public Works was unwilling to chance the company's failure. Consequently, the Board made a strong and successful appeal for the private funds which were necessary to secure the company's organization.<sup>46</sup>

As a result of Virginia's action two independent corporations began organizing to improve different sections of the same river. Each would have competed for capital in the same region and neither would have benefited from the advantages of centralized management or from a common source of technical advice. In an attempt to rectify the situation the Virginia legislature decided to combine existing resources and thus nullify the competition. As a result, the capital of the Virginia company was increased; the state promised to subscribe to

<sup>43</sup> Richmond *Enquirer*, December 19, 1815, quoting The Norfolk *Ledger*; *Enquirer*, December 21, 1815, quoting Norfolk *Beacon*.

<sup>44</sup> The act creating an internal improvement fund was passed on February 5, 1816, and the charter for the Roanoke Navigation Company was secured two weeks later. *Virginia Acts* (1815-1816), 35, 73.

<sup>45</sup> *Virginia Acts* (1815-1816), 73-82.

<sup>46</sup> [First] *Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1816), 6, 11; *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 11, 1816.



\$80,000 of the stock and offered to place the corporation under the directorship of the North Carolina enterprise.<sup>47</sup> While the combination that resulted from this offer was a notable achievement in the realm of interstate relations, it in no way ended the controversy between the two states.<sup>48</sup> Since leaders in both commonwealths were determined that their own state should derive the profits of the Roanoke trade, there began a contest for control of the navigation company—the outcome of which was to determine the ultimate fate of the waterway.

Early in the course of the company's organization it became evident to interested citizens of both commonwealths that the surest way to influence the Roanoke improvements was to dominate the board of directors through a majority control of the stock. The State of Virginia had already taken a step in this direction by subscribing \$80,000 in the stock of the corporation. This was considerably more than \$25,000 which had been offered by North Carolina.<sup>49</sup> Even though the North Carolina legislature later subscribed to an additional \$25,000, the state's total stock never equalled the amount held by Virginia.<sup>50</sup> The distribution of private capital followed a similar pattern. North Carolinians attempted to purchase stock in the navigation company with funds secured from banks in the Roanoke region. The effort did not go unchallenged, however, and Virginians in the Danville area and elsewhere soon organized a drive to secure the capital necessary to control the outstanding shares and thus counteract the private investments made by rivals across the state line.<sup>51</sup> Only a small portion of those shares had to be cornered in order to give Virginians control of the navigation company. The town of

<sup>47</sup> *Virginia Acts* (1816-1817), ch. 41; *Virginia Acts* (1817-1818), ch. 63.

<sup>48</sup> Under the Virginia act passed during the legislative session of 1817-1818, the Roanoke Navigation Company of 1816 was to be re-established if North Carolina did not assent to the offer of consolidation. Consequently North Carolina did assent to the joint company during the legislative session of 1818-1819. Potter, *Laws of North Carolina*, II, 1418-1432.

<sup>49</sup> Both subscriptions were made to the individual companies chartered in 1815 and 1816, and were later transferred to the consolidated company. *Virginia Acts* (1816-1817), 73; Potter, *Laws of North Carolina*, II, 1330-1331, 1431.

<sup>50</sup> North Carolina subscribed to the additional shares in 1823. *North Carolina Acts* (1823-1824), 19.

<sup>51</sup> William B. Banks to George [Townes] Halifax, December 12, 1818, William Cabell Rives Papers, Library of Congress.



Norfolk and its residents had subscribed \$100,000 in the stock of the company and that amount, coupled with the subscription made by the Virginia Board of Public Works, accounted for almost forty-four per cent of the Company's authorized capital. Consequently, acquisition of an additional \$26,550 assured the Virginians of at least nominal direction of the company.<sup>52</sup>

Virginia's financial control of the Roanoke-Norfolk project was even more pronounced in the case of the Dismal Swamp Canal. The State of North Carolina invested no money in the stock of that project whereas Virginia subscribed to \$81,500 during the years from 1791 to 1817.<sup>53</sup> In 1837 the Board of Public Works increased the commonwealth's share by an additional \$108,500, making a total investment of \$190,000 in an authorized capital of \$486,000. Of the remaining stock, \$200,000 was held by the United States government and the larger portion of the \$96,000 privately held shares were owned by citizens of Virginia.<sup>54</sup>

The fact that Virginia contributed heavily to both the Roanoke Navigation and the Dismal Swamp Canal Company not only alleviated North Carolina from much of the financial burden but proved to be a factor in the stability of the entire enterprise. The panic of 1819 worked hardships on many internal improvement projects, but failed to interrupt work on the interstate waterway. The Dismal Swamp Canal Company thwarted the adverse effects of the depression by successfully appealing to the Virginia Board of Public Works for addi-

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<sup>52</sup> The total authorized capital was \$412,000, but the company never collected more than \$395,900, except during one period when the subscriptions paid in amounted to \$397,289. Thus Norfolk and the Board of Public Works controlled approximately forty-five percent of the paid-up stock. *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1833), 192; *Annual Report of the Internal Improvement Companies of Virginia to the Board of Public Works, Year Ending September 30, 1858*, 516; William S. Forrest, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk and Vicinity* (Philadelphia, 1853), 197.

<sup>53</sup> The state subscribed \$12,500 in 1791, \$5,000 in 1799, and \$64,000 in 1817. Hening, *Statutes at Large*, XIII, 264; Samuel Shepherd, *The Statutes at Large of Virginia, from October Session 1792, to December Session 1806*, (Richmond, 1835-1836), II, 40; *Virginia Acts* (1816-1817), 82-83.

<sup>54</sup> *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1837), 125; *Fortieth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1857), 359. The United States made its first subscription (\$150,000) in 1826. *United States Statutes at Large*, VII, 478.



tional monetary aid.<sup>55</sup> Already heavily subsidized by two states, the Roanoke Navigation Company required no supplementary financing. Drawing on the \$80,000 allotted by Virginia, the company continued its work unaffected by those conditions which caused every other internal navigation company, in which North Carolina had invested, to become deficient in funds.<sup>56</sup>

Any advantage which North Carolina might have realized as a result of her neighbor's monetary support was nullified, however, by the fact that Virginia could, and did, control the activities of both companies working on the Roanoke and Norfolk waterway. North Carolina had planned to use the Roanoke Navigation Company as the agent for making whatever improvements would be necessary to draw trade from the northern part of the state and from southern Virginia. In fact, one of the principal arguments used by Archibald D. Murphey in promoting the internal improvement fund of 1819, was that the fund would aid in bringing the produce of the Roanoke region to some North Carolina port from which it could be exported.<sup>57</sup> In order to carry out that plan it was necessary to divert the Roanoke trade from Norfolk to a distribution center on Albemarle Sound. During the early 1820's, North Carolina's newly organized Board of Public Improvement selected Plymouth as the most logical site and proceeded to work out the details necessary to consummate the scheme. Acting on the advice of its engineer, Hamilton Fulton, the Board laid out plans for a connection between the upper and lower waters of the Roanoke. The proposed canal was designed to permit relatively small river batteaux of the interior to descend as far as Plymouth instead of stopping above

<sup>55</sup> The company borrowed \$137,500 from the Board of Public Works in the period 1819-1824. *Virginia Acts* (1818-1819), 95; *Virginia Acts* (1820-1821), 55; (1823-1824), 56. When the money was repaid a portion of it was converted into stock and retained by the Board. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1837), 125; *Virginia Acts* (1836-1837), 137.

<sup>56</sup> Statement of John Branch, *Annual Report of the Board of Public Improvements of North Carolina*, November 27, 1820, viii, x.

<sup>57</sup> Archibald DeBow Murphey, "A View of the Internal Improvements Contemplated by the Legislature of North Carolina," *Report of Sundry Surveys, Made by Hamilton Fulton, esq. State Engineer, Agreeably to Certain Instructions from Judge Murphey, Chairman etc. and Submitted to the General Assembly, at Their Session in 1819* (Raleigh, 1819), 9ff, 23 ff.



Weldon as circumstances then required. At Plymouth goods could be loaded into steamboats and distributed throughout the eastern part of the state or, if an inlet were cut through to the ocean, the goods could be transferred to ships and exported abroad.<sup>58</sup>

The reaction to the plan exposed the sharply divergent aims of the Virginia and the North Carolina directors. Accepting that part of the project which would best fit the interests of the stockholders, the Roanoke Navigation Company locked the upper river into the basin at Weldon.<sup>59</sup> There was, however, no disposition to go further and complete the canal to the lower river. As long as Weldon remained the mart for products descending the river the goods accumulated there would be reloaded in barges and shipped through the Dismal Swamp Canal to Norfolk. The directors could see no point in incurring the expense of continuing the canal further. To do so would but substitute Plymouth for Weldon as a market center and would deprive Norfolk of its proper share of the river trade.<sup>60</sup>

Attacking the attitude of the directors, Hamilton Fulton charged the company with creating a monopoly and forcing the Roanoke farmers to sell in a non-competitive market.<sup>61</sup> Shortly thereafter the North Carolina legislature, hoping to instill some competition between Weldon and Plymouth, voted an additional subscription to the stock of the company on condition that the funds be applied exclusively to locking the canal from the basin at Weldon to the lower river.<sup>62</sup> The Virginia stockholders did not desire to accept the grant. At the meetings which were called to discuss the matter feeling among the stockholders ran high, but because the directors

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<sup>58</sup> *Annual Report of the North Carolina Board of Public Improvements* (1821), xi; *Annual Report of North Carolina Board of Public Improvements* (1822), iv.

<sup>59</sup> *Eighth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1823), 151.

<sup>60</sup> Reports of the Roanoke Navigation Company in *Ninth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1824), 36-39; *Eleventh Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1826), 25; *Twelfth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1827), 22; *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1828), 24.

<sup>61</sup> Report of Hamilton Fulton, December 10, 1822, *Annual Report of the North Carolina Board of Public Improvements* (1822), iv.

<sup>62</sup> *North Carolina Acts* (1823-1824), 19-20.



and a majority of the stockholders represented Virginia's interest the North Carolina offer was shelved.<sup>63</sup> Its plans temporarily upset, the North Carolina Board of Public Works made an effort to compromise with the company by permitting any part of the \$25,000 not expended in completing the canal to be used on other sections of the river.<sup>64</sup> Still the directors were not tempted. Estimating the cost of the locks at \$44,000, they pointed out that Virginia would have to pay the deficiency.<sup>65</sup> Since it could not be expected that the state would lay out \$19,000 for a project disadvantageous to the commonwealth, the Virginia Board of Public Works failed to recommend an appropriation for the additional locks, thus giving silent consent to the company's policy.

In 1828, the directors of the Roanoke Navigation Company suddenly reversed their position and agreed to lock the canal from the basin to the lower river. The decision was not reached from any desire to see Plymouth receive the batteaux of the upper river. It had long since been ascertained that the Roanoke from its mouth to the shoals below Weldon would provide good steamboat navigation.<sup>66</sup> According to the directors, if the canal were constructed on a proper scale, steamboats operating from Norfolk could enter the existing basin and load their cargo at Weldon's docks.<sup>67</sup> The change in attitude on the part of the officials reflected the influence of the Virginia, and particularly the Norfolk, stockholders. The improvements on the upper river had recently been completed to the prescribed

<sup>63</sup> For the best of the official accounts of the division between Virginia and North Carolina stockholders, see *Annual Report of the North Carolina Board for Internal Improvements* (1828), 5-6. There is some mention of the stockholders meetings and the postponement of the North Carolina offer in *Annual Report of the North Carolina Board of Public Improvements* (1823), 31; *Annual Report of the North Carolina Board of Public Improvements* (1824), 10-13.

<sup>64</sup> The compromise was made by the Board and not by the General Assembly. *Annual Report of the North Carolina Board of Public Improvements* (1825), 19.

<sup>65</sup> Report of the Roanoke Navigation Company, November 4, 1824, *Ninth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1824), 35-36.

<sup>66</sup> *Report of the North Carolina Board of Internal Improvements* (1821), xi.

<sup>67</sup> Report of the Roanoke Navigation Company, November 8, 1828, *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1828), 24; *Annual Report of the North Carolina Board for Internal Improvements* (1828), 6, 27-28; Report of Andrew Joyner, December 10, 1831, *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1831), 32.



destination at Salem and the works on the Dan were almost finished.<sup>68</sup> Consequently, for the first time, the trade of the entire river system could be brought directly to Weldon instead of being carted northward at points where the navigation had previously been unimproved.<sup>69</sup>

That Norfolk would be the emporium for the produce thus accumulated was assured before the directors announced their decision to complete the canal to the lower river. In fact, plans had already been set afoot to establish a direct steamboat connection with Norfolk.<sup>70</sup> Early in 1829, through the agency of the newly organized Virginia and North Carolina Transportation Company, the steamboat *Petersburg* and eight sixty-ton barges were placed in operation between Weldon and Norfolk.<sup>71</sup> The action coincided with the opening of the Dismal Swamp Canal for coastal navigation, but preceded the completion of the locks from Weldon to the lower Roanoke.<sup>72</sup> Consequently, it was impossible for the steamboat to enter the basin as originally planned or to send its lighters above the shoals.<sup>73</sup> Nor was navigation at the other end more promising; the *Petersburg*, which could barely squeeze through the canal, had to meet the company's barges

<sup>68</sup> The navigation of the Roanoke from Weldon to Salem, Virginia, was 244 miles. The improvements on that route were completed in 1828. Shortly thereafter the Dan was opened as far as Danville, but navigation on the river was seriously impeded until 1834. *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1828), 24-25; *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1834), 480-481.

<sup>69</sup> Roanoke produce was frequently taken by wagon from Danville, Green Hill, Milton, and Clarksville to Lynchburg, Richmond, and Petersburg. For a discussion of those routes and costs of transportation see the statement of Andrew Joyner in *Report of the Roanoke Navigation Company, 1827* (Raleigh, 1827), 10-12.

<sup>70</sup> *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1828), 24.

<sup>71</sup> *Annual Report of the North Carolina Board for Internal Improvements* (1829), 6; *Halifax Minerva*, April 30, 1829.

<sup>72</sup> Work on the canal was commenced on December, 1828, but the locks were replanned by Claudius Crozet in the following March. The delay was due to the defalcation of the North Carolina engineer who planned the original work. The canal was not completed until 1833. *Annual Report of the North Carolina Board for Internal Improvements* (1829), 6, 8-9; *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1834), 480. The Dismal Swamp Canal had been enlarged and was opened for coastal navigation in December, 1828. *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1828), 14-15.

<sup>73</sup> *Halifax Minerva*, December 17, 1829; *Roanoke Advocate*, August 12, 26, 1830.



in the Pasquotank instead of carrying them all the way to and from Norfolk.<sup>74</sup>

In spite of the difficulties encountered in effecting an adequate steamboat transportation between Weldon and Norfolk it was obvious that, in one way or another, Virginia would receive the greater benefits from the joint undertaking on the Roanoke. Prominent North Carolinians, including James Iredell and Joseph Caldwell, had already abandoned the hope of creating a rival distribution center without first cutting an outlet to the sea or running canals to an existing port on the southern coast.<sup>75</sup> The advent of the steam and barge line to Weldon merely emphasized the fact that North Carolina could either resign herself to Virginia's monopoly of the Roanoke trade or else exert every effort in cutting a passageway to the ocean.<sup>76</sup>

Yet, even had North Carolina been able to prosecute the more vigorous course, there was no certainty that Virginia would permit the commerce of the Roanoke to be diverted from her own shores. In order to satisfy local interests both the Virginia legislature and the Board of Public Works kept alive the plans of 1812 for transferring the Roanoke trade to the James River ports. In fact, when the legislature made its offer to consolidate the Roanoke Navigation Company with the existing North Carolina enterprise, the Board of Public Works examined the feasibility of linking the Roanoke with the Appomattox.<sup>77</sup> In 1818, Loammi Baldwin surveyed the route and his report proved sufficiently encouraging to merit a request from the inhabitants of the Appomattox region for

<sup>74</sup> Brown, "The Dismal Swamp Canal," *The American Neptune, A Quarterly Journal of Maritime History*, V (October, 1945), 300-301.

<sup>75</sup> For the opinion of James Iredell see *Annual Report of the North Carolina Board for Internal Improvements* (1828), 5-6. For Joseph Caldwell's answer to Virginia's monopoly of the Roanoke trade see [Joseph Caldwell], *The Numbers of Carlton, Addressed to the People of North Carolina, on a Central Rail-Road through the State* (New York, 1828), 71 ff, 145.

<sup>76</sup> *Halifax Minerva*, November 14, 1829; *Roanoke Advocate*, September 2, 1830.

<sup>77</sup> James P. Preston, President of the Board of Public Works, to the Mayor of Petersburg, November 22, 1817, Letter Book of the Virginia Board of Public Works, June 1816, to April 19, 1832, 13-14, Virginia State Library. James P. Preston to the Mayor of Petersburg, December 4, 1817, Letter Book of the Virginia Board of Public Works, June 16, to April 19, 1832, 15, Virginia State Library.



the construction of a connecting canal.<sup>78</sup> In the following year provisions were made for financing the project and the state engineer was ordered to lay out the actual route.<sup>79</sup>

Because the company authorized by the state to construct the canal refused to undertake the project, plans for the Appomattox and Roanoke waterway were held in abeyance.<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, during the period in which Hamilton Fulton and the state of North Carolina tried to divert the Roanoke trade to Plymouth, the Commonwealth of Virginia continued to urge the Appomattox connection and eventually incorporated a new company to undertake the task.<sup>81</sup> That action might well have proved a countermeasure to the plans of North Carolina had either state seen its special project to a successful conclusion. Yet, in fairness to both states, it should be stated that neither the Appomattox connection nor the Weldon canal was designed to interfere with the established waterway along the Roanoke and its tributaries. In spite of opposition from the directors of the Roanoke Navigation Company, the Plymouth scheme could scarcely have injured trade above Weldon whatever might have been the effect upon traffic through the Dismal Swamp Canal. Nor is there any evidence to show that the Appomattox connection was regarded as potentially injurious to the interstate waterway. Since the junction with the Roanoke was to be made above Clarksville, the produce of the Dan and the Roanoke proper would not have been diverted from either Weldon or Norfolk.<sup>82</sup> Neither the Roanoke Navigation nor the Dismal Swamp Canal Company objected to the project, although as their

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<sup>78</sup> *Virginia House Journal* (1818-1819), 194; Petition of the citizens of the counties lying between the Appomattox and Roanoke rivers (1818), Legislative Petitions of Chesterfield County, Virginia State Library.

<sup>79</sup> *Virginia Acts* (1818-1819), 56, 84. The work was to be undertaken by the Upper Appomattox Company, an old Petersburg navigation company engaged in improving the Appomattox above the falls.

<sup>80</sup> Although the directors of the Upper Appomattox Company showed some interest in the Roanoke project they refused to pledge the state's subscription to the construction of the canal. Consequently, Virginia withdrew financial aid. *Virginia House Journal* (1826-1827), 19; *Seventh Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1822), 65; *Ninth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1824), 17.

<sup>81</sup> This was the Junction Canal Company incorporated in January, 1825. *Virginia Acts* (1824-1825), ch. 51.

<sup>82</sup> Report of Thomas Moore, *Sixth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1821), 26.



own improvements had not been completed they could not have known of the competitive effects which the additional canal to Petersburg might have imposed.<sup>83</sup>

In spite of the fact that there was no apparent intimidation involved in Virginia's attempts to link the Appomattox with the Roanoke, the entire project was dropped when it became clear that North Carolina could not divert the Roanoke trade to Plymouth.<sup>84</sup> Popular demand for the Appomattox connection continued but the state ignored all such requests as it did similar suggestions for construction of a canal between the Roanoke and the James.<sup>85</sup> As long as the natural flow of commerce continued unmolested Virginia had no incentive for interrupting the established course of the interstate waterway. The advent of the railroad, however, soon changed state policy and altered thinking on both sides of the river system.

For all practical purposes the construction of railroads in the Roanoke area marked the end of the waterway as a determining factor in the relations of the two states. The possibility of tapping the Roanoke by rail provided so many opportunities for linking the river with seaports in both North Carolina and Virginia that cooperation between the states soon went by the board. During the 1830's, Virginia discarded the idea of maintaining a continuous waterline from the mountains to Norfolk, and North Carolina revamped her plans for gaining control of the Roanoke commerce. Virginia scored the initial success and became the first to divert the

<sup>83</sup> Since James Preston, who had fostered the Roanoke-Appomattox canal, was a staunch supporter of the Norfolk-Roanoke waterway it seems unlikely that the two routes were regarded as being competitive. For Preston's attitude see James P. Preston to Luke Wheeler, June 21, 1817, Letter Book of the Virginia Board of Public Works, June, 1816, to April 19, 1832, 8-9, Virginia State Library.

<sup>84</sup> The decision was made by Governor John Tyler after an examination by Claudius Crozet had shown that, even if the proposed Appomattox-Roanoke canal were constructed, most of the river traffic would follow the interstate waterway to Norfolk. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1826), 31-34; *Virginia House Journal* (1826-1827), 9.

<sup>85</sup> *Richmond Whig*, July 26, 1828; *Farmers' Register*, I (April, 1834), 670-671. It should be noted that even the Charlottesville Convention of 1828 countenanced no resolutions favouring the Roanoke and Appomattox connection. *Proceedings and Memorial of the Charlottesville Convention* (Richmond, 1828), *passim*. The most noteworthy suggestion for a canal between the Roanoke and the James came from Claudius Crozet. *Report on the Survey of the James River, 1827*, 15-16, bound in with *Virginia House Journal* (1827-1828).



trade of the interstate waterway. In February, 1830, the commonwealth chartered the Petersburg Railroad Company to run a line from the Appomattox to the Roanoke at, or near, Weldon.<sup>86</sup> The railroad was planned as a means of capturing all of the commerce passing from Weldon into Albemarle Sound or through the Dismal Swamp Canal.<sup>87</sup> Yet, in spite of obvious disadvantages to the state, the North Carolina legislature assented to the charter.<sup>88</sup>

Construction on the Petersburg railroad progressed with such rapidity and skill that the line reached the North Carolina border before the end of 1832, and by August of the following year the road had tapped the basin at Weldon.<sup>89</sup> The resulting impact upon the commerce previously routed through the Albemarle Sound to Norfolk was considerable. Norfolk-bound flour on the Dismal Swamp Canal dropped from 10,778 barrels in 1833, to 2,911 in 1835, and 2,546 in 1836. The tobacco trade took an even greater relapse, decreasing from 2,113 hogsheads in 1833, to 202 in 1835.<sup>90</sup> By 1837, the Petersburg Railroad Company was carrying approximately fifty-two per cent of all flour transported down the upper Roanoke and probably all of the 2,975 hogsheads of tobacco.<sup>91</sup> To increase their share of the trade still further, the directors of the company purchased two steamboats and used them to bring goods from the lower river and from the sound to the junction with the railroad.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>86</sup> *Virginia Acts* (1829-1830), 59.

<sup>87</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, February 22, 1830.

<sup>88</sup> *North Carolina Acts* (1830), ch. 63.

<sup>89</sup> *Petersburg Intelligencer*, December 12, 1832; *American Railroad Journal, and Advocate of Internal Improvements*, II (January 12, 1833), 17; *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, August 20, 1833.

<sup>90</sup> Report of the Dismal Swamp Canal Company, December 7, 1833, *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1833), 162; Report of the Dismal Swamp Canal Company, December 4, 1835, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1835), 59; Report of the Roanoke Navigation Company, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1835), 132. Report of the Dismal Swamp Canal Company, November 21, 1836, *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1836), 220.

<sup>91</sup> Compiled from figures in Report of the Roanoke Navigation Company, December 5, 1837, *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1837), 123; Report of the Petersburg Railroad Company, December 12, 1837, *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works*, (1837), 240.

<sup>92</sup> "Annual Report of the Petersburg Rail Road Company, March 7, 1836," accompanying *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1836), 312.



The disruption of commerce on the interstate waterway did not go unprotested. The same North Carolina faction that had objected to the loss of trade through the Dismal Swamp Canal now raised its voice against the depredations of the railroad.<sup>93</sup> In 1833, in an effort to combat Virginia's domination of the Roanoke trade, North Carolinians proposed the construction of one railroad leading from the river to Wilmington, another from Norfolk to Edenton, and a third extending from Weldon southward to the South Carolina border.<sup>94</sup> Only the first, however, was effectually designed to provide the produce of the Roanoke with an outlet through a North Carolina port. Its potential success was diminished by the lateness of its entry into the field. Construction did not start until January, 1837, and the first train reached Weldon on March 7, 1840, almost seven years after the Petersburg railroad had garnered the bulk of the available commerce.<sup>95</sup>

North Carolina's second project, the Edenton and Norfolk railroad, was regarded by some as an effort to recapture for the Albemarle region some of the trade that was siphoned off through the Dismal Swamp Canal. Consequently, the Virginia Senate refused to sanction the enterprise until the canal company's officials explained that the proposed line would actually increase commerce entering Norfolk through the waterway.<sup>96</sup>

The third project did not materialize in the form of the original proposal, but a line was constructed from the Roanoke region to the capital of North Carolina. Opened on March 21, 1840, the Raleigh and Gaston was connected with the Petersburg railroad through a subsidiary line at Weldon.<sup>97</sup> The new

<sup>93</sup> *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, October 1, 1833.

<sup>94</sup> *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, October 4, 11, December 6, 1833.

<sup>95</sup> For the opening of the road see the accounts in *Advertiser* (Wilmington), March 12, 1840; *North Carolina Standard*, (Raleigh), March 11, 1840; *Register and North Carolina Gazette*, March 20, 1840; *The Yeoman*, March 25, April 1, 1840.

<sup>96</sup> Report of the Dismal Swamp Canal Company, November 21, 1837, *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1837), 119, 129; *Virginia Acts* (1838), 105.

<sup>97</sup> *Register and North Carolina Gazette*, March 27, April 10, 1840. The subsidiary line was the Greenville and Roanoke which connected the two main lines by a bridge over the Roanoke at Gaston. Begun in 1836, the eighteen mile line was amalgamated into the Petersburg railroad twenty years later. [Sixth] *Annual Report of the Petersburg Rail Road Company*, March 7th, 1836 (Petersburg, 1836), 4-6; [Ninth] *Annual Report of the*



railroad, however, was in reality a pawn in the hands of the Petersburg group, and its establishment did more to add to the commerce flowing out of North Carolina and into Virginia than it did in bringing the commerce of the Roanoke southward toward Raleigh.<sup>98</sup>

The three projects were not the only ones aimed at tapping the rich Roanoke region, nor were North Carolinians the only ones who resented the encroachments of the Petersburg railroad. Citizens of Norfolk, sensing that the construction of the railroad would end their commercial supremacy, tried to prevent the state from granting financial aid to the project.<sup>99</sup> Having failed in that they next turned their attention to the construction of a rival line and, in 1832, received a charter for the Portsmouth and Roanoke railroad.<sup>100</sup> Completed in 1837 the line caused a second decline in the trade of the Dismal Swamp Canal; the flour trade fell off to forty-two barrels a year and tobacco shipments ceased entirely.<sup>101</sup> The adverse effects of the canal were not alleviated by the added trade gained through the railroad. The Portsmouth and Roanoke was never able to compete profitably with the Petersburg and, after nine years of struggling with indebtedness, was finally forced to dissolve.<sup>102</sup>

The tapping of the Roanoke basin by the Petersburg, the Wilmington, and the Portsmouth railroads ended the life of the waterway as a major avenue of interstate trade. The

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*Petersburg Rail Road Company, March 4, 1839* (Petersburg, 1839), 7; [Twenty-Eighth] *Annual Report to the Stockholders of the Petersburg Rail Road Company* (Petersburg, 1858), 3.

<sup>98</sup> The Petersburg Railroad Company regarded the Raleigh and Gaston not only as an extension of its own line but as a feeder of produce into the Roanoke basin as well. Until 1839, the Petersburg operated the trains of the Raleigh and Gaston over the completed part of the route to Franklin. In 1842, it was decided to standardize both roads, and the Greenville and Roanoke, so that trains could run without interchange all the way from Raleigh to Petersburg. *First Annual Report of the Raleigh and Gaston Rail-Road Company, February 6, 1837* (Raleigh, 1837), 9; *Fourth Annual Report of the Raleigh and Gaston Rail-Road Company, June, 1842* (Raleigh, 1842), 21.

<sup>99</sup> *Enquirer*, March 12, 1831.

<sup>100</sup> *Virginia Acts* (1831-1832), 151.

<sup>101</sup> Report of the Dismal Swamp Canal Company, December 12, 1837, *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1837), 123.

<sup>102</sup> *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1845), 7-10, 74-75, 84-115; *Proceedings of an Adjourned Meeting of the Stockholders of the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Rail Road Company, Held in the City of Richmond, July 21, 1846* (Richmond, 1846), 4-8.



decade of 1830's saw the waterway divided into two component parts; the Roanoke and its tributaries became feeders for the railroads, and the Dismal Swamp Canal was relegated to the position of an inland waterway. Once the split had been accomplished neither North Carolina nor Virginia regarded the waterway as a continuous line of communication between the mountains and the sea. Each section was considered separately and little attention was paid to either. As a result, improvements on the river system gradually fell into disuse and one portion collapsed entirely.

The dissolution of the waterway came first to that part of improvements below the basin at Weldon. When the lower canal was rendered useless by the railroads, the locks were allowed to fall into disrepair, and neither North Carolina nor Virginia offered to aid in their reconstruction.<sup>103</sup> In 1836, the navigation company decided to concentrate its efforts on the further improvement of the upper river. The company sent two representatives to New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts in order to determine, from examples in those states, if steamboats could be employed on the river between Weldon and Clarksville. The commissioners returned with a report which favored the use of shallow draft steamboats on the upper river, and the state's engineer maintained that the necessary improvements could be made without much cost. As a result, extensive works were planned and both the Dan and the Staunton were partly improved for steamboat navigation. As no financial aid could be secured from either Virginia or North Carolina, and as the panic of 1837 left the company with no more than \$1,000 per annum for the improvements, the entire project was discarded.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1834), 466; *Twentieth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1835), 135-136; *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1837), 327.

<sup>104</sup> Edward B. Hicks to Andrew Joyner, June 20, 1836, *Farmers' Register*, IV (September, 1836), 267; *Niles' Weekly Register*, LII (May 6, 1837), 160; *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1836), 341-342; *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1837), 14-24, 320-322, 325, 327; *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1838), 124-126; *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1845), 41-42.



After the advent of the railroads the Dismal Swamp Canal fared but little better than did its companion on the Roanoke. In 1845, the directors of the former company suggested that a canal be cut from Murfreesboro on the Meherrin to a point above Weldon. According to the directors this would reinstitute the old interstate waterway, obviate the long trip down the Roanoke, and give Norfolk a better access to the trade at Weldon.<sup>105</sup> Although the Board of Public Works called the attention of the Virginia legislature to the proposal, no attempt was made to resurrect a project that had died a decade before.<sup>106</sup>

The lack of interest in plans for the enlargement or reconstruction of the Norfolk-Roanoke route was merely the final peg in the coffin of the interstate waterway. For thirty-five years North Carolina and Virginia had fought and argued over the improvements until at last a compromise had been reached. For another fifteen years the two states had constructed and improved the three-hundred-and-forty-mile line of communications. The squabbles had continued, but the waterway had been preserved. Then came the disruption, occurring before there had been adequate opportunity to prove the value of the trade route. Certainly the period of controversy had overshadowed the useful life of the project. Yet it is doubtful, even had there been no such controversy, whether financial and local conditions would have permitted a much earlier beginning or completion of the improvements. It may even have been fortunate that the Roanoke waterway got off to a late start, for its relatively brief life prevented it from becoming a heavily endowed vested interest that could have barred future progress in transportation.

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<sup>105</sup> *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1845), 4, 24.

<sup>106</sup> Report of James McDowell, December 1, 1845, *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Virginia Board of Public Works* (1845), 4.



# THE CONFEDERATE LETTERS OF RUFFIN BARNES OF WILSON COUNTY

Edited By HUGH BUCKNER JOHNSTON, JR.

## INTRODUCTION

This collection of Confederate letters originally contained forty or more items, but many have been lost, and others were damaged beyond legibility by flames and water. Only twenty-one letters could be satisfactorily deciphered, and all persons and places mentioned in them have been identified. There is nothing sensational in the subject matter, but the writer was a conscientious officer, who expressed sensible observations concerning his domestic and military affairs. Also, his letters throw valuable light on the movements and personnel of Company C, Forty-Third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, during that period of the war in which he was their immediate commander.

Ruffin Barnes was born in 1829 in the southern part of what is now Wilson County. His parents were Elias Barnes and [wife] Zilpha Thompson Barnes. Both parents were born in 1803, and were descended from substantial local families.<sup>1</sup> In 1860 they lived near Black Creek and owned \$5,350 worth of real and personal property.<sup>2</sup> Their children were given more than the average social and educational advantages in the agricultural environment of the lower Black Creek community, but a biographer would find it practically impossible to discover, prior to 1860, any interesting details of their private lives beyond the fact that the writer of these letters married and established himself as a solid and useful citizen.

The War between the States brought Ruffin Barnes from comparative obscurity to competent leadership of men on the exacting field of battle. On January 22, 1862, he enlisted at

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<sup>1</sup> An extensive manuscript history of the prolific Barnes family of Virginia and North Carolina was compiled by, and is in the files of, the editor of these letters.

<sup>2</sup> This information was taken from the Wilson County Census of 1860, a large alphabetized typescript in the collection of the editor. The original manuscript volume is in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.



Black Creek Depot as one of 102 privates in Company C, Forty-Third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, Confederate States Army. The military record describes Barnes at the time of his enlistment as a farmer by occupation, five feet eight inches in height.<sup>3</sup> On April 2, he was mustered into service for three years by Colonel Robert C. Hill at Camp Mangum, about three miles west of Raleigh. He was commissioned second lieutenant on February 28, although the commissions of the other officers of the Regiment are dated March 25.

On the first of June, 1862, Lt. Barnes was at Camp Davis, near Wilmington; exactly a month later he was under fire from the Federal batteries on Malvern Hill and gunboats in the James River. On July 28 he was advanced to first lieutenant by order of Governor Henry T. Clark of Edgecombe County. The roll call of August 31 noted that he was absent from his company on some unspecified special duty. On November 15 he was received at the First North Carolina Hospital and sent to private quarters in Petersburg, Virginia, but returned to duty on November 17. In December his Regiment was ordered to the vicinity of Goldsboro and Kinston to reinforce troops which opposed the Union forces operating from New Bern.

At the resignation of James S. Woodard on January 31, 1863, Ruffin Barnes was appointed Captain of Company C, and served in that capacity until the time of his death two years later.<sup>4</sup> On April 30 Captain Barnes was absent from his command on account of sickness, but accompanied his men to Fredericksburg in early June. Arriving at Gettysburg about 1 P.M. on July 1, he was under fire "during the entire fight." His regiment formed its line of battle to the left of General W. D. Pender's Division and gained Seminary Ridge. On July 2 it was shelled heavily by the enemy batteries on Cemetery Heights. After a night march over exceedingly rough terrain, the regiment attacked Culp's Hill, on July 3,

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<sup>3</sup> A small portrait of Captain Ruffin Barnes appears on the plate facing page one in Walter Clark, editor, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-'65* (Goldsboro, 1901) Vol. III.

<sup>4</sup> The military record of Ruffin Barnes was copied by the editor from the Confederate Military Records in the National Archives.



and took the first line of Federal works before being forced to withdraw to its first position on Seminary Ridge.<sup>5</sup>

In the Confederate retreat from Gettysburg, the Forty-Third Regiment was in the rearguard and frequently skirmished with the Federal advance. They were still in upper Virginia on November 9 when Captain Barnes became so badly affected by "Debilitas" that he was placed in General Hospital No. 4 at Richmond, where he remained at least ten days. On November 27 his company engaged in the all-day fight at Mine Run. The enemy withdrew north of the Rapidan River, and the Confederates went into winter quarters. About the middle of January, 1864, the entire Regiment was detached to assist General R. F. Hoke with operations in eastern North Carolina. They participated in the Battle of Batchelor's Creek on February 1 and in the capture of Plymouth on April 20.

About two weeks later Captain Barnes and his company were engaged with the enemy within sight of New Bern when orders came to proceed to the entrenchments in front of Petersburg. Under cover of a dense fog, on the morning of May 16, they made a successful attack of Drewry's Bluff. On May 23 they were again with their old brigade when it charged the enemy works at Hanover Junction. They fought in the Battle of Bethesda Church on May 30, Gaines' Mill on June 2, and Cold Harbor on June 3, followed by skirmishes at Lynchburg on June 13, Buford's Gap on June 20, and Salem on June 21. They crossed the Potomac River near Shepherdstown on July 6 and engaged the Federal forces nearly all day in the rear of Maryland Heights. On July 9 they reached Fredericksburg, and after a stubborn fight assisted in driving General Lew Wallace's Division from its strong position on the Monocacy River.

Within a period of thirty days Captain Barnes and his men had marched five hundred miles and had fought in at least twelve battles or skirmishes. The Federals were driven into the Shenandoah River at Snicker's Ford on July 17, and

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<sup>5</sup> For additional details of activities of Forty-Third North Carolina Infantry Regiment in which Captain Barnes served, see Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-'65*, III, 1-20.



there was a "hard fight" at Darksville on July 19. After an attack on Winchester, they encamped near Strasburg and Bunker Hill for two weeks of comparative inactivity. Ruffin Barnes led the men of Company C in only two more battles, Winchester on August 17 and Charlestown on August 21. Leuren D. Killette succeeded him nominally as Captain, but his own health had already become so seriously impaired that he was never able to assume his duties.<sup>6</sup>

Captain Barnes was seriously wounded in the action at Charlestown and was placed in the local military hospital. This is verified by the report from Major-General Robert E. Rodes's Division near Bunker Hill on September 30, and by Colonel D. G. Coward's report at New Market on October 29. On January 28, 1865, Colonel John R. Winston of Grimes's Brigade reported at Camp Rodes that Barnes had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The men of Company C did not learn until later that their Captain had died in captivity on December 24, 1864.

(1)

Newbern, N. C. June 25<sup>th</sup> 1861

Mr. Ruffin Barnes<sup>7</sup>

Dear Sir:

I can Inform you I am now in Newbern and have been here 8 days but don't know how long I shall stay here. I am well and fat as ever and very well satisfied considering I am in the army. I saw your Letter you sent to Bunyan<sup>8</sup> Last Night and was glad to hear your crop was so Likely. I hope I can come and see you. I wish I could say, but I can't tell you what day yet. I want you to

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<sup>6</sup> This information was also taken from the Confederate Military Records in The National Archives.

<sup>7</sup> This series of Confederate letters penned by Captain Ruffin Barnes of Wilson County is now in the possession of the Honorable W. A. Lucas of 1407 West Nash Street, Wilson, North Carolina.

<sup>8</sup> Bunyan Barnes, brother of Captain Ruffin Barnes, was born in 1837 and served in Company F, Fourth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, Confederate States Army, according to a manuscript "Roster of Wilson County Soldiers in the War between the States," compiled by the editor principally from John W. Moore's *Roster of North Carolina Troops in The War Between The States*, Raleigh, 1882.



write soon and let me hear from you and all Rest. You may not send that Bdy. [brandy] until I come and then I can bring it.

Yours as always,  
JESSE WATSON<sup>9</sup>

(2)

Camp Davis<sup>10</sup> June 1<sup>st</sup> 1862

Dear wife,<sup>11</sup>

Your affectionate letter came to hand last night and found me well & hearty as a pig. I was glad to hear from you & hear you were well, but sorry to hear my little girls<sup>12</sup> were sick. I hope they are better by this time. I shall be uneasy all the time now until I hear from them again. I sent you a fine-tooth comb in my last letter & you never wrote me whether you received it or not. I went to Wilmington yesterday & you can't tell how badly I hated to see the Train start & I could not come, but I hope the time is not far distant when I will have the exquisite Pleasure of laying my arms around your neck again. I cannot tell how it will be about my coming in time for the sale. I have not said anything to the Col.<sup>13</sup> about coming yet. I know he will be French.<sup>14</sup> He put a stop to furloughs some time ago & I don't know whether he will assign one now or not. I am going to try for one anyhow. I may get the chance of coming without going to him.

If I do not come, I want you to tell Silas<sup>15</sup> I will Risk his Judgment on a cow & calf. I want him to buy one if he can & as for

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<sup>9</sup> Jesse Watson, probably a son of Jesse and Sallie Watson of Wilson County, was born in 1836 and served in Company F, 4th North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A. These and subsequent statistical details were derived from the Wilson County Census of 1860, the original manuscript of which is preserved in The National Archives, Washington, D. C. The copy in the files of the editor has been organized and typed alphabetically according to family units.

<sup>10</sup> Camp Davis was near Wilmington, North Carolina.

<sup>11</sup> Mary Bryant, the second wife of Ruffin Barnes. By his first wife he had a son, A. Taylor Barnes of Crossroads Township, but this child was never mentioned in the surviving letters.

<sup>12</sup> The two daughters of Ruffin Barnes were Luzette who married Jonathan Newsome and died without progeny, and Leora Frances who married Lafayette Francis Lucas (born in 1851), son of Silas Lucas and Martha Tomlinson Lucas. Leora and Lafayette Lucas were the parents of W. A. Lucas, attorney at law and present owner of these Confederate letters.

<sup>13</sup> Probably Colonel Thomas S. Kenan of the Forty-third Regiment. willing for me to come, but can't tell how it will be with General

<sup>14</sup> General S. G. French.

<sup>15</sup> Silas Lucas (born 1817) and wife Patsey Tomlinson Lucas (born 1817) lived near Black Creek and were worth \$2,350.00 in 1860. They were the parents of the celebrated Silas Lucas (November 29, 1852-April 20, 1916), who was the grandfather and namesake of the Wilson County solicitor.



the Sheep, I want five or six ewes & Lambs. I don't care what the Price is unless they go clear out of all reason. If I don't come, tell Silas to fix with the Administrator if he will not Let be until I come home & when I come I will Pay the money. I want you to hold on to the money that you have got. If I get my money before I come, I will bring you something to Please you. They have not Paid me any money since I was at home.

I begin to think our chance is Better about whipping the Yankees than it has ever been. I don't think there is any danger of a fight here no time quick, if there ever is. I have heard a great many big guns since I came to this place. They will not get much if they ever get Wilmington. I would not be surprised if we go to Weldon in a few Days & I hope we will.

Tell Larky<sup>16</sup> her husband sends his Love to her & the children & wants to see them very badly. I received your K with great gratitude & affection. I am very sorry to have to say to you that Riley Lucas<sup>17</sup>, poor fellow, is Lying very low & looks more like dying than Living. I heard the Doctor say this morning he thought we were going to Lose him. It almost makes me shed Tears to look at him & think of his Poor Wife & children. I think you had best not let his wife hear of it. I hope he will get well yet. He has the Pneumonia. I will close for the Present.

Until Death I am your Loving  
R. B.

(3)

Culpeper County, Va.  
June 8<sup>th</sup> 1863

Dear wife,

I will drop you a few lines to let you Know where I am & how I am getting along. I am as well as common at this time. I very often Suffer with that pain in my stomach, but I am as hearty as usual. I hope these few lines may find you all well.

Dear wife, we have been on a march ever since Thursday morning. We are now about four miles north of Culpeper Court House. We got here last evening. I don't think we shall stay here long, but where we will go from here none of us can tell. Some think that Genl. Lee is going to cross the river & get in Hooper's<sup>18</sup> rear, but no one can tell what his intentions are. I tell you we

<sup>16</sup> Larky was probably the wife of one of Captain Barnes's privates.

<sup>17</sup> Riley Lucas, born 1832, was a cooper by trade. In 1860 he had a wife, two daughters, and was worth \$100.00. He was a private in Captain Barnes's Company.

<sup>18</sup> This reference was intended for General Joseph Hooker.



have had hard times since we came out here. It is the hilliest country I ever saw. We have been marching nearly two days in sight of the Blue Ridge. The men are running away very bad & we are now under the strictest orders that any set of men ever were placed under before. None of the men is allowed to leave the Company without a commissioned officer with him. Whenever one is bound to leave, some of us has to go with him. It keeps us all the time going.

I don't see [how] this war can last much longer. If times don't get better, I can't tell what will be the consequence. Lord send this war may end soon! I don't think it can last much longer. I tell you when men have to march until they fall dead it looks hard. I saw one poor fellow lying on the Side of the road sucking his thumb & foaming at the mouth. He perished to death for water. The men are not allowed to Stop to get water when they are Suffering for it. I understand some three or four more died the same way this man did, but I suppose they are bound to do this or too many would be falling out. All of the Boys are well & hearty. We are in Jackson's<sup>19</sup> old Corps. The men could get along a great deal better if they did not Suffer so for water. You may tell Edwin's<sup>20</sup> family that he is well. I want you to write soon. Direct your letters to Richmond. All is quiet on the Rappahannock this morning. I have not heard from you since I left home. Please write soon & often. I will get your letters after awhile.

I remain

Your Loving Husband until Death,  
R. BARNES

(4)

Williamsport, Md.  
June 18<sup>th</sup> 1863

Dear wife,

I this morning avail myself of writing you a few lines to let you know that I am yet in the land of the living & thank God I am enjoying good health and hope these few lines may find you all the same. I cannot begin to tell the ups and downs I have seen since I saw you last. We have been marching for the last ten or fifteen days. We marched up the Shenandoah Valley

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<sup>19</sup> At this time the Forty-Third Infantry Regiment had been fighting under T. J. "Stonewall" Jackson, who had been fatally wounded at Chancellorsville about a month earlier.

<sup>20</sup> Edwin Barnes, brother of Ruffin Barnes, was born in 1824. In 1860 he was a farmer by occupation, was worth \$1,175.00, and had a wife and four children. He served in Company F, Fourth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.



through the mountains. We had to wade the rivers as we came to them. We waded the Potomac yesterday. I can't tell anything about where we are going to from here. We are but a few miles from the Pennsylvania line. We did not meet with but little difficulty in getting here. We came through several little towns & drove the Yankees out of them & got a great many things from them. [We] captured a good many prisoners but I must not undertake to mention all that took place as that would take me a great while.

All the boys are well as common. Edwin [is] rather poorly, but think he is only broken down. I have got along on this march remarkably well. We have been resting now for three days. There are but few Yankees up here, but I can't tell how soon they may come. We have only one Division up here. The rest of our army is at Fredericksburg & between here and there I understand Hooker is going to Washington City & a part of his army is already there, but I can't tell how true it is. We can hear nothing true. I have not heard anything from home since I left. I would be very glad to hear from you. You must get along the best you can & not be too despondent. The same God is with me here as was there. I want you to pray for peace & my safe return. Stephen Boyett<sup>21</sup> said tell his wife he was well as common. Nothing more at present. You cannot get a letter to me. If I can't get one from Richmond, you need not direct one anywhere else.

Your affectionate husband,  
R. BARNES

(5)

July 14, 1863

Dear wife,

Thank God I am one more time permitted to write you a few lines to let you know that I came through all the fighting unhurt. None of us Brothers was Killed nor wounded. I was in the fight three days in succession. I had 17 men killed & wounded in my Company. Only four men killed. John Parrish,<sup>22</sup> Guilford Ricks,<sup>23</sup> Arthur M. Davis<sup>24</sup> & Calvin Rentfrow,<sup>25</sup> all killed, the other thirteen wounded.

<sup>21</sup> Stephen Boyett, born in 1824, was an illiterate turpentine worker when the war began; he had three children. He served in Company A, Fifty-fifth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.

<sup>22</sup> John Parrish, born in 1827, was an illiterate farmer and had a wife and six children.

<sup>23</sup> Guilford Ricks of Oldfield Township was born in 1824. He was illiterate but had accumulated property valued at \$692.00 by 1860. He had five children. He was at one time in Company H, Fifty-ninth North Carolina Cavalry Regiment, C. S. A.

<sup>24</sup> Arthur M. Davis of Oldfield Township was an illiterate turpentine worker worth \$1,200.00 in 1860. He then had a wife and two children.

<sup>25</sup> Calvin Rentfrow, son of Willie and Athy Rentfrow of Wilson County, was an illiterate farm laborer. He was born in 1837. His parents had farming property valued at \$2,120.00 in 1860.



I am well as common at this time. Bill<sup>26</sup> is down with Rheumatism & Levet Brown<sup>27</sup> is also down with the same Complaint. I had them both sent to the Hospital. I suppose they are now at Winchester but will be kept on ahead of us. We came Back across the Potomac River last night. We had to ford it. I was on my feet marching all night last night; did not sleep a wink, and it was raining very hard. It has rained a good deal since the fight. We crossed the River this morning about 2 o'clock.

I hope we will Be now so we can hear from Each other often. I have not heard from you in Better than a month. I cannot write much at this time. Not knowing as you will ever get my letter, I won't undertake to give you any of the Particulars of the fight this time. Edwin said Tell wife he will write in a few Days. I reckon we will come on Somewhere nearer Richmond Before we stop, but can't tell when we will get in camp again. Our men have not had a chance to change their clothes in 5 weeks. We are nearly all the time going. Please write soon. Direct as you did Before. Tom<sup>28</sup> is with Bill & Brown. I remain until Death your

Loving husband,

R. BARNES

(6)

Camp near Orange C. H.  
43<sup>rd</sup> Regt. N.C.T. August 4<sup>th</sup> 1863

Dear wife,

I recd. your Kind Letter yesterday & was glad to hear you were all well. I am well and hearty as I ever was in my life. There is no news to write you at this time as everything is quiet about here now, but I can't tell how long it will remain so. You appear to be uneasy about the Yankees coming up there, but I hope they will not get as high up as that. Oh, if I could only come as you Dreamed I did, what a pleasure it would Be to me! God bless you! I hope I will see the time come when I can realize your Dream. I love my little Children when I think of their Speaking of me as they did.

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<sup>26</sup> William Barnes, brother of Captain Ruffin Barnes, was born in 1839. He served in Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.

<sup>27</sup> Levet Brown has not been identified but was probably from Wayne County.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Barnes, born in 1835, was the brother of Ruffin Barnes, and was a merchant worth \$1,650.00 in 1860. He apparently served in Company G, Fifth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.



Dear wife, you must not get out of heart. If we should never meet on this Earth again, I hope we will meet in the world to come where Trouble and Parting are no more. Dear wife, I have offered many Prayers for you as well as myself. I think it time for everybody to be engaged in Prayer. I have not seen John Wasdon<sup>29</sup> but heard from him since the fighting. He came out safe, so said Isaac Aycock.<sup>30</sup> I must close for the present. May God bless you all as there is none other can guard you. the war last longer. N. C. is Showing her sympathy to the North. Sometimes I think the war never will stop & then again I think

Very Respectfully,

Your affectionate Husband,  
R. BARNES

(7)

Camp near Orange C. H.  
August 15<sup>th</sup> 1863

Dear wife,

Yours of the 7<sup>th</sup> never came to hand until last night. I received one from Father that was written the 9<sup>th</sup>. Some how or other your letter got misplaced & did not come as soon as it ought to. I saw in father's that Leory was a little sick. I can say to you that I am well with the exception of a bad cold. I hope these few lines may come safely to hand and find you all well. I reckon I have received all of your letters. I am very sorry to hear of the Death of Amos Horne.<sup>31</sup> I also hear that John Henry Lucas<sup>32</sup> is very sick. You must write me how he has got. You did not say how many lambs we had. You must not Keep the Sheep in the orchard too long at a time.

I am going to send you forty Dollars & hope you will receive it. Then you can pay my Tax. You must not Despond & get out of heart. I hope I will get the chance to come home in the course of a month or two. I am going to fix some way to come. As soon as I can have any Excuse & can get to Richmond or Petersburg, you can come to see me. I want to see you very badly & hope I can see you before a great while.

You seem to be Down on some of our Genls. very much, but they all do the best they can, so don't fall out with them so. I fear Such mad meetings as they are holding in N. C. will make

<sup>29</sup> John Wasdon was probably from Wayne or Greene County.

<sup>30</sup> Isaac Aycock was apparently from Wayne County.

<sup>31</sup> Amos Horne, son of Hardy and Edith Horne, was born in 1821. On February 23, 1857, he was a lister of land taxes in Wilson County. The Census of 1860 listed him as a farmer worth \$5,000.00.

<sup>32</sup> John Henry Lucas, son of Silas and Patsey Lucas, was born in 1845.



it is bound to stop before long. I don't see how it can go on as it is. We are all feeling Depressed now.

You may like to hear the Rail Road runs in about two or three hundred yards of our camp. The train stops at Orange C. H. about one mile from our Camp. I do wish I would come home now. I want to see you So bad, but you must not get out of heart. I sometimes come when you are not looking for me & it may be so again.

This letter is written in a great Hurry. I can't think of all I wish to write this time. I have not heard from Edwin since he left the Regt. I do not see why he does not write his folks. Bill is yet in Richmond. I have not heard from him in several days. Tom is the only one with me. He is never well but is always up. Bennett<sup>33</sup> is 1/2 mile from us. Please send your letters to Black Creek & let Holt<sup>34</sup> back them for you & write often.

Your Loving Husband,  
R. BARNES

(8)

Camp near Orange C. House  
August 17<sup>th</sup> 1863

Dear wife,

Yours of the 14<sup>th</sup> came to hand yesterday. I am glad to hear you are all well. I am very unwell at this time with a bad cold. I hope these few lines may find you all well. You may tell Siller<sup>35</sup> that Edwin is at Lynchburg. He is about well & ready to come back to the Regt. I don't see why he has [not] written to her before this time. I saw a man [who] came from there & said he was about well, so she need not be uneasy about him. I am looking for him to come back now every day.

I forgot in my last letter to say anything about Perry Godwin.<sup>36</sup> I am very sorry to have to inform his mother of his death. He died on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July from the wounds he received in the fight. I was not notified of his death until very recently. They just stated to me that he died from gun-shot wound. He died at Charlottesville, Va. The ball not being got out of his Shoulder, I reckon mortification must have taken place. I was very much

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<sup>33</sup> Bennett Barnes, brother of Captain Ruffin Barnes, was born in 1841. He was 2nd Lieutenant of Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment.

<sup>34</sup> Joseph S. Holt, born in 1832, was a merchant in Black Creek and was worth \$9,150.00 in 1860. He later served as postmaster of Black Creek from December 7, 1874, until October 5, 1889.

<sup>35</sup> Priscilla, wife of Edwin Barnes, was born in 1831.

<sup>36</sup> Perry Godwin, born in 1844, was a farm laborer. He served in Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.



surprised to hear of his death after hearing he was getting along so well.

You say you don't know as this War will ever stop. I tell you the thing is now on a balance & the Scale has got to turn one way or the other & that before long. I am looking forward now for an early Peace Stronger than I ever have. If I could see you I would give my reasons for Saying, but I will decline giving them by Letter. One thing I will say to you: I fear the time has passed when we could have made the most honorable peace. You must keep this to yourself. I would not express myself this way to the Soldiers. God only knows what will be the result. I think it will end some way and that Pretty Soon. I never have thought so before. They are now giving our men furloughs, one for every Two Companies. They do that in order to stop Desertion.

You must pull up with a good resolution. I think the war is nearly to a close. If not, I will try for a furlough before long. You don't imagine how glad I would be to come home. I must come to a close for the Present. I will write Short & often.

Very Respectfully, your Loving  
Husband R. B.

(9)

Camp near Orange C. H.  
August 25<sup>th</sup> 1863

Dear wife,

I have been looking for a letter written by your dear hand some two or three days but failed to get one as yet. I am well & should have written you before now but was waiting to hear from you. I hope you are all well. There is nothing of any importance about here. Everything appears to keep very quiet as yet. Some of the men say we will not have any fighting here soon. I do hope and trust we will never have another. God only knows what we shall all have to encounter with before we get through this Troublesome war.

Dear wife, there is one thing I have been thinking of writing to you some time. I have been very much concerned about the Salvation of my Soul pretty much ever since I left home. I have spent a great part of my time in Praying since I last saw you & I thank God I feel now like I was richly rewarded for it. Christ says seek & ye shall find, ask & ye shall receive, knock & it shall be opened unto you. All this is true if we seek with the right heart. The reason I did not say anything to you about same, I wished to be sincere in it & feel that my heart was changed before I made a public Profession to you.



Dear wife, I wish I could See you & talk with you. I hope the time will soon come when we will be permitted to see each other again. I will say to you we have a very nice man here for our Preacher. He saw my condition & I told him how I had been disturbed about the welfare of my soul. He said he knew there was a great change in me after talking with me awhile. He told me I ought to connect myself with some Christian Church. I told him I preferred Joining the Methodist Church & I joined the Church the 3<sup>d</sup> day of August & was baptized last Sunday. I can't write any longer on the subject at this time.

I can say to you our men are now getting furloughs. Only three officers have furloughs at a time. I don't know whether I will get one of the first three or not. If I don't, I will the second. Some of them say I will get the first one. I think there's a chance of my coming before long. Oh, how glad I would be to come home! You may tell Daniel Campbell's<sup>37</sup> mother and wife I am going to see him today. I hope I will find him well. I must come to a close for the Present, hoping to see you before long. I remain your affectionate Husband as ever. God Bless you!

R. BARNES

Please write soon.

(10)

Camp near Orange C. H.

August 29<sup>th</sup> 1863

My Dear wife,

Your kind letter came yesterday Evening & found me well. I was very glad to hear you were all well & was hoping I would soon receive a letter from you. I was afraid you were sick & could not write to me. I was getting very uneasy. I would give the last Dollar's worth of Property I have in this world to come Home & Stay with you, but the Lord only knows when this war will ever stop. I some times think it will never Stop until the People become more humble & thankful to the Almighty for his Passed Blessings. Oh, that every Human heart could feel as they should feel on this great important Subject! We had all got to feeling too independent within ourselves.

Dear wife, I have often thought of what you have said to me when we appeared to be enjoying ourselves so well there about the Shop. The soldiers all seem to be taking a great deal more interest in going to hear Preaching than they have done. Our

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<sup>37</sup> Daniel Campbell, born in 1837, was an illiterate farmer worth \$1,137.00 in 1860. He had a wife and one child at the beginning of the war. He served in Company A, Fifty-fifth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A. Milly Campbell, his mother, was born in 1802.



Chaplain has been Preaching to our Regt. every night for two weeks. A great many have become very Serious on the Subject of Religion since he has been Preaching so much.

You said you had been to the yearly meeting at Wilson.<sup>38</sup> I am glad for you to go & hear Preaching if I am not there to go with you. I hope the Lord will Bless us & Bring us together again sometime. I think if nothing happens I will get a furlough in three or four weeks. Some of our officers have sent up some now. I tell them it must be my time next time. Oh, I do want to come so bad!

You said you had received the forty Dollars I sent you. I sent one Hundred more by Father. You had better be Looking out for some Salt & get Some as soon as you can. How are the corn & Bacon holding out? Will you have enough or not? You will have to hire some Person to assist them in Saving the fodder. Tell Cato<sup>39</sup> to attend to my mare & not let her Suffer for water. Tell Leony & Luzett Papa is going to try to come Home & see them before long.

I must come to a close; the mail is now going off. Please write often. Write how John Henry is getting along. I hope he will get well again. Edwin has not come to the Company yet. All the rest of the Boys are well. I don't see why Edwin does not write home. I still remain your Dear loving Husband.

God Bless you forever!  
R. BARNES

(11)

Camp near Kelley's Ford,<sup>40</sup> Va.  
October 3<sup>rd</sup> [?], 1863

Dear wife,

I will again drop you a few lines to let you know of the State of my Health. It is not very good at this time nor has been since I wrote to you before. I have been having Chills for the last four or five days, but last night I missed the attack. I have been up all the time, only when I would have one. I will take care of myself the best that I can & hope I will not have any more. I hope these few lines may find you all well & doing well.

There can't none of us get any furlough as they seem to think the Yankees are going to try to cross the River. As soon as this Excitement Passes off, I am going to come home if noth-

<sup>38</sup> A large number of the citizens around Wilson were accustomed to attend the yearly meeting at the old Tosneot Primitive Baptist Church (now known as the Wilson Primitive Baptist Church). It is the oldest church in the county and dates from 1756.

<sup>39</sup> Cato was a slave belonging to Ruffin Barnes.

<sup>40</sup> Kelley's Ford, on the Rappahannock River, is near Culpeper.



ing happens, though I can't tell when that will be, but I hope before long. If we have got to fight them this Fall, I don't care how soon it comes off. Then we can get furloughs who of us are living.

I would like to have my coat from Home, but you may let it Stay until I come Home. If I don't get the Chance to come home time Enough for you to begin to fatten the hogs, you must Try to fatten Enough to make plenty of meat. I wish I could see them. Then I could tell you what Sort to fatten, but you must do the best you can. I hope the Lord will Provide for us Both. We had a very rainy day yesterday & most all night last night, but I managed to keep from getting wet & missed my Chill, but I think it was a great wonder I missed it in such weather.

How do Leory & Luzetty like their confederate rings? I reckon they were very well pleased with them. I wish I could come to see you all for I have almost forgotten how you all look. I dreamed last night of being with you and was So well pleased, but when I woke up I found myself far away from the Pleasure I had just realized in my Slumber & how Sad it made me feel to think of the difficulties I might have to undergo before we could See Each other again!

You never Said whether your molasses was good or not. I want you to write me how you think the Potatoes are, whether they are any account or not. You must have the Children to Pick plenty of dry Peas if there are any. I don't know as I have anything more to write this time, so I will come to a close for the Present. I am looking for a letter from you tonight. You can't imagine how glad I am to get a letter from you.

R. BARNES

(12)

Camp 43<sup>d</sup> Regt. N.C.T.  
October 21<sup>st</sup> 1863

Dear wife,

Yours of the 8<sup>th</sup> came to hand yesterday. I was very glad to hear from you & hear you were all well. Your letter found me well but very much fatigued from hard marching. We have been marching for the last two weeks. We did not lie up but one day in the time. We did not have any regular engagement with the enemy but had very heavy skirmishing for three days & a good portion of the time we were double-quicking after the Yankees. We all thought we would have a hard fight at Bull Run or Manassas, but there was only a part of our forces engaged there. Two of our Brigades were badly cut up. The one Bill



Bardin<sup>41</sup> was in suffered very bad. I saw Bill Bardin. He was wounded in the big toe very bad. I saw Ivey Yelverton<sup>42</sup> He was wounded in the thigh. He was wounded very bad. I think his thigh was broken.

After the fight was over we commenced tearing up & burning the Rail Road. The Yankees never troubled us any more after we turned back. We burned the Rail Road from Manassas to the Rappahannock River, a distance of about thirty miles. We captured a good many prisoners but I have not heard how many yet. We did not have near as much fighting to do as we all thought we would have to do when we found out where we were going. We are in no regular camp yet. We are now about seven miles from Culpeper. I can't tell where we will go in camp or when, but I hope it won't be long, for I think we have all done enough for one campaign. We had some very rainy bad weather while we were on the march. I think & do hope we will all have some rest now. Always when we are on those tramps we don't get any furloughs. I won't promise you when I will come, but you must not get out of heart there will be a chance for me to come after awhile. I wish I could see you. I could tell you of a great many things I have had to encounter with since I saw you.

I should of written you sooner but could not send off my letter while we were marching. You may tell Silas I received his letter the same time I did yours. I am sorry to hear Silas had such a sick family. He has had a hard time. You must try to fix all the children off with shoes the best you can. I will come as soon as I can. I am sorry peas are scarce and not anything to fatten hogs with but corn and I reckon that is sorry, too. The only thing I like to have forgotten: Stephen Boyett, Jack Boswell<sup>43</sup> & Hance Davis<sup>44</sup> all deserted after we started on this march. I think they are making their way home. I must come to a close for the present. I want you to write soon. I will write soon as we get in camp.

I remain your loving husband,

R. BARNES

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<sup>41</sup> He was probably William H. Barden, son of Arthur Barden and wife Penelope Simms Barden of Wayne County.

<sup>42</sup> Ivey Yelverton was also a Wayne County man.

<sup>43</sup> Jack Boswell was undoubtedly J. J. Boswell, farm laborer, listed in the Wilson County Census of 1860. He was born in 1830 and had a wife and four children. Jesse J. Boswell was a private in Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.

<sup>44</sup> Probably Henderson Davis of Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A. He was born in 1840 and was an illiterate day laborer.



(13)

[October 22, 1863]

Dear wife,

Since I have finished my letter, I received one from you written the 14<sup>th</sup> of Oct. I see from your letter you did not know we had been on the march, but you see from my letter I wrote first that we have had a very hard tramp. I wish I could have been with you all when William<sup>45</sup> & John Wasdon were there. William Barden told me that John Wasdon was gone home. I think Bill will get a furlough for his big toe is shot all to pieces. Poor Ivey Yelverton was a pitiful looking sight.

You say you think some one has taken my pocket book. You never said what sort of one it was, but the note you spoke of Dempsey Watson<sup>46</sup> has got. Daniel<sup>47</sup> paid half the note; the other half belonged to Jesse Watson & I passed the note over to Dempsey Watson, so I hope the pocket book you alluded to is somewhere about the House. I can't have any recollection of doing anything with the Book at all, only I think my large Pocket Book was in the Desk behind the Drawer. If it is not there, I can't tell where it is. You had best not leave things too loose about the House when you are not there, for no one can tell who his friends are. I am sorry Luzetty has broken her ring. I know she hated it.

Well, I will come to a close for the Present. I want you to write often. Very Respectfully,

Your Loving Husband,

R. BARNES

P. S. I would like very well to lie under those Pretty Blankets with you.

(14)

Camp near Kinston  
Feby 22<sup>d</sup> 1864

Dear wife,

Your letter by Tom has been Read. I am glad to hear you are all well. I am well & hearty. I am sorry that Mrs. Lynch<sup>48</sup> is trying to be so large. I think the best way you can manage is for her to stay to herself. I want you to let her go Back to her house & stay there. If you & she can't get along, there is no use trying to stay together. You may give her all that you think you can spare. I told Lynch when he came I could let him have

<sup>45</sup> This seems to refer to William Wasdon, rather than William Barden or William Barnes.

<sup>46</sup> Dempsey Watson, born in 1812, was a farmer worth \$4,755.00 in 1860. His wife Edith was born in 1810.

<sup>47</sup> This may refer to Daniel Campbell above.

<sup>48</sup> Caroline Lynch was a free Negro woman born in 1837.



what you could spare. You may tell Lynch<sup>49</sup> that I had rather she would stay in her House as you & she can't agree. I don't see why she made such a bargain & then flew from it so quickly. The Best way you can do is to attend to your own Business. I think you will be better satisfied. I want you to tell Lynch that our Bargain shall all be right. I told Lynch his wife could have corn from my House & all the Bacon I could Spare. I left that to you to say what you could Spare & he & I were to settle that ourselves. You may tell Lynch that all will be right with me & him & tell his wife I had rather she would not stay as one of the family. I think you had best attend to your own Business than to be run over by a negro. You know already she will not do to depend upon.

[The remainder of this letter has been lost.]

(15)

Camp near Kinston

April 5<sup>th</sup> 1864

Mr. Elias Barnes

Dear father,

I will drop you a few lines to inform you we are all well at Present & I hope these few lines may find you all the same. I have no news of any importance to write you at this time as all things remain quiet Down this way. This gun Boat will soon be completed. Then I think you may look out for another demonstration at Newbern, though I cannot tell anything about the Program. It is generally Believed Genl. Lee will fall Back around the fortifications of Richmond Before he offers Genl. Grant a fight.

I would like to know who are going to be candidates for Sheriff. I have been informed that John T.<sup>51</sup> was going to run again, also W. W. Batts<sup>51</sup> & Garry Fulghum<sup>52</sup> were spoken of. It Begins to be time if I am going to run to let it be Known. Therefore,

<sup>49</sup> Wyatt Lynch, an illiterate free Negro, was born in 1830. He was a plasterer and brickmason by occupation.

<sup>50</sup> John Thomas Barnes (December 22, 1830-1894) was a son of Edwin Barnes and wife Theresa Simms Barnes. He was sheriff of Wilson County 1860-1864 and a commissioner of the town of Wilson in 1866 and probably afterward.

<sup>51</sup> William Woodard Batts (September 18, 1827-August 20, 1869) was a son of William Batts and wife Martha Woodard Batts. The Wilson County Census of 1860 described him as a farmer worth \$17,270.00. He was a justice of the peace and a colonel of the Wilson County Militia. During the War between the States, he served as a commissary officer for the North Carolina State Militia.

<sup>52</sup> Garry Fulghum, born in 1834, was a merchant at Saratoga and was worth \$3,000 in 1860. He was 1st Lieutenant of Company B, Second North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A., and was paroled at Appomattox Court House.



you may say to the People that I am candidate also.<sup>53</sup> If Garry Fulghum does run, he will cut me out of several Votes, but I am going to run. I don't care how many there are in the field. If I am Beaten, I hope I will have the honor of saying I was beaten by a gentleman, as I look upon all that have been spoken of Being such. I have been requested By one man to be a candidate; that was W. G. Sharp.<sup>54</sup> I understand he is down on the Present Sheriff from some cause or other; what [it] is about I am unable to say. You may tell the People when you go to Wilson again that I am certainly a candidate. I want you to let them know that I am a candidate. I also want you to write me what you think the Prospects are of my Being Elected. I first heard that Bill Sharp<sup>55</sup> was going to run, But since Holden<sup>56</sup> is going down so fast, he has declined. I don't believe Holden will get any Votes at all in this Brigade. I never saw a man come down as fast as he has since Gov. Vance<sup>57</sup> Commenced Speaking. Everybody is for Gov. Vance again.

Well, I will close for the Present.

I remain your son as ever,  
R. BARNES

(16)

[Early May, 1864]

[The first part of this letter is both incomplete and illegible.]  
... to do, But times have been bad everywhere this Summer. There never was such fighting Known Before. I think though the Yankees are very much dispirited. This makes three times we have struck this army up here in Twenty days, and I think there will not be any fighting between us any more.

I can say to you there has just been a good rain here. I was waked up this morning by the water running under me. There has not been any rain here Before in more than two months. Most of the streams are dried up and the vegetation is nearly Burned up. I never Saw anything like it Before, But People go

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<sup>53</sup> Ruffin Barnes was eager to win the office of sheriff of Wilson County, for that would have permitted him to resign from the Confederate States Army and return home.

<sup>54</sup> Willie Gray Sharpe, born in 1824, was in 1860 a merchant of Joyner's Depot (one mile north of the present Elm City) and worth \$29,055.00. He served in Company E, Nineteenth North Carolina Cavalry Regiment, C. S. A.

<sup>55</sup> Probably William H. Sharpe who served in Company H, Seventy-fifth North Carolina Cavalry Regiment, C. S. A. Many of the Sharpes were Republicans at this time.

<sup>56</sup> W. W. Holden of Raleigh later became Provisional Governor of North Carolina by the appointment of President Andrew Johnson.

<sup>57</sup> Zebulon Baird Vance was one of the most popular governors North Carolina ever had, and was an incomparable stump-speaker.



in Principally for wheat here in the valley & wheat crops were very good. You say you have the Shoats up. I hope I will have the Pleasure of helping you Eat some of them. If anything in this World would give me Pleasure, it would give me Pleasure to come home now. I could tell you something of the Horrors of war. If I was all that had to encounter with it, I could never stand it, but there are thousands of others in a like condition.

Tell Father I recd. his letter last night and was glad to hear all were well. Tell him all the Boys are well. I will write him in a few days. He said he thought my Election was safe if Batts did not get many in the army. He will not get but a very few in the army. There has been but little said about the Election in the army. We have had such a time that I thought it Best to say But little in reference to the Election. I think I will get as many in the army as all three of the others. A vote in the army will Be small as so many are wounded & in [the] hospital. My Co. will not give more than 18 votes: some of them too young to vote, others in [the] Hospital.

R. BARNES

(17)

43<sup>d</sup> Regt. N. C. T.

May 23, 1864

Dear wife,

I will drop you a few lines to inform you I am well except a Bad Cold. We have just got with our old Brigade. I saw Bunyan & Bennett today. Bun has been through all the fighting unhurt. It is now thought that Grant is moving his army down on the Peninsula. Our army is now at Hanover Junction about Twenty miles north of Richmond. Oh, I am so thankful I have [been] spared so far! I hope the Lord will see me through safely. My whole trust is in Him. [The next five lines have been scorched beyond legibility.]

Dr. Brooks<sup>58</sup> cannot Help as the law compells him to enroll all free negroes. I think my chance is very good of Being Elected if I am Spared until that time. You must tell Penny<sup>59</sup> next time she goes a fishing not to fish for Roaches. She must put on more bait. Tell Lynch he must make my colt gentle. I have just read your letter written the first of May. Direct your letters to Richmond, Daniel's Brigade. Daniel<sup>60</sup> is killed, but no other Brigadier

<sup>58</sup> Presumably this was A. G. Brooks of the Black Creek community. He had a considerable farm and was worth \$43,740.00 in 1860.

<sup>59</sup> Penny is thought to have been a slave woman.

<sup>60</sup> General Junius Daniel was killed at Spottsylvania Court House on May 12, 1864.



has been assigned to our command yet. Barna Tomlinson<sup>61</sup> is Killed & Thomas Atkinson,<sup>62</sup> Pat Wooten<sup>63</sup> wounded, John Watson<sup>64</sup> slightly wounded.

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<sup>64</sup> John H. Watson, son of Dempsey and Edith Watson, was born in 1840 and was a student in 1860. He served in Company F, Fourth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.

I will close for the present, remaining

Your Loving Husband,

R. BARNES

(18)

Bivouac 43<sup>d</sup> N. C. T.

June 10<sup>th</sup> 1864

Dear wife,

It is again I am Permitted to drop you a few lines. I can inform you that I am slightly unwell at writing. I have not Been hearty in several days & ain't Sick much. I hope this may come to hand & find you all well. Reuben Hayes<sup>65</sup> just got a letter from his brother stating that he heard I was killed. I am very sorry such news went there. I fear you got the same sad news, but by the Help of Kind Providence I am able to inform to the contrary that no. You have Heard Better before this time, which I hope may always be the case. There is no fighting going

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<sup>61</sup> Barna Tomlinson, born in 1837, was a farmer by occupation and in 1860 lived with his widowed mother, Elizabeth Tomlinson (born in 1800), who owned modest property valued at \$1,250.00. He served in Company A, Fifty-fifth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.

<sup>62</sup> This seems to be James T. Atkinson, born in 1838, who served in Company F, Fourth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A. He was a student in 1860 and lived with his father, Lovett Atkinson (born in 1800) who was worth \$14,418.00.

<sup>63</sup> William Patrick Wooten was born in Wayne County in 1844 and moved to Wilson with his widowed mother in 1856. He saw more than his share of action in the War between the States as a private in Company F, Fourth North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A. At the Battle of Seven Pines he was severely wounded in the arm, and at the Battle of Spottsylvania Court House a shot plowed across his left thigh and left a wound twelve inches long. After a furlough of about one hundred and four days he returned to the army and was captured at the Battle of Winchester on September 19, 1864. Sergeant Wooten was confined for two months in the Federal Prison at Point Lookout, but was then exchanged and joined his company during the retreat from Petersburg. On April 7, 1865, he was wounded in the right thigh with an explosive bullet at the Battle of High Bridge and was carried to Appomattox Court House where he was paroled. It took him four months to recover from this wound. Clement A. Evans, *Confederate Military History* (Atlanta, 1899), IV, 807-808.

<sup>65</sup> Reuben Hayes, great-grandson of elder Reuben Hayes of Wayne County, was born in the present Wilson County in 1837. In 1850 he was a farm laborer and owned property worth \$300.00 He served as a private in Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.



on now, only Skirmishing at long intervals, both armies confronting each other. How soon the fighting may Be renewed I am unable to say. Both armies are very tired & [a] great many getting sick very fast.

James Boyett<sup>66</sup> has just come in & Brought me news that you were all well. So said the old man Elias,<sup>67</sup> which gave me great satisfaction to hear. It is very seldom I Hear from you. I received your letter that was written the 26<sup>th</sup> ult.; have not had one since. Surely you do not write often. I wish I could get a letter from you every week. It affords me great Pleasure to read one from you. You must Eat some Plums & Cherries & think of me while you Eat them for [I] don't expect to see one here at all. I have dreamed now two nights of seeing you & Oh, how pleasant it is to dream of seeing one that feels so near my heart. I do hope the time is not far distant when I can realize my happy Dreams & know you wish so too. May God Pardon & Bless us Both in this our time of great need is my Prayer.

To a loving wife,  
R. BARNES

(19)

43<sup>d</sup> Regt. near Strausburg  
July 23<sup>d</sup> 1864

Dear wife,

I again have the Pleasure of dropping you a few lines to inform you I am well as common & yet unhurt. We had a pretty hard fight<sup>68</sup> on the 19<sup>th</sup> of this Inst., but thank God I came out unhurt again. None of my Brothers were in the fight. Bill came to the Co. next morning after the fight. One of my men was killed dead on the field, 7 others wounded. I only carried 24 men in the fight and 8 of them were killed & wounded. William Whitley<sup>69</sup> killed, K. W. Taylor<sup>70</sup> mortally wounded, W. B. Joyner<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> James H. Boyett, son of James (born in 1807) and Sidney (born in 1811) Boyett, was born in 1841 and was in school in 1860. His parents owned \$12,450.00 worth of property in Oldfield Township. He served in Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.

<sup>67</sup> Elias is thought to have been a slave from the Black Creek community. Many trusted family retainers were sent to the scene of war to carry messages, food, or clothing to their young masters.

<sup>68</sup> This was either Darksville or Stevenson's Depot, near Winchester, Virginia.

<sup>69</sup> William Whitley of the Black Creek area was an illiterate farm laborer born in 1838. He served in Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.

<sup>70</sup> K. W. Taylor served in Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.

<sup>71</sup> William B. Joyner was an illiterate day laborer, born in 1839. His parents were Hilliard (born in 1813) and Peninah (born in 1815) Joyner. He served in Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.



supposed to be mortally wounded. I think those are left with the Enemy, but I am not certain. William F. Rowe<sup>72</sup> lost his right arm at the Shoulder Joint. He is on his way to Staunton & was very cheerful when I heard from him last. My orderly Sergt. was slightly wounded, Henry Kirby<sup>73</sup> severely wounded in the Hand, John Watson was wounded & died soon afterwards. Oh, I am so sorry so many of our Poor men are getting killed & on the other hand I am so thankful that I am yet Spared. When I look around & see all my Brothers together, I cannot feel thankful enough to think we have all Been spared where so many have been Slain on our right & left. I think the Boys all do feel very thankful. I hope the time will soon come when we can return to our once happy homes & Mother can look upon us and say, "I have a good and pious set of boys."

I must close my letter for the Present. I have not heard from you in a long time. I hope we will get our mail in a few Days. You must not stop writing if you cannot get my letters. I hope you will get them after awhile.

God bless you forever.

R. BARNES

(20)

Camp 43<sup>d</sup> N. C. Regt.

July 28<sup>th</sup> 1864

Dear wife,

I again have an opportunity of Dropping you a few lines to inform you I am yet well. I had a letter from you yesterday which gave me great satisfaction to hear you were all well & to hear my crop looked tolerable well. We are now near the Potomac River. I think we will get marching orders in the morning, but I hope we won't have to Cross the River.

Well, today was election in the army. I got 19 votes in my Company, Batts 2, John T. none, Fulghum none. Fulghum got in his Regt. 21, I got none, John T. 4, Batts none. That was Fulghum's main Dependence in the election. I think I will be ahead of him in all the rest of the army. Whether I am elected or not I hope God will see me safely through this war time. Nothing will Prevent my staying at home with you when this Bloody strife is ended, for if ever I see this war ended, I'd rather have nothing to call me from home so often. On Sunday last

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<sup>72</sup> William F. Rowe was a member of Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.

<sup>73</sup> Henry Kirby, son of Pitts (born in 1808) and Zilpha (born in 1814) Kirby, was born in 1841 and was a student in 1860, at which time his parents were worth \$8,270.00. He served in Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A.



when I reckon everything was quiet at home, we made an attack on the Yankees at Winchester.<sup>74</sup> My Dear wife, I have been in Six hard engagements with the Enemy this Spring & Summer, yet I am unhurt. Blessed be God for his Mercies!

I was very much surprised to think Elias Ferrell<sup>75</sup> should tell such a lie on me as he did. You will find a contradiction of it by my Company. I thought nothing But the best of feelings were Existing Between me & him until I received your letter. I want you to hand this paper to Mr. Newsome<sup>76</sup> & let him see what advantage he has taken of me in my absence. I guess that will satisfy all who he told it to. I believe about all the men Present have assigned it in my Company. I will close for the Present.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain as ever your

True Loving Husband,  
R. BARNES

P. S. We have received marching orders in the morning at Day light.

(21)

Camp 43<sup>d</sup> N. C. T.  
August 2<sup>d</sup> 1864

Mrs. Mary A. Barnes

Dear wife,

I avail myself of this Pleasant Task of dropping you a few lines to inform you I am well and I hope these few lines may soon come to hand and find you all Enjoying the same. I will say to you we are now at Bunker's Hill. We have Just come from Williamsport, Md. We arrived here yesterday Evening. I am now off on Picket with my Company on the road Leading from Bunker's Hill to Charlestown. We are having a very good time now if we had any money those People up here would have. I some times wish I had what little silver I have at home. I don't think it would ever do me any more good than it would now. Tom had fifteen cents in silver. We sent off & got as much honey as me & him & Bill could Eat with it.

Well, I must tell you of a trade Doctor Brewer<sup>77</sup> offered me. He has got, he says, a fine piece of worsted goods & I have got

<sup>74</sup> The preceding Sunday was July 24, 1864.

<sup>75</sup> Elias Ferrell of the Black Creek area was a farmer worth \$1,100.00 in 1860. He was born in 1820 and had six children at the beginning of the war. He served in Company C, Forty-third North Carolina Infantry Regiment, C. S. A. The nature of Ferrell's lie is unknown.

<sup>76</sup> Whether this was James Newsome or Larry Newsome, it is impossible to say now. Both men lived around Black Creek and were considerably older than Ruffin Barnes.

<sup>77</sup> Dr. William Thomas Brewer (1832—December 30, 1870) was the Assistant Surgeon of the Forty-third Regiment on April 15, 1862. On December 3, 1866, he married Susan Wright Edmundson of Wilson County.



a very good Pistol. He offers me a dress for my Pistol. I got my Pistol from a Yankee Col. on the Battle field at Snicker's Ford.<sup>72</sup> He made me a present of it after he surrendered. I guess a Dress would Please you Better than a Pistol. You must write me. If you are anxious for a dress & I see any chance of getting it Home, I will send it to you. Brewer got it out of some Store over in Md.

Last night about sunset while I was going to my Picket Post all alone & it being Sunday Evening, I began to think about you & Home & thinking I did wish I knew where you were at that time. It appeared to me I could almost see you sitting in the Porch & see the children Playing around you. It seemed so Plain to me I thought maybe it was a sign I would see you Before long. Oh, I do want to see you so Bad! I cannot Express my affections for you by letter as I wish to. You must guess at the Balance.

Well, I am now relieved from Picket and am Back to the Regt. Now I will finish my letter. I & Lieut. Vines<sup>79</sup> are sitting together and he is one of my Best friends. I have just been Telling him about how I have been studying about you & what I would give to see you. Well, I will change the Subject & say something about the Hot weather. I think yesterday was the Hottest day I ever marched in my life. Did you ever hear Tell of Troops marching Before as we have done this Spring & Summer since we first Started on this campaign? But I think we are better off than if we had Been lying in the Trenches round Petersburg & Richmond, and we are more Healthy and are up here where we get the Best Kind of water to drink. I had much rather stay up here than to go Back there, though we get nothing up here to eat But Beef & Flour. A small piece of Bacon is a great thing. However, the Boys all Keep in fine Spirit. There are but very few of my men with the Company; there have been so many killed & wounded this spring & Summer. There have been Twenty-Eight of my men Killed & wounded this Spring & Summer. Thank God I and all of my Brothers are unhurt yet and in good health!

Well, I must close. Consider me your affectionate Husband.

God Bless you,  
R. BARNES  
M. A. B.

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<sup>78</sup> This engagement occurred on July 17, 1864.

<sup>79</sup> Lieutenant Vines was probably from an Edgecombe County company.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Wiley Buck and Other Stories of the Concord Community.* By Henry McGilbert Wagstaff. With an editorial note by Louis R. Wilson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1953, Pp. vi, 118. \$3.00.)

Dr. Wagstaff, late professor of history at the University of North Carolina, again proves himself a master story-teller in *Wiley Buck and Other Stories*, in which he discusses the highlights of his boyhood in Person County, North Carolina. The first chapter offers an engaging description of the rural community in which the author lived. Then follow eight stories of persons and events which lived in his mind until he prepared this portion of his reminiscences many years later. The little book is not historical writing in the usual sense; but as one reviewer concluded about another of the same writer's publications not long ago, "There is not . . . a dual phrase in this most engaging book." Professor Wagstaff must have been a raconteur of rare abilities.

The author tells his readers of many things which happened during his formative years: tramping through the woods, fishing, hunting, catching rabbits in traps made by a magnificent and invalided brother, associating for a time with young Negroes, and ghost stories. Important animals in his young life included an irrepressible goat, two dogs, "a runty pig," and a young bull. The dogs were domesticated; the goat and the bull were quite unpredictable; the bull was dangerous. Of the community events, the most enjoyable for most of the people in Concord, as in other rural communities of Wagstaff's and later times, were revivals or protracted church meetings. Public prayers, solicitation of new members by old church members, singing, taking up collections, and picnic suppers were features of these meetings. The revival was without doubt one of the most important events in the Concord community. Traveling preachers (not entirely unlike the circuit riders of the earlier nineteenth century) and colporteurs (traveling church workers who went about from house to



house selling Bibles and other religious publications) helped keep alive an interest in religion between revivals.

Two ex-captains of the Civil War also impressed the people of Concord. Both were scions of well-to-do families ruined by the Civil War; and, similar to Ashley Wilkes of *Gone with the Wind*, neither of them was able to adjust to the "new order" after Appomattox. The captains, unlike Wilkes, consumed large quantities of hard drink. One of them retained his manners and breeding; the other, who "was neither for nor against anything," became degenerate in nearly every respect. Of the Negroes best remembered by Professor Wagstaff, the most significant were Uncle Calvin and Wiley Buck. Uncle Calvin was a patriarch who adjusted sensibly and effectively to freedom during the late 1800's; Wiley Buck was a master huntsman and recluse who met a tragic death in his lonely cabin. All characters portrayed will live in the minds of the readers of Dr. Wagstaff's book.

Weymouth T. Jordan.

Florida State University,  
Tallahassee, Fla.

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Outspoken, 150 Years of *The News and Courier*. By Herbert Ravenel Sass. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1953. Pp. 120. \$3.00.)

We must be thankful for all contributions to one of our most neglected areas of research, the study of individual newspapers, their personalities, their "lives," their places in American society. And so, though the story of the Charleston *News and Courier* deserves much fuller treatment, our gratitude should be expressed to Mr. Sass and to the University of South Carolina Press for giving us even so tantalizingly slight an account of this distinguished paper on the occasion of its 150th anniversary, January 10, 1953.

This material was first printed in the special sesquicentennial edition. We are told in a foreword by Thomas R. Waring, present editor of the paper, that "many readers have suggested that the history, a chronicle of a community as well as the story of its newspaper, should be published in more



permanent form to preserve it for future reference. In response to these suggestions this book has been prepared."

For the purposes for which the writing was first done, the account can be regarded as very good journalism. But from the point of view of the rich story there is to tell about *The News and Courier* and its contributions to and influence on Southern life, Mr. Sass has given us little more than a skeleton of the history. There is still to be done the challenging job of putting flesh on the bones by one who is willing to devote months and years to going through the files of the paper, living with it in all the chapters of its existence until the paper becomes the distinct personality and the vital thing it has been to its community for a century and a half. This will be an onerous task, and perhaps this is why we have so few histories of our newspapers. But one of these days we may discover that it can be also an exciting and a rewarding task.

Mr. Sass divides his study into three parts. The first is a running account, in only 67 pages, of the main items in the life of the paper from the founding in 1803 of the *Charleston Courier* by Loring Andrews and A. S. Willington (the latter remained with the paper until his death in 1862), through its opposition to the nullification movement, through the vicissitudes of secession and the war, the trying years of reconstruction, the sale in 1873 of the *Courier* to the *Charleston Daily News* which had been started in 1865 and the merger of the two papers, on through the years of growing prestige and physical development. There are many pages in this account when we want to cry out to Mr. Sass: "Stop and tell us more about this." Or, "What happened in the interims of the high spots you touch upon?"

Throughout most of its history the paper was an important and independent voice, unafraid and bold, so that the main title of *Outspoken* is particularly apt. It achieved this character, of course, because of the editors it was fortunate to have. Brief, too brief, accounts (written by various other persons) of the more important of these editors are included in the second part of the book, covering 43 pages. We also wish that these biographical sketches might have been integrated into the story of the paper, for the stories of Francis Warrington



Dawson, of James Calvin Hemphill, of Narciso Gener Gonzales, of Yates Snowden, of Robert Lathan who won a Pulitzer Prize for an editorial, and of others are inseparable from that of the paper itself.

The third part of the book is a condensed chronology in six pages.

Still, this little book helps to fill a yawning gap in our knowledge of America.

Edgar E. Folk.

Wake Forest College,  
Wake Forest.

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Savannah's Pioneer Theater from Its Origins to 1810. By J. Max Patrick. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 94. \$1.75.)

Mr. Patrick begins his survey of the early theater in Savannah with the first known performance in Georgia, a production of Nicholas Rowe's *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* on September 27, 1781, by the "Gentlemen of the Garrison" of the Royalist Army occupying Savannah. This and following productions were apparently well received since the gentlemen formed themselves into the Charitable Society and continued to offer plays through December 1 of the same year. There were no further productions until the fall of 1783 when four professional performers, James O. Godwin and wife and a certain Kidd and wife organized a small company with local amateurs in supporting roles. The group offered occasional performances through March 20, 1786; then, after a two-year interval, another professional performer, a Mrs. Gardner, remained for a brief winter season 1788-1789 with the local amateurs. During the next four years, however, entertainment was at a low ebb, consisting mainly of wax works, tight rope dancing, lectures, etc.

According to Mr. Patrick's history, the first full professional group to appear in Savannah was the excellent Charleston Company under the management of Thomas Wade West and a certain Henderson. The engagement began on August 15, 1794, and extended through September 19, with the most popular British plays being offered three times weekly. After



the company returned to Charleston, a few performers under the management of a certain Edgar remained in Savannah for productions on October 9-25. Two years later the fire of November 26, 1796, which destroyed two-thirds of the town, interrupted theatrical activity until December 1, 1798, when the Charleston Company returned under Williamson and Jones for an engagement through January, 1799. During 1799 the newly organized amateur Thalian Association also offered five productions in addition to one the following year.

After the turn of the century, the Charleston Company returned to Savannah every year through 1805, usually during December and January for a five-week engagement. The company at this time was under the capable management of the well known Alexander Placide, and performances were well received each season. During the last engagement, however, which ran only from January 1 through the 18th, 1805, there seems to have been some difficulty, and the company did not return during the remainder of the first decade of the century. During these five years there was little entertainment except for an engagement by Rannie and Berry from October 22, 1807, through January, 1808, when there were occasional plays, evenings of ventriloquism, farces, and pantomimes. The last popular attraction was the Theatre Pittoresque et Mechanique, which remained from January 5 through the middle of March, 1808.

As a background for the rather detailed survey of the early theater in Savannah, Mr. Patrick presents throughout a careful analysis of the social, economic, and religious factors which determined the nature and extent of theatrical activity. For example, Chapter Nine, which is entitled "Henry Holcombe's Battle with the Windmills, 1797-1802," offers an account of the Reverend Holcombe's ineffective fulminations against the theater. In addition, the survey presents full information on the backgrounds of actors and managers, the general content of plays, details of production, and reception in the newspapers, including a complete account of the first detailed theatrical review printed in Georgia. The last chapter of the volume is devoted to a discussion of Georgia's first play-wright, William Bulloch Maxwell, and an evaluation of



his melodramatic tragedy *The Mysterious Father*, printed in 1807 by Everett and Evans, publishers of *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*. Indexes of the survey consist of a "Handlist and Index of Stage Performances in Savannah, 1781-1810" and an "Index of Actors in Savannah, 1781-1810."

In spite of the great amount of factual material which is covered by the survey, Mr. Patrick has consistently maintained a very readable style, which will make the study a pleasure reference work. Its most significant value, however, is that the survey augments the existing studies of the theater in New Orleans, Charleston, Wilmington, Raleigh, Williamsburg, and Richmond. In this respect Mr. Patrick has made a valuable contribution to the completion of the history of the Southern regional theater.

Donald J. Rulfs.

North Carolina State College,  
Raleigh.

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Mandarin on the St. Johns. By Mary B. Graff. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 128. Illustrations. \$3.75.)

Accurate yet readable local histories such as this one can do much to attract the general reader to history-at-home with the possibility of broadening his field of interest to include the state and national story. The value of "grass roots" history has often been expounded and *Mandarin on the St. Johns* might well be cited as a model in this class.

Life in the small Florida town of Mandarin (near Jacksonville), Miss Graff shows, has been anything but dull and though far removed from the national scene it has not been without its nationally prominent local citizens. The terrors of Indian raids, the anguish and distress of civil war, the peace and congeniality of the postwar period, the community building of churches and schools, the coming of the automobile, and the advances made in the twentieth century all have a place in the story. From diaries and letters as well as from official records have come interesting accounts of the development of early orange groves and the first struggles against



damaging insects; of Harriet Beecher Stowe's happy and socially constructive residence in Mandarin during the later years of her life; and of the development of shipping on the St. Johns River.

More than a dozen full-page pictures of local persons and scenes, an 1883 playbill and an 1889 letter in facsimile, and a map on the endpapers all help to tell the story of Mandarin during nearly three centuries. Notes indicating the sources of information come at the end of the final chapter. A classified bibliography and an index add to the usefulness of the volume.

A delightful foreword by Rembert W. Patrick, professor at the University of Florida, not only sets the stage for the account to follow but also contains words of advice and encouragement which might well be taken to heart by other local historians engaged in similar projects.

Miss Graff, a resident of Mandarin, is head of the Social Studies Department at Robert E. Lee High School in Jacksonville, where she has taught for the past fifteen years. She is a graduate of Drake University and recently received the Master of Arts degree in history from the University of Virginia.

William S. Powell.

The University of North Carolina Library,  
Chapel Hill.

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The Correspondence Between Henry Stephens Randall and Hugh Blair Grigsby, 1856-1861. Edited by Frank J. Klingberg and Frank W. Klingberg. (Berkeley: The University of California Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 196. \$3.00.)

This volume of correspondence between a Virginian and a New Yorker on the eve of the Civil War presents several facets to the contemporary reader. Most of the letters are concerned with the preparation of Randall's three-volume life of Jefferson, in which Grigsby (the Virginian) had a deep and informed interest. The letters also tell the story of a rapidly ripening friendship between the two scholars, whose mutual interests and similar tastes led to the exchange of communications which are so informal and unreserved (es-



pecially on Randall's part) as to be almost playful. A number of the letters, moreover, deal with the spurious May 20th Mecklenburg Declaration. Grigsby's arguments are so trenchant and persuasive, that it is difficult to understand how the myth could have survived them. Finally, the last few letters of the correspondence reveal the heart-sickening sadness of moderates, both North and South, who saw extremists push their country into the tragedy of fratricidal war. Randall's letters are especially eloquent on this point. All in all, it is a most useful and interesting body of correspondence.

The editors have performed their task with diligence and care. An introduction of seventeen pages sketches the lives and relationships of Randall and Grigsby and thus prepares the reader for the correspondence that follows. Numerous and detailed footnotes identify almost all the persons referred to by the letter-writers. Indeed, in this matter the editors are carried beyond the usual boundaries of diligence, for they identify such well-known individuals as John Marshall, George Tucker, Sydney Smith, George Bancroft, and even the celebrated Samuel Weller, whose fame by that time had crossed the Atlantic. But this is a small matter, an error (if it be one) on the side of generosity.

The publisher, however, has erred on the side of parsimony. This correspondence deserves a more attractive and enduring dress than the paper-bound volume in which it greets the world.

Richard E. Yates.

Hendrix College,  
Conway, Arkansas.

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American Gun Makers. By Arcadi Gluckman and L. D. Satterlee.  
(Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company. 1953.  
Pp. 243. \$6.00.)

In 1940 Col. Gluckman and Mr. Satterlee published the first edition of this book, and in 1949 they published newly gathered and revised material in the form of a supplement. This latest edition of *American Gun Makers* is a compilation of the earlier book and supplements along with hundreds of new items.



The new edition also contains the names of Confederate arms makers and United States Arms Inspectors. The latter is particularly valuable to collectors who have long puzzled over mysterious initials on United States martial arms.

Names are listed alphabetically with a brief history of the maker when it is known. If the authors had arranged the over four thousand items by states or areas in which the gunsmiths worked, it would have been more useful to collectors interested only in arms of a certain locality.

According to the foreword of the book, sources used were directories, tax lists, local histories, tombstones, family and friendly reminiscences, oral traditions, magazine articles, newspaper advertisements, letters, maker's marks, and the arms themselves. Naturally, as the authors point out, there are bound to be some mistakes. Some of the names may be foreign, some may be repeated due to various spellings, and some may be owners who inscribed their names on their guns for security or pride.

If an introduction had been included telling the history of American gun making the book would have greater interest. However, it is of real value as a reference for the gun collector.

Dorothy R. Phillips.

State Department of Archives and History,  
Raleigh.

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Hillsboro: Colonial and Revolutionary. By Frank Nash. With a Biographical Sketch by John J. Parker. (Chapel Hill: Orange Print Shop, Pp. xii, 79, Appendices, Index.)

This work, originally published in 1903, is here reproduced with the addition of a biographical sketch of the author and an index. It is an interesting and useful sketch of the community of Hillsboro from its earliest settlement to the end of the Revolution. Along with the growth of the town it portrays the lives of many of the figures who played leading parts in public affairs. Prominent examples are Thomas Burke, Francis Nash, Edmund Fanning, and William Hooper, though numerous others are included with statements of their individual contributions. There is thus throughout the work a clear con-



nection between Hillsboro and the chain of events making up the general history of the colony.

The author, though not a trained historian, did an excellent job of searching through "the public records in the court house here [at Hillsboro], the Colonial and State Records, Wheeler's books, Caruther's three books, Jones' Defence and McRee's Life of Iredell." (preface) In the spirit of the professional, he pointed out inconsistencies and in most such cases attempted a judicious estimate of what the records actually meant to history. On the whole, the book is well written, though there are occasional lapses into circulatory sentences and elliptical statements.

The outstanding contributions of the work to North Carolina history are its clear characterizations of leaders and bold interpretations of events. Though everyone will find himself in disagreement with Nash on some points, no one can with justice accuse him of blurring the picture by deliberate intent or loose writing. As would be expected from his ancestry, training, and life experience, his presentation inclines to a conservative, legalistic, Whig slant. According to Nash, the Regulators were an undisciplined mob; the Tories were deluded fanatics, restrained from wholesale rapine and murder only by the influence of an occasional gentleman officer from the regular British army; the lawyers, merchants, and successful planters in the vicinity of Orange County Courthouse were the leavening agency that furnished discipline, leadership, and courage to conquer a wilderness, accomplish a Revolution, and build a state. Would that present day historians moving in the larger sphere of national and international events could arrive at some comparable degree of clarity!

Paul Murray.

East Carolina College,  
Greenville.

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20 Giants of American Business. By Walter Wilson Jennings. New York: Exposition Press. 1953. Pp. 480. \$5.00.)

In the foreword to this volume Dr. Jennings, long a professor of economics in the University of Kentucky, states that his purpose is "to give side lights on economic history in terms of the men who made that history. . . ." The well-written chap-



ters not only achieve that purpose but are positively entertaining.

The subjects of these biographical sketches are divided into six groups of three or four each, according to whether their fortunes in business were connected with agriculture, manufacturing, banking, transportation, foreign trade, or domestic trade. All important phases of economic life are thus covered, but no representative of the pure plunger or speculative promoter type is honored with a place in the list. Included are the best-known architects of American industrialism in the period of its lusty growth between the Civil War and the first World War, such as Carnegie, Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, and Harriman. Some of the subjects, such as Stephen Girard and John Jacob Astor belong to an earlier period, while some, such as Alexander Legge, Julius Rosenwald and Andrew Mellon, reached the peak of their influence and power in the modern period. The author is to be commended particularly for presenting very significant persons, who have either previously lacked energetic press agents, or have not been as attractive to muckrakers. The chapters on James Oliver, the plow maker, and John McDonogh, the early nineteenth century merchant of the deep South, are good examples.

Despite the limitations of space, Dr. Jennings goes far beyond recounting economic exploits of these twenty men. He succeeds admirably in revealing their characters and personalities. In every case the family background is given, the motives behind their careers are explored, and their personal characteristics are revealed by frequent anecdotes. Although the author acknowledges his debt to numerous biographers, he has not merely selected material from them. He displays no evident purpose either to praise or to blame; he simply exposes the men to the reader's view.

For anyone interested in the lives of men who have played major roles on the stage of American business, the book is a good one to be read from beginning to end, or to be kept at hand so that a chapter may be read from time to time as occasion may arise.

C. K. Brown.

Davidson College,  
Davidson.



## HISTORICAL NEWS

The State Literary and Historical Association, holding its fifty-third annual meeting on Friday, December 4, in Raleigh, heard the following program at the morning session: business meeting; "The North Carolina Department of Archives and History—The First Half Century," a paper read by Henry S. Stroupe of Wake Forest; "North Carolina Non-Fiction Books of the Year," read by Hoke Norris of Winston-Salem; "Our Literary Awards," by Richard Walser of Raleigh; the presentation of the R. D. W. Connor Award by Paul Murray of Greenville; presentation of the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award by Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris of Seaboard; and the presentation of the American Association of University Women Juvenile Literature Award by Mrs. Carl A. Plonk. At a subscription luncheon, Dougald MacMillan of Chapel Hill addressed the group on "North Carolina Fiction for the Three Years Ending August 31, 1953—A Review"; and this was followed by a meeting of the executive committee. The evening sessions heard Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson address the group on "The Courtship of Zeb Vance"; Allan Nevins of New York on "New Looks at American History"; the presentation of the Mayflower Society Award by Mrs. Preston B. Wilkes, Jr., of Charlotte; and the presentation of the Sir Walter Raleigh Award by Miss Clara Booth Byrd of Greensboro.

In the order of their presentation, the annual awards and their recipients were: R. D. W. Connor Award—Hugh F. Rankin of Chapel Hill for his article, "The Moore's Creek Bridge Campaign," published in *The North Carolina Historical Review* (July, 1953); Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award—Frank Borden Hanes of Winston-Salem for his volume of verse, *Abel Anders*; AAUW Juvenile Literature Award—Latrobe and Ruth Carroll of Asheville for their book, *Peanut*; Mayflower Society Award—LeGette Blythe of Huntersville and Dr. Mary T. Martin Sloop of Crossnore for their volume, *Miracle in the Hills*; and the Sir Walter Raleigh Award—Inglis Fletcher of Edenton for her series of North Carolina



historical novels, and Frances Gray Patton of Durham for her collection of short stories entitled *The Finer Things of Life*.

Association officers elected for 1954 are Inglis Fletcher, president; D. Hiden Ramsey of Asheville, S. J. Erwin, Jr., of Raleigh, and D. J. Whitener of Boone, vice presidents; and Christopher Crittenden of Raleigh, secretary-treasurer. Those elected to the executive committee are Paul Murray of Greenville and James A. Gray of Winston-Salem.

The North Carolina State Art Society held its twenty-seventh annual meeting in Raleigh on Wednesday and Thursday, December 2-3. During the Wednesday morning session, the following members were elected to the Board of Directors for the calendar year 1954: Edwin Gill of Raleigh, Henry L. Bridges of Raleigh, Jonathan Daniels of Raleigh, Clemens Sommer of Chapel Hill, Clarence Poe of Raleigh, Mrs. Julius Cone of Greensboro, William T. Hatch of Raleigh, and Mrs. Isabelle Bowen Henderson of Raleigh. Directors appointed by the governor are Robert Lee Humber of Greenville, Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, Sylvester Green of Chapel Hill, and Mrs. Louis Sutton of Raleigh. Ex-officio members of the Board remain unchanged from last year. At the luncheon following the business meeting, members and guests heard a discussion of progress made on the museum building, including an address by the architect, Edward W. Waugh of Raleigh.

Purchase awards in the 1953 Annual Art Competition were presented in the Wednesday evening meeting to Going Back Chiltosky of Cherokee for his wood sculpture, "Great Horned Owl"; Kenneth Ness of Chapel Hill for his oil abstract, "Night Flight"; and John Chapman Lewis of Washington, D. C., for his oil painting, "Night Trawlers." Hobson Pittman of Philadelphia, Pa., gave an illustrated address on American painting. Tribute was paid Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington of Warrenton, president of the Society, by Clarence Poe of Raleigh and William T. Polk of Greensboro, when a portrait of Mrs. Arrington was presented to the Society. The portrait, painted by Irving Wildes of New York and given by Mrs.



Katherine Pendleton Conway of Warrenton, was received on behalf of the Society by Robert Lee Humber of Greenville. At the conclusion of this meeting, members and guests attended a reception and preview of the North Carolina Artists' Sixteenth Annual Exhibition in the State Art Gallery. On Thursday afternoon the Board of Directors held its annual meeting, and the election of officers was held. All officers serving in 1953 were re-elected, and, in addition, Robert Lee Humber was elected to the newly created executive vice presidency.

The North Carolina Folklore Society met in Raleigh on Friday, December 4, in its forty-second annual session. The program featured "Folk Music in a North Carolina Rural Community" by Robert J. Gould of Chapel Hill, and "Appalachian Banjo Tunes and Songs" by Paul Joines of Winston-Salem. Officers of the Society elected for the coming year are James R. York of Mocksville, president; R. E. Washburn of Rutherfordton and Russell Grumman of Chapel Hill, vice presidents; and A. P. Hudson of Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its thirteenth annual meeting in Raleigh on Thursday, December 3. The program for the morning session consisted of a business meeting; "Historic Buildings of Eastern North Carolina," a slide program by Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips of the State Department of Archives and History; reports on restoration and preservation projects such as Old Salem, Tryon Palace, Edenton, Hezekiah Alexander House, and Haywood Hall. Officers re-elected to the Society were Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, president; Mrs. Inglis Fletcher of Edenton, vice president; and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh, secretary-treasurer. At the luncheon meeting Mrs. Elizabeth Stevenson Ives of Southern Pines and Mrs. Corbett Howard gave a report on the Elizabethan Garden. The evening program featured the introduction of new life members and presentation of the Charles A. Cannon Awards to LeGette Blythe of Huntersville, the late O. Max Gardner and Mrs. Gardner of Shelby, John Sprunt Hill of



Durham, the late Marshall Delancey Haywood and Mrs. Haywood of Raleigh, and Hugh T. Lefler of Chapel Hill. Paul Green of Chapel Hill presented the awards. Following the presentations, Mrs. Claude B. Foy sponsored a program on colonial New Bern which included "Sketch of Judge William Gaston's Life," by Mrs. Zebulon B. Vance, read by Robert L. Pugh of New Bern; "History of Tryon Palace," by A. T. Dill, Jr., read by Paul M. Cox of New Bern; "Tribute to Mrs. Richard N. Duffy," presented by Mrs. Emily Pollock Crawford; a skit, "An Evening at Tryon Palace," by J. Gaskill McDaniel, presented by the New Bern Little Theater; and an invitation to visit New Bern by Mayor M. L. Lupton. At the conclusion of the meeting, a reception was held for members and guests, with life members and officers receiving.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians met in Raleigh on Friday, December 4. The business session consisted of a reading of minutes, reports on county societies and tours, reports from the district vice presidents, and election of the following officers: William S. Powell of Chapel Hill, president; Jeffrey Stanback of Mt. Gilead and Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill, vice presidents. The newly-established Smithwick Award went to John A. Oates of Fayetteville for his volume, *The Story of Fayetteville and the Upper Cape Fear*.

The Roanoke Island Historical Association held a luncheon meeting for the membership in Raleigh on Wednesday, December 2, with Martin Kellogg, Jr., presiding.

On Saturday, December 5, the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina held a breakfast meeting of the Central Carolina Colony in honor of Mrs. Preston B. Wilkes, Jr., of Charlotte and the winners of the Mayflower Award, LeGette Blythe and Dr. Mary T. Martin Sloop.

The History Department of The University of North Carolina in its annual *News Letter* reports the following faculty news items: Paul A. Marrotte has been appointed an instruc-



tor after serving as part-time instructor for the past two years; Hugh T. Lefler has been appointed to the Historic Sites Commission by Governor William B. Umstead; Harold A. Bierck has been appointed to the State Department Advisory Committee to the Commission on History of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History; and J. Carlyle Sitterson has been appointed a member of the Bancroft Awards Jury of Columbia University to select the winner of the Bancroft Prize. A group of anonymous friends of J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton have presented his portrait, painted by Frank Stanley Herring, to the University of North Carolina. The portrait will hang in the search room of the Southern Historical Collection, which Dr. Hamilton founded and directed for many years prior to his retirement in 1948.

Publications credited to faculty members are Harold A. Bierck's "The Struggle for Abolition in Gran Colombia," *Hispanic American Historical Review* (August, 1953), and "Bolivar y la Esclavitud," *Boletin de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* (Venezuela, 1953); Wallace E. Caldwell's "An Estimate of Pompey," *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* (1953); James L. Godfrey's "Labor in Opposition," *Virginia Quarterly Review* (spring, 1953); Hugh T. Lefler's co-edited works, *Documentary History of the University of North Carolina*, by R. D. W. Connor, 2 volumes (The University of North Carolina Press, 1953); and J. Carlyle Sitterson's "Expansion, Reversion, and Revolution in the Southern Sugar Industry: 1850-1910," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* (September, 1953).

From the alumni of the graduate history department at the University the following news has been received: Clifford C. Norton, retired from the deanship at Wofford College, but continuing as professor of sociology, has received an honorary degree of doctor of laws from Wofford College; Blackwell P. Robinson is editing the revised *North Carolina State Guide* for the State Department of Conservation and Development; Horace H. Cunningham, professor of history at Elon College, has been appointed leader of the Burlington, N. C., American Heritage Group sponsored by the Ford Founda-



tion; George B. Tindall, who resigned his position at the Woman's College, has become assistant professor of history at Louisiana State University; William Y. Thompson has been promoted to associate professor of history at Presbyterian College; Dan M. Lacy has become managing director of the American Book Publishers Council; and Elmer D. Johnson has accepted a position at East Carolina College.

Publications by alumni include: Elmer D. Johnson's *A Brief History of Cherokee County, South Carolina* (Gaffney, 1952); Charles G. Sellers, Jr.'s "Colonel Ezekiel Polk: Pioneer and Patriarch," *William and Mary Quarterly* (January, 1953); J. Leonard Bates's "Josephus Daniels and the Naval Oil Reserves," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* (February, 1953); Charles B. Clark's *Politics in Maryland During the Civil War* (Chestertown, 1952), and "The Career of John Seymour, Governor of Maryland, 1704-1709," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (June, 1953); Louis Von L. Naisawald's "Robert Howe's Operations in Virginia, 1775-1776," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (July, 1952); Ernest M. Lander, Jr.'s "Two Letters of William Mayrant on His Cotton Factory, 1815," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (January, 1953), and "Slave Labor in South Carolina Cotton Mills," *Journal of Negro History* (April, 1953); William S. Hoffman's "Andrew Jackson, State Rightist: The Case of the Georgia Indians," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (December, 1952); and Sarah M. Lemmon's "Agricultural Policies of Eugene Talmadge," *Agricultural History*.

Dr. Samuel R. Spencer, assistant to the president and member of the History Department of Davidson College, has published *Decision for War, 1917*, with a foreword by Charles Seymour (West Rindge, N. H.: Richard R. Smith Publisher, Inc., 1953).

The Social Sciences Department of Wake Forest College announces the promotion of David L. Smiley to assistant professor. On December 7 Dr. Smiley read a paper entitled "Cassius M. Clay and Southern Industrialism" before the Filson Club in Louisville, Kentucky.



Queens College announces the appointment of Lawrence R. Nichols as assistant professor of history, succeeding Miss Jessie Sue Bynum.

Marvin R. Farley, assistant professor of history at Western Carolina College, is taking leave of absence during the current year to pursue work towards his doctorate in history. Mrs. Susie S. Taylor is substituting for Mr. Farley.

The Currituck Historical Society held its first regularly scheduled quarterly meeting on Monday night, October 8, in the Currituck courthouse. Reports on research done in Currituck County history were given by Gen. John Wood of Elizabeth City, Mrs. Evelyn Griffin of Shawboro, J. F. Pugh of Camden, and Mrs. Faytie Cox of Moyock. Officers chosen for the coming year are Dudley Bagley of Moyock, president; Norman Hughes of Powell's Point, vice president; Mrs. Alma O. Roberts of Shawboro, secretary; Mrs. Nell M. Griggs of Poplar Branch, treasurer; and Mrs. Pearl E. West of Currituck, curator. The group plans to hold regular meetings on the first Monday night in October, January, April and July.

Permanent organization of the Washington County Historical Association was completed on November 23, with the adoption of the constitution and by-laws and the election of the following permanent officers: Rev. E. M. Spruill of Plymouth, president; R. F. Lowry of Plymouth, vice president; Rev. George C. Field of Creswell, secretary; Miss Matilda Alexander of Creswell, treasurer; W. S. Tarlton of Creswell, curator; and Mrs. Louise McGowan of Plymouth, director of publicity.

At the November meeting of the Moore County Historical Association held in the Southern Pines library, E. T. McKeithen, chairman of the county history project, reported to the group that Blackwell P. Robinson, currently at work on the history, would deliver the first portion of the manuscript very shortly. This part of the history covers the first 100 years of settlement within the area.



On October 19 in Lincolnton a state historical marker was unveiled near the grave of J. G. Arends, pioneer Lutheran minister and first president of the North Carolina Lutheran Synod. Mr. Clarence Griffin of Forest City, a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, spoke at the ceremony, which was held in connection with the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Synod.

Representing the State Department of Archives and History on Saturday, November 21, Mr. Clarence W. Griffin participated in the unveiling of a historical marker at the site of Cathey's Fort in McDowell County. Miss Ruth Greenlee of Marion presided over the unveiling program and Major T. Q. Whitmire, U. S. Army Chaplain's Corps, led the opening prayer. Mrs. Harold Dysort led the pledge to the flag and Mr. Griffin spoke on the marker program of the Department of Archives and History, after which several members of the Cathey family of Gastonia and Charlotte were presented. Miss Mary M. Greenlee of Old Fort read a paper on the history of Cathey's Fort and accepted the marker on behalf of the McDowell Historical Society and the Greenlee Chapter of the D. A. R., which were the two sponsoring agencies. Major Whitmire concluded the program with a prayer.

On October 4 the Hickory Tavern Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution unveiled a marker at the site of the Old Hickory Tavern in Hickory. Those participating in the program were Mrs. Pearl Miller Tomlinson, presiding; Miss Alla Pearl Little; Rev. J. Elwood Carroll; Mrs. J. L. Kiser; Mrs. Harold G. Deal; Mrs. Wayne G. Houchins; Mrs. Joseph W. Shuford; Donald S. Menzies, mayor of Hickory; Raymond L. Hefner, president of the Catawba County Historical Association; Karl Kinnard; Mrs. John S. Rowe; Clarence W. Griffin; Mrs. T. M. Johnson, the first child born in Old Hickory Tavern; Dr. H. D. Althouse; Walter A. Hahn; Mrs. E. S. Merritt; Mrs. George Albert Kernodle; Walker Geitner; Charles Raper Jonas, congressman of the North Carolina Tenth District; and Max R. Steelman, executive



secretary of the Hickory Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Griffin presided during the unveiling ceremony at the marker, and the second portion of the program included music by the Lenoir Rhyne College band, directed by Robin F. Gatwood; the marker unveiling performed by Alexandra Elizabeth Campbell, Laura Frances Welton, Benny Goodman, Jr., and Joseph A. Moretz, III; marker presentation by Mrs. Pearl M. Tomlinson; marker acceptance for the City of Hickory by Mayor Donald S. Menzies; and dedication by Mr. Griffin and Mrs. Tomlinson. A reception was held by Mr. and Mrs. Raymond L. Hefner at the Old Log House.

The organizational meeting of the Tyrrell County Historical Society was held in Columbia on September 11. The assembled group elected Sam H. Woodley, president, and Mrs. J. H. Swain, secretary-treasurer. Membership constitution, and by-laws committees were appointed. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History addressed the meeting on "Organizing a County Historical Society."

The State Department of Archives and History has received a copy of the pamphlet, *Suggestions for the Study and Writing of a County or Local History*, prepared for November release by a committee composed of Hugh T. Lefler, Phillips Russell, William S. Powell, W. Frank Burton, Willis G. Briggs, Manly Wade Wellman, and W. P. Jacocks, chairman. The Department is also in receipt of Aylene E. and Cameron Cooke's *Our Christmas Symbols* (Raleigh: Graphic Press, 1953, \$1.00).

The *Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, XLII, 249-290 (No. 1, 1953) carries the article "Christoph von Graffenried und die Gründung von Neu-Bern in Nord-Carolina" by Hans Gustav Keller.

The Southern Historical Association held its nineteenth annual meeting in Jacksonville, Florida, November 12-14. Included in the program were Dr. Percival Perry of Wake Forest College reading "The Naval Stores Industry in the Ante-bellum South"; Dr. Carl Pegg of The University of



North Carolina as chairman of the discussion program on "Europe in the Twentieth Century"; Dr. Fletcher M. Green of The University of North Carolina reading "The Spirit of '76"; Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College as chairman of the discussion program entitled "Social and Intellectual Currents in the Late Nineteenth Century"; Dr. William B. Hamilton of Duke University in a comment on the session entitled "Law and the Administration of Justice"; and Dr. Marvin L. Brown of North Carolina State College in an address, "American Independence through Prussian Eyes." Representing the State Department of Archives and History at the meeting were D. L. Corbitt, W. Frank Burton, and Edwin A. Miles.

The Southern Book Company, 6 East Franklin Street, Baltimore, Maryland, in its catalog No. 150, *Local History and Genealogy*, lists the following as item 483: "Olds, Fred A. An Abstract of North Carolina Wills from about 1760 to about 1800. Supplementing Grimes' Abstract of North Carolina Wills, 1663 to 1760. Prepared from the Originals and Other Data. 8 vo, cloth, Reprinted: Balto., 1953. \$10.00. This will be an exact reprint of the very rare original edition of which only 125 copies were printed for distribution. Preparations are now under way to republish this work, but exact date of publication is not certain. If you wish to place your order now, we will gladly notify you when the book is available."

On November 21, G. P. Putnam's Sons awarded for the first time the \$2,000 Putnam Prize through the English Department of The University of North Carolina to Mrs. Doris Betts of Chapel Hill, for her collection of short stories, *The Gentle Insurrection*. The Putnam Prize will be awarded annually for the best manuscript, either fiction or non-fiction, submitted by a graduate or undergraduate student of The Greater University of North Carolina. Mrs. Betts's book is scheduled for publication by Putnam in April.

Books received include: Mary B. Cowdrey, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union*, volumes I & II (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1953); Bur-



leigh Cushing Rodick, *American Constitutional Custom: A Forgotten Factor in the Founding* (New York: Philosophical Press, 1953); Theodore Sizer, *The Autobiography of Col. John Trumbull* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953); Richard J. Hooker, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953); Curtis Carroll Davis, *Chronicler of the Cavaliers* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1953); *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, volume XXVII (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1952); Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., *Decision for War, 1917* (West Rindge, N. H.: Richard R. Smith Publisher, Inc., 1953); R. D. W. Connor, *A Documentary History of the University of North Carolina 1776-1799*, volumes I & II (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953); William P. Dillingham, *Federal Aid to Veterans 1917-1941* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953); Gregor Sebba, *Georgia Studies: Selected Writings of Robert Preston Brooks* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1952); Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism 1848-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953); Paul Apperson Reid, *Gubernatorial Campaigns and Administrations of David S. Reid, 1848-1854* (Cullohee, N. C.: Western Carolina College, 1953); William S. Ewing, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Clements Library* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The William L. Clements Library, 1953); Frank Nash, *Hillsboro: Colonial and Revolutionary* (Chapel Hill: The Orange Printshop, 1953); Francis Butler Simkins, *A History of the South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Publisher, 1953); Mary B. Graff, *Mandarin on the St. Johns* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953); Hugh Lefler and Paul Wager, *Orange County 1752-1952* (Chapel Hill: The Orange Printshop, 1953); Jonathan Truman Dorris, *Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953); W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., *Richard Oswald's Memorandum* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1953); J. Max Patrick, *Savannah's Pioneer Theater from its Origins to 1810* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1953); William T. Polk, *Southern Accent* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1953); Louis



D. Rubin and Robert D. Jacobs, *Southern Renaissance: The Literature of the Modern South* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953); Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loonie, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953); William S. Powell, *St. Luke's Episcopal Church 1753-1953* (Salisbury, N. C.: St. Luke's Episcopal Church, 1953); William Baskerville Hamilton, *Thomas Rodney, Revolutionary and Builder of the West* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1953); James Thomas Flexner, *The Traitor and the Spy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1953); Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, *Wiley Buck and other Stories of the Concord Community* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953); John D. Barnhart, *Valley of Democracy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1953); John R. Lambert, Jr., *Arthur Pue Gorman* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953); Julian P. Boyd, Mina R. Bryan, and Elizabeth L. Hutter, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, February 1785 to October 1785*, volume 8 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953); Louis R. Wilson, *Selected Papers of Cornelia Phillips Spencer* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953).



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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## THE ANTE-BELLUM PROFESSIONAL THEATER IN FAYETTEVILLE

By DONALD J. RULFS

The earliest newspaper notices of professional theatrical performances in Fayetteville appeared during the years 1795-1800 when traveling companies, usually from Charleston, South Carolina, presented plays on apparently improvised stages in public rooms.<sup>1</sup> During 1801-1802, however, a theater was constructed on the lower floor of a new brick Masonic Lodge building, and the Fayetteville Thalian Association made arrangements with the Masons for the use of the new theater.<sup>2</sup> The earliest performances in the theater were amateur productions by the Thalias and by students of Fayetteville Academy for the purpose of raising funds for the school.

Although the extant files of Fayetteville newspapers are quite incomplete until 1823, scattered earlier issues of these papers and early issues of the *Raleigh Register* indicate that from the opening of the new theater in Fayetteville until 1823 there were frequent productions by the students of the Academy and by the Thalian Association, which was incorporated by the General Assembly in 1814. It is also very likely that traveling professional companies appeared in the theater before 1823, as they toured the circuit of theaters in New Bern, Wilmington, Fayetteville, and Raleigh.<sup>3</sup>

The first complete newspaper account of a professional engagement at the Fayetteville theater appears in issues of

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<sup>1</sup> Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1941) I, 643.

<sup>2</sup> Henderson, *North Carolina*, II, 649.

<sup>3</sup> Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina, a Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 178.



*The Carolina Observer* (Fayetteville) from April 29 through June 10, 1824. On April 29, John Herbert and W. C. Drummond advertised that they would open the theater on May 3, although no titles of the plays for the opening night were given. The managers were Herbert, an English actor who had made his American debut at the Chestnut Street Theater in Philadelphia during 1817, and Drummond, also an Englishman, who had first appeared in this country at the Holiday Street Theater in Baltimore in 1810.<sup>4</sup> Performances were announced for Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings; prices of admission were \$1.00 for the front boxes and 50 cents for the back boxes; the curtain time was 8:00 P.M.; and the theater bar was to be sublet as a concession. The company remained for five weeks and three days through June 11, and on the following December 23, Herbert advertised that the troupe would return to Fayetteville for six nights only beginning December 27. The company came to Fayetteville from Raleigh, where it had completed a successful three weeks' engagement on December 19.<sup>5</sup>

In accordance with a long standing custom on the English and American stages, an evening's program during the Herbert and Drummond engagement consisted of the main play and at least one afterpiece in the form of a farce, with occasional variety entertainment in the form of music, dancing, or recitations between the main play and the farce. The Herbert and Drummond company offered in Fayetteville the most popular contemporary English comedies and melodramas, the first advertised titles being Charles Kemble's *The Point of Honor, or the School for Soldiers*, with J. T. Allingham's farce *Fortune's Frolic, or the Ploughman Turned Lord*, on May 6. On May 13 and May 20, two popular plays by George Coleman the Younger, *The Spanish Barber* and *The Heir at Law*, were presented as the main plays, and on June 3 the anonymous *The Forty Thieves*, advertised as "An Operatical Romance," was the main feature, with David Garrick's *High Life Below Stairs* as the afterpiece. On June

<sup>4</sup> T. Allston Brown, *A History of the American Stage* (New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, 1870), 106, 171.

<sup>5</sup> Donald J. Rulfs, "The Ante-Bellum Professional Theater in Raleigh," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX (July, 1952), 349.



10, the program consisted of Garrick's popular *Catherine and Petruchio*, followed by an anonymous ballet entitled *Little Red Riding Hood*, and concluding with Isaac Bickerstaff's farce *The Sultan, or the American Captive*. On June 11, the last night of the engagement, James Sheridan Knowles's *Virginius, or the Liberation of Rome* was offered, followed by a recitation of William Collins's famous "Ode on the Passions" with musical accompaniment. During the return engagement in December, one play that perhaps had a special appeal for a Fayetteville audience was Samuel Woodworth's *Lafayette, or the Castle of Olmutz*, with John O'Keeffe's *The Poor Soldier* as the afterpiece on December 30.

After the Herbert and Drummond engagements, the theater was not rented by another professional company for four years. A notice in the *Carolina Observer* for January 15, 1829, stated that Shadgett's company of performers had already arrived from Raleigh and would open "the old Theatre under Masonic Hall," adding that "... this Company, both in private & professional life, are worthy of their [the public's] patronage." An advertisement by Shadgett in the same issue of the paper stated that the company was "fitting up" the old theater and would open on January 17 with a program consisting of Mrs. Charles Kemble's *The Day After the Wedding*; a recitation, "The Female Volunteers" by a Mrs. Hatch; a sailor's hornpipe danced by Pierson; a recitation, "The Newcastle Apothecary," by Shadgett; and the anonymous farce, *The Turnpike Gate*. Performances were apparently offered on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings.

During the first week of the Shadgett company's engagement, it was noted that the audiences were small but respectable, although they were "... becoming more numerous each night of performance ... The Theatre is very neatly and comfortably fitted up."<sup>6</sup> The troupe, moreover, proved popular enough to remain for almost three weeks through February 5, offering many of the favorite contemporary plays. Among these were John Brougham's comedy, *Paul Pry*, on January 23, an anonymous adaptation of Sir Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* on January 28, and Richard L. Sheil's

<sup>6</sup> *Carolina Observer*, January 22, 1829.



*The Apostate* on January 30. With regard to *The Lady of the Lake*, the newspaper account stated that "The arrangement of the scenery on a Stage of so small an extent, was well adapted to showing off the piece."<sup>7</sup> The play was repeated on the last night of the engagement, a benefit performance for A. Keyser on February 5.

During the next year the Fayetteville Thalian Association became interested in attracting a limited number of capable professional performers to appear in productions with members of the Association supporting the professionals in minor roles. On April 15, 1830, a certain Cooper and Blake and his wife were advertised in their last appearances in Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved* and William Dimond's *The Lady and the Devil* under the sponsorship of the Association.<sup>8</sup> Two weeks later, on April 29, a Mrs. Preston was advertised in her last appearance and benefit performance in John Tobin's *The Honey Moon*, followed by a recitation by Preston and the farce, *The Turnpike Gate*. In connection with the engagement of the two Prestons, a communication signed "Hamlet" appeared in the newspaper: "The neat and beautiful style in which the Theatre has been repaired, the exertions of the Association to induce Actors of eminence to perform for the gratification of the Public, and the repeated evidence of Mrs. Preston's talents in her profession, call loudly for a more liberal display of patronage . . ."<sup>9</sup> The appeal for support, however, was apparently ineffective, and the Thalian Association waited eleven years before it again attempted to sponsor professional performers, as indicated below.

In the meantime, a certain Hart, advertised as manager of the Charleston, Savannah, and Augusta theaters, opened the Fayetteville theater on June 24, 1835, with a company of eight, and a notice in the *Fayetteville Observer* stated that the troupe arrived with high recommendations from other towns.<sup>10</sup> The company remained for two weeks through July 7, offering nightly performances. Titles of plays appear-

<sup>7</sup> *Carolina Observer*, January 29, 1829.

<sup>8</sup> *Carolina Observer*, April 15, 1830.

<sup>9</sup> *Carolina Observer*, April 29, 1830.

<sup>10</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, June 23, 1835.



ing in the weekly newspaper advertisements were as follows: T. Haynes Bayley's *Perfection, or the Maid of Munster*, and the anonymous farce, *The Two Gregories*, on June 24; William Dunlap's *The Stranger*, and William Macready's *The Village Lawyer* on June 30; and Knowles's *William Tell, the Swiss Patriot* and Richard Butler's *The Irish Tutor*, as a benefit performance for one Bailey and wife on July 7.

After the engagement of Hart's company, the regular offerings of dramatic productions at the theater were interrupted for several years by attractions consisting of variety entertainment and concert programs. The first two performers appearing at the theater were Signor Vivalla, "Celebrated Italian Professor of Equilibrium and Plate Dancing," November 24-26, 1836; and W. J. Ryan, "Magician, Equilibrist, and Plate Dancer," February 6-11, 1837. The next attraction, however, was presented at the Lafayette Hotel and consisted of a brief series of concerts by Madame Derio and Signor Pucci, who announced their last evening on January 3, 1838. The newspaper referred to them as "these admirable performers" and recommended them to the public.<sup>11</sup> During the next year, Monsieur and Madame Canderbeck offered a "Grand Soiree Musicale on the German Harp and Violin" at the Masonic Hall on April 18 and 19, 1839. They were followed on February 19, 1840, by "The Four Hungarians," Rosen, Kaln, Liebenstein, and Reich, who presented a "Grand Vocal Concert" at the Masonic Hall.

The last dramatic company to perform in the theater under Masonic Hall during the ante-bellum years was probably the best to appear in Fayetteville to that date. On June 2, 1841, the Thalian Association advertised that it was sponsoring the principal members of the Charleston Theater company for one week, May 31-June 5.<sup>12</sup> The group was under the direction of William Abbott, an English actor, who at the time was the successful manager of the Charleston Theater.<sup>13</sup> The regular Charleston season had closed on May 15,<sup>14</sup> and

<sup>11</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, January 3, 1838.

<sup>12</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, June 2, 1841.

<sup>13</sup> W. Stanley Hoole, *The Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1946), 42.

<sup>14</sup> Hoole, *Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre*, 114.



a communication to the *Fayetteville Observer* for June 2 signed "A" stated that the company had arrived in Fayetteville after an engagement of two weeks in Wilmington. The writer who signed himself "A" stated that he had seen the group on the opening night in Fayetteville and that they "... performed not only with great credit to themselves, but to the infinite gratification of a highly respectable and intelligent audience." Of the eight members of the group, five were regular performers with the excellent Charleston company: Abbott, J. M. Weston, Lewellen, Jerry Merryfield, and Sarah Hildreth.<sup>15</sup> The only titles of plays advertised were those for the evening of June 2: Knowles's *The Hunchback*, and James R. Planché's *The Loan of a Lover*.

After the departure of Abbott's company, there were no further professional dramatic performances in Fayetteville during the remaining ante-bellum years with the exception of a brief engagement by a group known as "The Parker Family," entertaining in an unidentified building named Farmer's Hall in early June, 1860.<sup>16</sup> The Thalian Association, however, continued to offer occasional amateur productions. It is possible that the old Masonic Hall with the theater below was demolished shortly before the present Masonic Hall at 221 Mason Street was erected in 1858.<sup>17</sup>

Although there were no further professional performances of plays in Fayetteville during the ante-bellum period, professional entertainment continued in other forms, namely, variety shows, concert artists and groups, minstrels, and panoramas. Beginning in February, 1849, most of the attractions were offered in Fayetteville Hall, a public room in the then recently opened Fayetteville Hotel. In this connection, it should be noted that Fayetteville rapidly increased in population from 2,868 in 1830 to 4,285 in 1840 as the town became the marketing and distributing center for a large portion of the Piedmont.<sup>18</sup> After 1840, however, the population became more or less stabilized, increasing only to 4,790 by 1860,

<sup>15</sup> Hoole, *Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre*, 112.

<sup>16</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, June 4, 1860.

<sup>17</sup> *North Carolina, a Guide to the Old North State*, Federal Writers' Project of the Federal Works Agency (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939), 201.

<sup>18</sup> Henderson, *North Carolina*, II, 103-104.



mainly because the town had been left off the main railroad lines of the state.<sup>19</sup>

After the change occurred in the type of professional theatrical entertainment offered to Fayetteville audiences, the largest number of performances were in the fields of variety entertainment and concert music, both of which were almost equally popular. The first of the variety entertainments appeared at the theater on February 13, 1845, when a certain Haskell and his wife performed tricks of magic, followed by Signor Veronica's "Mechanical Marionettes" on the same program. Next, the "Harmonian Bell Ringers" on May 2, 1848, advertised their second and last concert, but with no place of performance. The first variety offerings in the new Fayetteville Hall were those of the Kilmiste Family with singing and dancing on February 13, 1849, followed in the same place by "The Great Rhigas, Prince of Equilibrists from Paris," and Jerry Merryfield, comic vocalist, on January 28, 1851. Within the same year, "Everett the Magician" had two successful engagements on August 5 and 6, and November 28 and 29 at Fayetteville Hall. On the following January 21 and 22, "Herr Franz Stoepel's Company of Swiss Bell Ringers" drew good audiences, as did "Professor Hale's Lectures and Experiments in Electro-Biology," April 29-May 7, 1852. One of the largest variety troupes to play in Fayetteville Hall was the "Fakir of Siva's Great Southern Ethiopian Opera and Ballet Troupe," which offered "Grand Pantomimes, Opera Pieces, Solos, Farces, &c., &c." on December 1-3, 1853. During the next year, The Woodroffes appeared on March 6-11 in a "Grand Exhibition of Fancy and Philosophical Glass Working, Spinning, and Blowing." They were followed within the same month, on March 14, by A. C. Brand, a ventriloquist. The last variety exhibition was given by "The Celebrated Boon Children," three in number, who presented readings from Shakespeare and other English playwrights, in Fayetteville Hall on March 24-26, 1855.

One of the most popular of the concert groups was "The Orphean Family from the Banks of the Kennebec," who appeared at Masonic Hall on April 10 and 11, 1845, and on

<sup>19</sup> Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 117.



March 10, 1846. A similar group was "The Washington Harmonic Company," which offered a vocal and instrumental program at Fayetteville Hall on July 24, 1850. However, the most noted figure in the entertainment world to visit antebellum Fayetteville was Madame Anna Bishop, English soprano, who toured both the western and eastern hemispheres during her career. She appeared at Fayetteville Hall on March 27, 1851, in a "Grand Lyric Concert in Costumes," assisted by Signor Novelli, basso, and one Boscha, pianist. Signor Novelli returned to Fayetteville on October 3, 1853, when he appeared in a "Grand Operatic Concert" with Madame Rosalie Durand, soprano; Signor Moretti, violinist; and a certain Warden, ballad singer. During the next year, another ballad singer, Dempster, was well received at Fayetteville Hall on February 15, 1854.

Four of the earliest minstrel shows to tour in the South appeared in Fayetteville Hall during the 1850's. The Aeolian Minstrels played for two nights, February 11-12, 1850, followed by Ned Davis's Olio Minstrels on January 28 and 30, 1854. During the next year came the Sweeney and Sherman Minstrels on October 25, 1855, and a few months later the popular Jullien Minstrels played in Fayetteville Hall on February 14, 1856.

One popular type of entertainment which is now obsolete was the moving panorama, a continuous picture exhibited a part at a time by being unrolled before the audience. The first of these exhibitions was "The Grand Colossal Moving Panorama of the Hudson River, and Scenes in Virginia," which played at Fayetteville Hall for one week beginning March 18, 1850. This was followed within a few months, on June 12-19, 1850, by Pomarede's "Great Original Panorama of the Mississippi River and Indian Life, and Calhoun's Funeral Procession in Charleston." This exhibition, which was advertised as being 1,800 yards in length,<sup>20</sup> was apparently too large for Fayetteville Hall since it was shown at Town Hall. After it had been open for a week, the *Fayetteville Observer* stated that it was still drawing "crowds of spectators" and added that "The music is most excellent, well worth

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<sup>20</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, June 11, 1850.



a visit to the Hall of itself, and the lecture very interesting.”<sup>21</sup> During the next year, F. H. Hastings’s “Panorama of the Mediterranean” also proved popular enough to remain for a week at Fayetteville Hall from May 13 through 17, 1851. The last panorama to appear in Fayetteville during the ante-bellum years was “The Moving Mirror of Bunyan Tableaux,” a presentation of sixty scenes from *Pilgrim’s Progress* with life-size figures. It proved to be so popular that it remained for eight nights, beginning October 8, 1860, at Fayetteville Hall. The Bunyan Panorama was the last professional attraction in Fayetteville before the War between the States.

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<sup>21</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, June 18, 1850.



## SHARECROPPER AND TENANT IN THE COURTS OF NORTH CAROLINA

By MARJORIE MENDENHALL APPLEWHITE

It has been maintained for some time that sharecropping had been developed in the South before the Civil War.<sup>1</sup> But the outlines of the system were not very clear. Now, that vagueness can to a great extent be cleared up. Evidence, primarily from North Carolina, reveals many of the features in the development of that institution, as well as those in tenancy, a condition for a long time sharply differentiated from sharecropping.

The term, cropper, is an old one and has been used with various connotations.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to speculate that the peculiar connotation of the term, "sharecropping," may have come from the turpentine industry where sharecropping appears to have been a customary way of securing labor by the 1830's. In the turpentine industry the term, "crop," was and may still be a term of measurement. A crop was ten thousand boxes or faces into which the spirits ran from scarified pine trees. In trees a crop was estimated at one time as five thousand and later as nine thousand trees.<sup>3</sup> A cropper attended a certain number of "crops" on shares. Conditions in the industry were not such as to permit cheating.

One thing that makes this speculation particularly interesting is that, while supreme court cases reveal sharecropping to have been clearly distinguished from tenancy in North Carolina before the Civil War, sharecropping does not appear to have been as early or as well known in South Carolina. Since a mistaken idea that pines below North Carolina would not be very productive existed until around 1838,<sup>4</sup> there is

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<sup>1</sup> Marjorie Stratford Mendenhall, "The Rise of Southern Tenancy," *The Yale Review*, Autumn, 1937, 110-129.

<sup>2</sup> *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Oxford, 1893); and *A Dictionary of American English* (Chicago, 1940).

<sup>3</sup> Donald Fraser Martin, Jr., "The Naval Stores Industry in the United States," unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of North Carolina, 1931, 34n; and *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, Mass., 1946).

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Schorger, "The Naval Stores Industry," United States Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 229 (July 28, 1915), 3; and Martin, "The



room for the hypothesis that the culture trait may have arisen in North Carolina and may have spread to other areas. Before entertaining that idea, however, one would do well to check on the earlier tobacco industry of Virginia and on contemporary agricultural conditions in North Carolina.

How the above speculation may turn out it is useless to predict. What is more to the point is that sharecropping was common enough in the naval stores industry and agriculture in North Carolina before the Civil War to yield a number of revealing state supreme court cases. These show a clear distinction between sharecropping—a labor device—and tenancy—a more dignified status. This distinction was continued immediately after the Civil War, but with time the difference became less and less. And tenancy, largely through the development of the landlord's lien and a recognition of the landlord's possession of the crop, tended to be reduced toward a coalescence with sharecropping by the later 1890's.

At least two interesting consequences flow from this evidence: (1) it makes comprehensible the modern tendency not to distinguish between the two terms, a tendency which obscures much that is of interest and probably beneficial in tenancy today; and (2) it promotes the suspicion that the Civil War set agriculture back instead of forward. It is a truism to the student of history that the nadir of agriculture in the United States was reached in the 1890's. As important as the Civil War was, can it have been overemphasized in the history of agriculture, particularly as an explanation of sharecropping? Is this not one of the cases in which "beware the simple explanation" is a salutary caution?

The naval stores cases<sup>5</sup> involved sharing arrangements of one-half, one-fourth, and one-fifth for the cropper. However, the court invariably made the point that classification of the producer as cropper or tenant should be based upon the

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Naval Stores Industry," 14-20, in which the lateness of the development of the naval stores industry below North Carolina is attributed to general economic conditions in that area.

<sup>5</sup> *State v. Jones*, 19 *North Carolina Reports* (1837), 544; *State v. Poore*, *Reports* (1852), 1; and *Denton v. Strickland*, 48 *North Carolina Reports* (1855), 61. The term, naval stores, in early usage included staves and other products besides tar, pitch, and turpentine.



nature of the covenant, particularly whether the contract was executory or not.

Indeed this point, as to the contract being executory, was made in a case involving an overseer's share of an agricultural crop contracted in 1806. Here it was held that the landlord must set apart the overseer's share, the contract being executory until this was done.<sup>6</sup> Later, sharecroppers were often likened to overseers working on shares. In *Steed v. McRae*,<sup>7</sup> reference is made to an act of 1741, providing that overseers might forfeit the share of the produce by leaving before the time mentioned in the agreement. Overseering on shares was then long established. And the judges may have borrowed some of their reasoning on sharecropping from the analogy between overseering on shares and sharecropping. Overseers and sharecroppers were really laborers of a higher and lower sort.

What is perhaps the earliest reference to sharecropping came in June, 1830, when Justice Thomas Ruffin held that the presumption that an occupier was a tenant might be weakened by evidence that he paid a rent in part of the crop rather than in money.<sup>8</sup>

In an 1837 case involving staves, hinging on the question as to whether a producer might be a bailee and, because of this analogy, be a tenant in common, Justice Joseph J. Daniel gave these interesting views:

The question for the decision of the court is, was Hardy Jones a tenant in common with Jenkins in the staves? Jenkins was the sole owner of the land on which the timber trees grew that furnished the entire materials out of which the staves were manufactured. Hardy Jones did not lease the land, but he agreed with Jenkins to go on his land, and there, by himself or servants, to labour in making staves, and was to have one half of the staves manufactured, instead of cash, in payment of his work and labour. If a man builds a vessel, or makes a coat, with the entire materials of another, the vessel or coat, when made, belongs to the owner of the materials. If a man engages another person to come and labour on his farm, as overseer or cropper, and stipulates with him that he shall have a share of the crop for his

<sup>6</sup> *Wood v. Atkinson*, 6 *North Carolina Reports* (1811), 87.

<sup>7</sup> *Steed v. McRae*, 18 *North Carolina Reports* (1836), 435.

<sup>8</sup> *Wood v. Atkinson*.



labour and attention, the property in the entire crop is in the employer until the share of the overseer, or cropper is separated from the general mass; and then, and not until that act is done, does the title to the share vest or become executed in the labourer. Before the separation the labourer's right rests upon an executory contract with the employer. Before separation it could not be levied on to satisfy the labourer's debts . . . Hardy Jones was not, as we think, a tenant in common with Jenkins . . . The slave of Jones worked out the staves, and left them at the place where he found the timber, and that was on the land of the owner. Hardy Jones, while his slave was there at work, may be said to have had charge of them, but he was not a bailee.<sup>9</sup>

In a later turpentine case<sup>10</sup> Justice Richmond M. Pearson, speaking of the plaintiff producer, held that he was only a cultivator of the pine trees, that is a "cropper." In this 1855 case the justice held that the distinction between a lessee and a cropper was fixed by a series of cases. Before the Civil War the terms, sharecropper and cropper, were familiarly used in connection with agricultural crops, as well as in connection with turpentine orcharding.<sup>11</sup> The distinction between these terms and the term, tenant, remained the same. An examination of the pertinent cases, with an effort to itemize the points of differentiation, reveals these facts:

The tenant: (1) has a lease and possession; (2) if working on shares, he divides the produce when the crop is made and pays rent; (3) probably has greater variation in contract—in one case the tenant was held to have a right to the manure produced on his farm,<sup>12</sup> and in another the fact that the landlord furnished a horse was not held to make the producer a cropper but only to give the landlord a larger share of rent;<sup>13</sup> and (4) has as good a position as the landlord where liens are involved.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *State v. Jones*.

<sup>10</sup> *Denton v. Strickland*.

<sup>11</sup> *Hare v. Pearson*, 26 *North Carolina Reports* (1843), 77; *Ross v. Swaringer*, 31 *North Carolina Reports* (1849), 481; *McNeely v. Hart*, 32 *North Carolina Reports* (1849), 63; *Brazier v. Ausley*, 33 *North Carolina Reports* (1850), 12.

<sup>12</sup> *Smithwick v. Ellison*, 24 *North Carolina Reports* (1842), 326.

<sup>13</sup> *Hatchell v. Kimbro*, 49 *North Carolina Reports* (1856), 163.

<sup>14</sup> *Deaver v. Rice*, 20 *North Carolina Reports* (1839), 567. See also *State v. Poore*, and *Hare v. Pearson*. By Act of 1844 a growing crop was not to be levied on. See Clark's note at the end of *State v. Poore* in the edition of cases edited by Walter Clark.



The sharecropper: (1) has no lease—only an understanding, a contract, or an agreement as to wages; he is a laborer, even a servant; (2) has his crop divided and contract executed by the landlord; (3) when not so designated yet furnished provisions or a horse by the landlord, becomes by implication a cropper—indeed, as has been pointed out, a share arrangement in itself tended to create the idea that sharecropping was involved; and (4) presumably works under the shadow of the landlord's favored position in regard to crop liens.

The Civil War period apparently found these two cropping institutions, tenancy and sharecropping, with the balance in sharecropping, but not in tenancy, tending to favor the landlord's lien. After that war, the general evolution of the two hinged first on this question of lien and then on possession. The result was that in these pivotal issues, more by statute than by judicial construction, the landlord won the favored position in both instances. Thus were the major distinctions between the tenant and sharecropper obliterated. Hard times, ignorance, and poor methods played their parts. But this development more accurately measures the decline of agriculture, and explains the modern tendency of referring to the two terms, tenant and sharecropper, synonymously. A review of the more important cases may make this clear.

The case of *Lewis v. Wilkins*, heard in January, 1868,<sup>15</sup> throws much light on conditions at that time. According to Chief Justice Pearson, shares were referred to as "black rent" and silver as "white rent." The case involved a two year agricultural partnership, and arose over settlement of a question in an inheritance situation. The court carefully pointed out that the operating partner was not merely an overseer, and that he was on a higher plane than a sharecropper. The Chief Justice said that an arrangement had been made prior to his death by Wilkins, the landowner, "to enable him the more conveniently to carry on his farm after his slaves were set free . . . we have discussed it somewhat fully because we are aware that in the present condition of the country, *contracts*

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<sup>15</sup> *Lewis vs. Wilkins*, 62 *North Carolina Reports* (1868), 303.



*to carry on farming operations in a way similar to this are very generally resorted to*, [author's italics] and, to prevent litigation, it is well to point out wherein they are plainly distinguishable from leases and terms for years."

This sort of partnership arrangement, however, did not become pervasive, while sharecropping did. In an 1869 case<sup>16</sup> involving a sharecropper and a "bargain," in which the landlord, prior to crop division was to get a portion of the wheat crop for the guano and the seed he furnished, legislation passed in 1866-1867 came into question. The official in the lower court had held that the defendant landlord-employer was guilty because he had not complied with the requirements of the new legislation, entitled "An act to protect landlords from insolvent debtors." In refusing to agree Justice Settle ruled "This act does not take away any rights that the landlord had before, but it gives others; and it would be strange if we were to construe a remedial act to protect landlords, so as to diminish their remedies, and leave them in a worse condition than they were before its passage." It was to be some time before this position was consolidated. A considerable amount of additional legislation came under consideration. The story of what happened evolves from the cases.

In an 1870 case<sup>17</sup> involving a one-fourth contract for cotton, Justice William B. Rodman, who was classified by some as a scalawag and by others as a man of great learning capable of rapid and wise adjustment in a difficult time, clarified the distinction between a tenant and a cropper although he did not use the word cropper:

It has been often decided that where a tenant agrees to pay a certain part of the crop as rent, the property of the whole crop is in him until the decision. The principle is the same when the landlord is to pay a certain part of the crop to a laborer for his wages; in such case the property in the crop is with the landlord until a decision. In whom the property remains until the separation depends in all cases upon the agreement; it is not a rule of law, it is simply a question of interpretation of a contract.

<sup>16</sup> *State v. Burwell*, 63 *North Carolina Reports* (1869), 661.

<sup>17</sup> *Wolston v. Bryan*, 64 *North Carolina Reports* (1870), 764.



The more important case of *Harrison v. Ricks*<sup>18</sup> in 1874, gave Justice Rodman the opportunity to review the trend of judicial opinion, to summarize the guiding rules for the question of intent, and to construe a new statute narrowly with a result favorable to the producer, (described here as a sort of hybrid tenant-cropper). The interesting material warrants a somewhat extended quotation. After making the old distinctions between a tenant and a cropper, Justice Rodman continued on the subject of the tenant:

The landlord has no lien on the crop for rent, whether such lien be stipulated for or not; although if such lien be given by agreement it is, as will be seen, strong evidence that the occupier is not a tenant but a cropper.

A cropper has no estate in the land; that remains in the landlord. Consequently, although he has, in some sense, the possession of the crop, it is only the possession of a servant, and is in the law that of the landlord. The landlord must divide off to the cropper his share. In short he is a laborer receiving pay in a share of the crop.

Which of these characters an occupier bears depends entirely on the agreement between the parties.

It is a question of interpretation, and the intent, when ascertained, must govern, as in other contracts.

Some rules may be deduced from the cases which may serve to guide us as to the intent.

1. If the contract clearly conveys the land to a lessee for a term, in the absence of some contrary or controlling provision, the lessee is a tenant. But generally, when the contract is oral or inartificially drawn, it is left doubtful whether an estate in the land was intended to pass. In such case the intent one way or the other must be inferred from the other provisions of the agreement. The use of the word "rent" as that the owner has "rented" his land to another, has by itself but little weight in the interpretation of an oral or inartificially and obscurely written contract.

2. If the occupier is to pay a money rent, the title to the crops must necessarily be in him in order that he may convert it into money. He is therefore strictly a tenant.

3. If the occupier is to pay the landlord a share of the crop as rent, the property in the whole must be in him in order that he may make the division, and he is a tenant. This interpretation may, however, be controlled by other provisions; as, for example,

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<sup>18</sup> *Harrison v. Ricks*, 71 *North Carolina Reports* (1874), 7.



by a positive agreement that the property in the whole must be in him in order that he may make the division, and he is a tenant. This interpretation may, however, be controlled by other provisions; as, for example, by a positive agreement that the property in the whole shall be in the landlord, either that he may make the division or that he may be secured by a lien. The stipulation for a lien must be either void, or it must make the occupier a cropper as it was held to do in *State v. Burrell*, 64 N. C. 661. [This should be *State v. Burwell*, 63 *North Carolina Reports*, 661].

4. If the landlord is to divide to the occupier his share, property in the whole must be in the landlord, and the occupier is only a cropper. *Denton v. Strickland*, 48 N. C. 61.

It would be an unnecessary waste of time to review in detail the cases from which these rules are drawn. They are singularly uniform and are all cited in the briefs of counsel.

... [The occupier in this case was declared to be a tenant.]

The question then occurs, were the rights of the defendant (the landlord) affected to his advantage by any statute? The act for the better security of landlords (1866-'67, Chap. 47) is omitted from Battle's Revisal, no doubt because the learned reviser thought it repealed by the act of 1868-'69, chap. 64. In this we concur with him. We turn then, to the act.

Sec. 12 gives to the landlord who leases land for a share of the crop, or for that and the performance of other stipulations as rent, a lien on the crop for such share, and for any damages for the breach of such stipulations. As between the occupier and third persons, he may be regarded as a tenant having an estate in the land for the term, *but as between him and the landlord he is only a cropper. But by this section the contract to have that effect must be in writing.* [Italics added.]

Section 13 gives to the landlord who leases for a money rent a lien on the crop whether the contract of lease be in writing or not ...

Section 14 is not contradictory of the previous ones. It does not alter the right of lien given by them. It makes it penal in a tenant to remove the crop when he has no right to do so.

As the agreement with Moss was not in writing the defendant cannot claim a lien under Sec. 12.

The property in the whole crop was therefore in Moss until he made a division, and he had a right to convey it to the plaintiffs, subject to the right of the landlord to his share as rent. (Act 1866-'67, Chap. 1).

Note that this man, having an estate in the land for a term, as between him and the landlord, is said to be only a



cropper. But note also that Justice Rodman held that the statute required that the agreement must be in writing.

Judicial comments at different dates during this time will reveal typical difficulties and the changing nature of the judicial task in this area.

In December 1855, Justice Pearson remarked: "As there is so much difference between a lease, and a contract to work for a share of the crop, in the legal consequences and rights conferred, it is singular that the parties to contracts do not express their intentions more clearly than is usually done in such instruments under consideration."<sup>19</sup>

In 1875, Justice Edwin G. Reade, in construing sections 13 and 15 of chapter 64 of the 1868-1869 act (Battle's Revisal) in which the civil offense is stated differently from the indictment, commented, "It is to be regretted that a statute which is to operate upon the most illiterate and dependent, and to govern labor, should not be so plain as to be easily understood by all."<sup>20</sup>

Again in 1875, Chief Justice Pearson was saying, "The dividing line between tenant and cropper is indistinct, and in many cases, hard to run."<sup>21</sup>

Two cases, one in 1874 and the other in 1875, reveal the insecurity of the cropper's economic position. In *Hudgins v. Wood*<sup>22</sup> it was stated that "the croppers had interests which they could and did assign, but the value of those interests could be ascertained only after deducting the lawful charge of the defendant; *and it seems that after this deduction nothing is left.*" [Italics added.]

In *Neal v. Bellamy*<sup>23</sup> Chief Justice Pearson summarized some of the facts thusly

Taylor, as a cropper, had no right to any part of the crop until it was delivered to him by Neal, after deducting rent, etc.; *yet Taylor was obliged to have something to live on while he was working for Neal.* [Italics added.] So the understanding between Neal, Taylor, and Odom and Co. was exactly what might have

<sup>19</sup> *Denton v. Strickland*.

<sup>20</sup> *Varner v. Spencer*, 72 *North Carolina Reports* (1875), 381.

<sup>21</sup> *Neal v. Bellamy*, 73 *North Carolina Reports* (1875), 384.

<sup>22</sup> *Hudgins v. Wood*, 72 *North Carolina Reports* (1875), 256, at 259.

<sup>23</sup> *Neal v. Bellamy*, 73 *N. C.* 384.



been expected under the circumstances . . . and there was no more use for it to be in writing than for any other verbal arrangement which the interest and convenience of parties induce them to make without taking the trouble to draw writings.

One suspects in many of these cases that the real question was which one was to have short rations. A system which by its nature encouraged production of staples at a time when the trend of prices was downward was bound to mine and erode the land and to play a part in the "erosion" of human beings.

The struggle to determine "mine and thine" under these arrangements was not to be left in statutory uncertainty, though it took some time to resolve it in a way that stuck.

Sections 13, 14, and 15 of the Battle's Revisal landlord act were amended and others substituted in their place by an Act of the General Assembly, ratified March 19, 1875. Laws 1874-1875, Chap. 509. And subsequently another act was passed which was ratified and took effect March 12, 1877, Laws 1876-1877, chap 283. The latter act, after express repeal of the ambiguous and unsatisfactory sections, made the removal of the crop or any part of it from the land on which it was grown, without payment of rent, without the lessor's consent, and without his having five days notice of the intended removal, a misdemeanor.<sup>24</sup>

Commenting on this, Justice John H. Dillard said,

And the rights of the defendant and the liability of the crops were precisely the same in this respect, under the Act of 1876-'77, as under the act in Battle's Revisal, chap. 64, sec. 13, except that *rent agreed to be paid verbally was put on the same footing with a written agreement.* [Italics added.]

The only alteration, with the exception aforesaid, effected by the last act was in the remedy. That act provided a remedy for the lessee, in case the lessor takes possession of the crops, to get back his portion of the same; and in case of controversy as to the claim of rent and the amount thereof, it provides the mode and form in which that matter may be determined, with a provision for an order of seizure of the crops during the litigation in case neither of the parties gives bond conditioned for the forthcoming of the same at the end of the proceeding."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *State v. Long*, 78 *North Carolina Reports* (1878), 571.

<sup>25</sup> *Durham v. Speeke*, 82 *North Carolina Reports* (1880), 87.



In February, 1882, a case in which a cropper had detained some of the cotton he was supposed to take to a gin prior to division, came up to the Supreme Court on question of error.<sup>26</sup> The cropper had been charged with larceny. Justice Thomas S. Ashe, in the opinion of the court, noted the new remedy by action of claim and delivery, but went on to say of the statute:

While the first section of the act declares that the lessor shall be deemed to be in possession of the crop, it at the same time, in the second section, recognizes the actual possession in the lessee or cropper, until the division, or surrender of the same to the lessor, under the terms of an agreement. The lessor has no right under the act, when there is no agreement to that effect, to take the actual possession from the lessee or cropper, and can never do so except when he obtains the same by an action of claim and delivery, upon the removal of the crop by the lessee or cropper.

After further explanation Ashe went on to say, "Notwithstanding the provisions of the first section, the whole tenor of the act contemplates the right of the lessee or cropper to hold the actual possession, until such time as a division shall be made." Then followed, to the lay mind, this amazing question, "when the lessee or cropper is thus authorized to hold the actual possession of the crop against the lessor, can it be that he is liable to an indictment for larceny for secretly appropriating the crop or any part thereof to his own use, even if done with felonious intent?" And this the possession of a servant!

Not until 1898 did a case come up involving similar matters.<sup>27</sup> However, in that year, Justice Walter Clark, noting that the remedy by action of claim and delivery was an additional one, commented on the same statute, now in the code. After stating that against the cropper the landlord always has a right to have possession of the crop, the justice made this statement:

But it has now become immaterial whether the producer is a cropper or a tenant under the Code Sec. 1754, which provides that any and all crops raised on land, "whether by a tenant or a

<sup>26</sup> *State v. Copeland*, 86 *North Carolina Reports* (1882), 692.

<sup>27</sup> *State v. Austin*, 123 *North Carolina Reports* (1898), 749.



cropper (in the absence of an agreement to the contrary), shall be deemed and held to be vested in possession of the landlord or his assigns at all times until the rent for said land shall be paid to the lessor or his assigns, and until said party or his assigns shall be paid for all advances made and expenses incurred in making and saving said crop."

The words, "But it has now become immaterial whether the producer is a cropper or tenant . . ." indicate the virtual coalescence of the terms, sharecropper and tenant. There has been some clarification of the doctrine since 1898, but virtually no change. The landlord still has a preferred lien. He is a trustee in possession until the advances are paid.<sup>28</sup>

We have seen (1) that supreme court cases in North Carolina show that sharecropping was well known in North Carolina two decades before the Civil War in both the naval stores industry and agriculture, and that sharecropping may have spread to other states; (2) that the two arrangements, sharecropping and tenancy, were clearly differentiated in the state courts before the Civil War; and (3) that after the Civil War, more by statutory action than by judicial opinion, there was a virtual coalescence of the two in the vital areas of liens and possession in the status of sharecropping. Finally, as to the significance of the latter, three findings become apparent:

(1) There is a close correlation between this movement and the struggle for home rule in the state, but this correlation except in the first few postwar years is, to a great extent, fortuitous and deceptive. The courts were involved in the struggle—the superior courts, however, more than the supreme courts.<sup>29</sup> Probably the ablest of the superior court justices, Albion W. Tourgee, in his biographical *Fool's Errand*, explaining his leaving the state, made the revealing remark that "they" did not require him to leave, only to stop selling horses to Negroes and *letting them crop on shares*.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Tobacco Growers Cooperative Association v. S. S. Bissett*, 187 *North Carolina Reports* (1924), 180; *J. A. Adams and C. B. Adams v. Growers' Warehouse, Inc. and Dixie Growers Warehouse, Inc.*, 230 *North Carolina Reports* (1949), 704. The latter case is a little stronger for the landlord.

<sup>29</sup> J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *History of North Carolina*, III, *North Carolina Since 1860* (Chicago, 1919), 133.

<sup>30</sup> Albion W. Tourgee, *Fool's Errand*, xviii, 91.



Concerning the role of the supreme court in reconstruction J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton thought the supreme court more deeply involved in politics than did Francis D. Winston or Kemp P. Battle.<sup>31</sup> The latter characterized the action of the court then as, in the main, conservative and wise. Within the court, eight year terms prevented a close correlation with party victory at the polls, and in the early years of reconstruction may have offered some opportunities for stalling. Yet there is some significance in the facts that only in 1876 was there a clear shift from one party to another, and that otherwise the judges usually retained their offices till death or resignation. Even in 1868, Chief Justice Pearson and Justice Reade were nominated by both parties and elected without opposition (there were only three other justices).<sup>32</sup>

It is easy to overdo the point of "politics." Of course it may have been politically expedient for those justices who were lukewarm toward home rule to construe strictly the then new laws for the protection of the landlord. Deeper social viewpoints were probably as compelling. In this connection it is well to remember that Rodman, an able judge, and Tourgee had much to do with the new code of civil procedure, later recognized generally as a great improvement.<sup>33</sup>

(2) The delay of certain judges in accepting the popular edict in the statutes was probably prompted by two other considerations—a reluctance to part with distinctions and, for want of a better word, humanitarianism.

The nature of the judicial task is such that distinctions are really necessary in drawing the fine line of decision in many cases. Here we may have the reluctance of a worker to part with his tools.

The unusual interpretation of the law by Justice Thomas S. Ashe was not the strict construction of a carpetbagger or scalawag. Ashe's political career was notable. Forlorn hope of the Conservatives in the gubernatorial race in 1868 and participator in the devising of the electoral commission in

<sup>31</sup> Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860*, 133; Kemp P. Battle, "Address on the History of the Supreme Court" (Raleigh, 1889), 52; and "Judge Winston Traces Century of Law in the State," *News and Observer* (Raleigh), January 5, 1919.

<sup>32</sup> Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860*, 110.

<sup>33</sup> 116 *North Carolina Reports*, 1075-1084½.



the disputed election of 1876, he was universally regarded as the exemplification of the best in manhood that the state had to offer. Chivalrous and kindly, he belongs with those judges who construe criminal laws strictly for conscience sake.<sup>34</sup> Probably, great judges are the result of a long apprenticeship to the craft plus transcendent abilities. Justice Ashe had not had the apprenticeship and he was an overworked member of the then three judge court. In *State v. Copeland* he missed the opportunity to say that the landlord had exercised his right of possession, had regained his possession of the part hidden, and had reprimanded the cropper for a misuse of a servant's possession. There was no reason for the court to intervene; here was absenteeism. Close association between landlord and "tenant" is still the best protection against larceny. Chief Justice Walter Clark reversed a good part of the opinion of Justice Ashe, but probably not the decision. The compelling nature of the legislature's action probably meant less to Justice Ashe than to Chief Justice Clark.

In leaving the court we may say that it served its generation well in preserving continuity. Its work from the craft angle does not compare, however, with that of the great *antebellum* court of Ruffin, Daniels, and Gaston.

(3) The degradation of tenancy toward sharecropping, here measured rather than made in the courts, intensified the misuse of the land and registered a collapse of the ladder of opportunity in agriculture.

At the time under survey a mass of dependent, relatively unsocialized laborers was injected into agriculture, while many of the more capable directors were leaving it. After the Civil War, to the unknown number of white sharecroppers were added successively the greater mass of the Negroes, who largely became sharecroppers, and a little later a large number of small white farmers who, in the stress of the times, took refuge in sharecropping and tenancy. Vastly different in some respects, both of these groups were made up of poor

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<sup>34</sup> See 96 N. C. 393-397; Samuel A. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VIII (Greensboro, 1917), 37-48; and Walter Clark, "The Supreme Court of North Carolina," *The Green Bag*, October, 1892, 584. *State v. Copeland* is here conspicuously absent from the list of Ashe's notable cases.



agriculturists. The issue in the courts, if it began as a racial one could hardly have remained so, although political alignments of the 1890's did bring the race issue to the fore again.

What was happening to the Negro sharecroppers is revealed in two reports. The first was a report of the Commissioner of Agriculture.<sup>35</sup> Correspondents from 76 counties by 1877 had answered the commissioner's question as to whether the freedmen as farmers were improving their conditions. Broken down, the results showed: 2, no perceptible improvement; 15, slight improvement; and 59, not improving. On the next question their record was not so good. Answers to the question, "Do lands under the management of freedmen improve or deteriorate?" showed: 1, they improve; 4, no material change; 71, they deteriorate. The same answer would probably have come had "tenants and sharecroppers" been used instead of "freedmen." The second report was made by Governor Thomas J. Jarvis in 1883, as *ex officio* chairman of the Board of Agriculture: "The colored laborers as a class have by their industry and their fidelity to their contracts proven their right to the respect of all who respect labor and the moral qualities almost always associated with it."<sup>36</sup>

It was inevitable that some sort of social organization would evolve in this period. The statutes and the cases were only one part of that development. The whole system left the ignorant ignorantly farming with the urgent purpose of getting from the land all that they could. This became a force tending toward the despoliation of the land, a problem faced successfully only recently by federal-state action.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the whole story was the tendency for the agricultural "ladder" to collapse. Within the period herein reviewed many rural white people migrated to towns and cotton mills and attempted to scale another "ladder." Fortunately for agriculture, successive measures, largely of federal inspiration, have resulted in the propping up and the reinforcement of the "ladder" of opportunity in agriculture. Rupert B. Vance noted in 1945 that there was a

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<sup>35</sup> "Third Quarterly Report of L. L. Polk to the Board of Agriculture, Immigration and Statistics," January 15, 1878 (Raleigh, 1877), 21-22.

<sup>36</sup> "Report of the Board of Agriculture," Session 1883, Document No. 18, 10.



much greater differentiation of tenancy types, and that much less is known of the higher groups than of the lower.<sup>37</sup>

The farmers of North Carolina by a self-imposed tax on fertilizers and feeds have set in motion a program for agricultural research, described by President Gordon Gray of The University of North Carolina as one of the bright and hopeful things in the current scene. It can be hoped that this program will consider the study of tenancy and sharecropping today, thus resuming a deflected item in the farmers' program of the 1870's and 1880's. The latter program had disappointing results because, among other things, it was too ambitious, and also because at that time there were internal and legislative shake-ups in the State Department of Agriculture. Charles S. Mangum notes that litigation has been reduced in Alabama where title is in the producer.<sup>38</sup> But is reduction of litigation the only or even the paramount consideration? Certainly the question can be raised: has not the time come when it will be wise to repeal the portions of the statutes that obliterate the main distinctions between sharecropper and tenant? The distinctions were useful. They may be appropriate and useful again.

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<sup>37</sup> Rupert B. Vance, in collaboration with Nadia Danilevsky, *All These People* (Chapel Hill, 1945), 215.

<sup>38</sup> Charles S. Mangum, *The Legal Status of the Tenant Farmer in the Southeast* (Chapel Hill, 1952), ch. II.



## THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO RAILROAD IN RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-1873

By CHARLES W. TURNER

The sixteen Virginia railroad companies<sup>1</sup> in operation at the outset of the Civil War served the Confederacy well. As the war progressed, many miles of their track lay directly in the battle zones. Each of them suffered from losses of rolling stock, destruction of track, financial difficulties, inadequate labor forces, and general war uncertainties. In spite of these troubles many of the companies remained in operation, sending their engines over rusty shortened tracks, never knowing whether the treasurer would be able to pay the cost or not. With coming of peace, the companies were faced with a new set of problems, namely, the securing of the roads from the War Department, payment of accumulated debts, securing new capital, rebuilding, expansion, and, finally, providing service as rapidly as possible to a land ill able to pay for it. To the farsighted the "3 R's" of business appeared—Reconstruction, Recovery, and Reform. For these, new sources of revenue would have to be tapped, a favorable General Assembly elected, and able railroad personnel selected, willing to gamble on the rise of a new South from the war shambles.

The Virginia Central Railroad Company, with tracks running west across the state from Richmond to Clifton Forge, has been chosen to show how a typical line met these problems. The company which was to become the modern Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, was one of the oldest, and had played an important part in the late war. On April 19, 1865, General Edward O. C. Ord, commander of the military district, gave the company permission to repair the tracks and run the trains;<sup>2</sup> and eight years later the year 1873 marked

<sup>1</sup> The Winchester and Potomac; The Virginia and Tennessee; The Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire; The Baltimore and Ohio; The Norfolk and Petersburg; The Orange and Alexandria; The Portsmouth and Roanoke; Richmond and Petersburg; The Richmond and Danville; The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac; The Virginia Central; The Southside; Seaboard and Roanoke; Manassas Gap; The York River; The Petersburg and Roanoke.

<sup>2</sup> *Richmond Times*, July 30, 1866.



the completion of its line to the Ohio. It was then that the state began to realize returns from the railroad—benefits she had intended receiving from the completed James River and Kanawha Canal—benefits accruing from binding the east coast with the Ohio, and points west.

With one hundred dollars in gold in the treasury, the company bravely set to work procuring cross ties, laying track, and building bridges on the eastern section. Fifteen days after the Confederate surrender, the trains were running forty miles west of Richmond to Bumpass, and thirty days later to the Rivanna River. Meanwhile, the repairs from Staunton eastward had begun, and a train soon puffed between Staunton and Mechum's River. The two sections were connected by a tri-weekly stage line run by C. R. Mason, thus enabling the line to assure through service and the company to keep in closer touch with the forces engaged in making repairs on the western end.<sup>3</sup> The first revenues were applied to the purchase of new rails which were laid by November, 1865. Contracts were made with private parties to rebuild the depots along the route,<sup>4</sup> and in the spring of 1866 the line announced daily service over the entire stretch of its antebellum right-of-way, 204 miles in length.<sup>5</sup> Problems of finance, extension, personnel, service, state and out-of-state controls faced by the Virginia Central during the Reconstruction period will be dealt with in order.

#### FINANCES

The capital of the company at the close of the war amounted to \$3,400,000 with a funded debt of \$1,632,801 and a floating debt of \$247,830.<sup>6</sup> The treasurer had no money to pay the current expenses, company officials, or the stockholders. When a proposal was made to fund the interest, the *Richmond Dispatch* declared "the company due to the heavy losses during the war owing to the condition of the country is unable to pay the accrued and accruing debt due on its

<sup>3</sup> Superintendent's *Report* in C. and O. Office, Richmond, Virginia, dated October 1, 1865.

<sup>4</sup> *Richmond Times*, November 22, 1865.

<sup>5</sup> *Richmond Times*, April 23, 1866.

<sup>6</sup> Manuscript found in box labelled "Va. Central Railroad" in Virginia State Library, Richmond.



bonds and proposes to fund this interest until January, 1867. The company merits this consideration.”<sup>7</sup> This was permitted when the state legislature allowed the railroad to issue \$300,000 worth of bonds at 8 per cent to be redeemed in ten years.<sup>8</sup> Other funds were needed to complete the White Sulphur extension, to purchase from the state the Blue Ridge line and the partly completed Covington and Ohio line.<sup>9</sup> Commissioners of Virginia and West Virginia had met in the spring of 1866 in Baltimore to dispose of the properties of the latter. The Virginia Central was one of several railroad companies bidding for the extension.<sup>10</sup> In order to find additional means, the company now impanelled a commission to visit Europe to raise funds,<sup>11</sup> and these commissioners soon reported to the company that the foreign sale of stock looked encouraging.<sup>12</sup> With some assurances of funds, in November the stockholders favored the purchase of the state interests.<sup>13</sup>

Since investment in slaves was no longer possible, investment in railroad stock was urged by the editor of the *Richmond Dispatch*,<sup>14</sup> while the *Richmond Enquirer* supported the passage of a relief law, allowing them to borrow at higher rates of interest.<sup>15</sup> The General Assembly allowed a \$3,500,000 increase in the Virginia Central's capital stock for the Ohio extension, and agreed to permit the company to accept land, including Richmond lots,<sup>16</sup> in payment of stock. H. D. Whitcomb, engineer for the Virginia Central, declared that, if the Ohio could be reached, the net revenue from this section would pay the interest on the increased debt incurred.<sup>17</sup> He

<sup>7</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, May 28, 1866.

<sup>8</sup> *Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, 1866, 94.

<sup>9</sup> The Covington and Ohio Railroad had been chartered by the state just prior to the outbreak of hostilities, and the state had undertaken to conduct surveys, secure the right-of-way, and contract for the grading.

<sup>10</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, May 7, 1866.

<sup>11</sup> *Board of Public Works Report*, 1866, 94.

<sup>12</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, October 4, 1866.

<sup>13</sup> The debt of the company included the following items:

Mortgage	\$1,394,063
Bonds	122,801
Floating debt	245,712

*Richmond Dispatch*, November 23, 1866.

\$1,762,576

<sup>14</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, January 25, 1867.

<sup>15</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, January 25, 1867.

<sup>16</sup> *Richmond Whig*, January 16, 1868.

<sup>17</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, May 7, 1867.



felt \$6,000,000 should be borrowed at as high a rate as 8 per cent interest, and that such could be raised on a \$14,000,000 investment.<sup>18</sup> The stockholders in a Richmond meeting passed a resolution to raise the required capital, and a committee of 15 men was selected to study the best methods to use in order to raise the preferred stock of \$3,000,000. To arouse the enthusiasm of the members present, President Edmund Fontaine read a letter from James G. Paxton of Rockbridge County, who had been in Cincinnati raising funds. Paxton quoted H. C. Lord of that city, saying in part, "The value of your road to the west in affording a still cheaper outlet for its products to the seaboard can hardly be estimated, and I doubt not our people will cooperate with this state and the people of Virginia in securing the early construction of this important channel of commerce."<sup>19</sup> The Committee of 15 held a meeting, opposed the issuance of \$3,000,000 in preferred stock as suggested in the stockholders meeting, and presented a series of proposals in its place.<sup>20</sup> These were included in an open letter published by President Fontaine stating "The compromise contains mutual concessions; it contemplates that funds raised in the west shall be expended to get the road in operation at the east end; it then allows the property of the east end to be mortgaged for the completion of the west end."<sup>21</sup>

The stockholders accepted the compromise, and plans were made by the Board of Directors to make a big drive to secure funds from the counties, cities and local citizens. The state could not be counted on to help financially at this time. Details of the plans for raising the new capital stock were given as follows:

A leading citizen should be chosen as agent in the counties and the cities concerned to raise a \$5,000,000 cash subscription for which 8% preferred dividends are promised; assistant agents should be appointed to sell stock to be paid for in land along the line of the company valued in terms of 1860 land prices; five or more commissioners for counties and towns were to be chosen

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<sup>18</sup> *Richmond Whig*, June 3, 1867.

<sup>19</sup> *Richmond Times*, May 23, 1867.

<sup>20</sup> *Richmond Times*, May 24, 1867.

<sup>21</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, June 3, 1867.



to secure large subscriptions of corporations. These commissioners were to have additional power to settle any land damages claims arising out of the above; public meetings are to be called by the president to incite public interest and a list of commissioners appointed was included.<sup>22</sup>

To do what it could, the legislature passed acts endorsing the compromise proposals and permitting the completion of the line to the Ohio. It was to be called the Chesapeake and Ohio. West Virginia passed similar legislation,<sup>23</sup> with its commissioners urging the promotion of the road from Covington to the Ohio, and listing the many advantages accruing therefrom.<sup>24</sup> Richmond voters expressed their stand favoring a \$2,000,000 subscription by the city itself.<sup>25</sup> Others subscribed with the request that the building begin from the Ohio end first, an idea the engineers felt unwise.<sup>26</sup> By August, 1867, with much evidence of enthusiasm, \$2,000,000 had been subscribed—the largest subscriptions coming from the counties.<sup>27</sup> One county, Fluvanna, which was not traversed by the railroad, subscribed \$150,000.<sup>28</sup> So much interest was shown in certain counties that other railroads found it hard to secure stock.<sup>29</sup>

In July, 1867, a railroad conference met at White Sulphur Springs with James Burley of Marshall County as chairman and A. E. Dickinson, editor of the *Religious Herald*, as secretary. Addressing this meeting, Governor Francis Pierpont urged the completion of the line.<sup>30</sup> The body voted in favor of requesting federal aid for the extension, since this line would be as important as any land grant railroad in the west.<sup>31</sup> When the meeting adjourned, Edmund Fontaine went

<sup>22</sup> *Minutes* [1867] of the Board of Directors, found in Chesapeake and Ohio office, Richmond.

<sup>23</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, June 5, 1867.

<sup>24</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, June 7, 1867.

<sup>25</sup> *Daily State Journal* (Richmond), June 15, 1869; *Richmond Times*, June 10, 1867; *Richmond Dispatch*, January 2, 1868.

<sup>26</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, August 23, 1867.

<sup>27</sup> *Richmond Whig*, August 29, 1867; *Southern Opinion*, September 7, 1867.

<sup>28</sup> Boone, Putnam, Cabell, Wayne, Logan, Lincoln counties of West Virginia, \$1,700,000; Virginia counties, \$900,000; Richmond, \$2,000,000; cities outside Virginia, \$1,000,000; total, \$5,600,000. *Richmond Dispatch*, September 7, 1867.

<sup>29</sup> *Richmond Whig*, June 4, September 28, 1867; *Richmond Dispatch*, October 10, 1867, November 11, 1867.

<sup>30</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, July 13, 1867.

<sup>31</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, July 6, 1867.



to Washington to interview certain congressmen. He found some who favored financial aid if the government could hold a first mortgage on the assets of the Virginia Central, but the company's petition was turned down when a congressional committee had time to consider it. According to the committee, "There is no free land freely accessible to the line, and Congress had better not set a precedent as to congressional appropriations to any particular railroad."<sup>32</sup> When the federal government failed to support the project, letters were written and representatives sent to interview northern capitalists.<sup>33</sup>

At the annual stockholders meeting in Richmond in November, 1867, Thomas J. Ritchie's resolution changing the name of the company was adopted.<sup>34</sup> The president followed this with a hopeful message on extension, and he declared that \$4,000,000 of stock had been raised. He continued in part:

With one consent for nearly a century, the wisest and best men of our state have looked with earnest hope to the opening of the line of communication between the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic coast, across the Alleghany mountains, where the waters of the James River and the Ohio River approach each so closely. Its peculiar advantages, as to distance, grades, climate, contiguous resources . . . compared with any other in the United States, are so distinctly marked by the finger of Divine Providence and the results of the completion will be fraught with such inestimable blessings to our own, and other peoples, that the neglect to make every possible effort to secure its success would be a cardinal responsibility.<sup>35</sup>

A memorandum of the contract for the construction of the railroad from Covington to Ohio was then delivered to the group. Commissioners for each state concerned were named and the rules given.<sup>36</sup> The West Virginia commissioners had these resolutions passed, namely: (1) that the railroad property be tax exempt, (2) that each county be responsible for settling any land damages, (3) that the counties of West

<sup>32</sup> *Richmond Whig*, June 15, 1868.

<sup>33</sup> *Richmond Whig*, July 24, 1868.

<sup>34</sup> Thirty-second Annual Report by Stockholders, 1867, found in C. and O. offices, Richmond.

<sup>35</sup> Thirty-second Annual Report by Stockholders.

<sup>36</sup> Minutes of Stockholders 1867 meeting, found in the C. and O. office, Richmond.



Virginia subscribe according to a fixed schedule, and (4) that Virginia counties use similar methods in securing county subscriptions. They did not object to the proviso of expending the funds subscribed by them on the west end of the road, which many counties of West Virginia had included.<sup>37</sup>

In August, 1867, the Board of Directors met and considered offering their railroad bonds for sale. While this matter was before the Board, other matters were settled as well. A construction contract with C. R. Mason and Company was completed with the addition of this interesting resolution:

Nothing contained in the contract made by this company shall have the effect of depriving the present creditors of the company of their claims for satisfaction out of the present property of the company and it shall be the duty of the president and directors before executing any further lien on the present property of this company to secure by mortgage any portion of the funded or floating debt not heretofore so secured that cannot be promptly paid off in the ordinary administration of the affairs of the company.<sup>38</sup>

A contract was negotiated with the Tredegar Company for iron, and H. D. Whitcomb and W. A. Kuper were selected as engineers and general superintendents of the work. In the construction work, the Board of Directors ordered the line to be divided at the beginning of the Kanawha division, and each grand division placed under the supervision of a principal assistant, appointed by chief engineer Whitcomb. The board signed an agreement with the McGinnis Company of New York and Lancaster and Company of Richmond for the marketing of bonds. It was resolved to empower the president and treasurer of the company to make and execute with three trustees (two of New York, and one of Virginia) a mortgage for \$10,000,000. These bonds were to be paid in gold coin at par in U. S. currency or British pound sterling. The company would pay 7 per cent interest on the bonds so issued and \$2,000,000 of these would be set aside for the purpose of

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<sup>37</sup> *Minutes* of the Commissioners, 1867, found in C. and O. office, Richmond.

<sup>38</sup> *Minutes* of the Board of Directors, 1867, found in C. and O. office, Richmond.



liquidating the indebtedness created by the old Virginia Central.<sup>39</sup> To help promote the sale of bonds the president was authorized by the Board of Directors to bring out a pamphlet with a map of the railroad, and McGinnis and Company was to be allowed not more than \$10,000 for the sale of bonds in Europe. The pamphlet gave a brief history of the railroad from its inception and set forth the value of the road to Virginia, comparing the Chesapeake and Ohio with other eastern main lines. The claim was made that it was fast becoming one of the four east-west trunk lines furnishing an outlet from the Mississippi Valley to the Atlantic and tapping the iron, coal and other resources of Virginia. To complete the work, the pamphlet continued, the company had negotiated a first mortgage with Philo C. Calhoun, William Duncan, William Orton of New York, and Matthew F. Maury of Virginia, upon its entire property in order to secure payment of \$10,000,000 in bonds.<sup>40</sup> At the annual meeting in November, 1868, the stockholders heard a report of President Fontaine regarding the amount of stock held, the accumulated debt, and the present state of the expansion program.<sup>41</sup>

President W. C. Wickham found finances a problem at the outset of his administration in 1868, and had the board negotiate a loan of \$150,000 for immediate funds.<sup>42</sup> A committee was impanelled to fix from time to time the price of bonds to advance the price of the mortgage bonds.<sup>43</sup> A. T. Bergen of Brooklyn, New York, was contracted to furnish a loan of \$325,000 in exchange for \$650,000 of first mortgage 7 per cent bonds as collateral. Still the new company failed to secure the necessary \$10,000,000.<sup>44</sup> Fortunately, in 1869, a successful capitalist, after a tour of the whole line, became interested in the Chesapeake and Ohio. That man was C. P. Huntington who felt that the C. and O. might well serve as a line in his coast-to-coast chain. Huntington's proposition

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<sup>39</sup> *Minutes* of the Board of Directors, 1867.

<sup>40</sup> *Minutes* of the Board of Directors, 1867.

<sup>41</sup> *Minutes* of the Stockholders meeting, 1868, found in C. and O. offices, Richmond.

<sup>42</sup> *Minutes* of Board of Directors, 1868, found in C. and O. offices, Richmond.

<sup>43</sup> *Minutes* of Board of Directors, 1868.

<sup>44</sup> *Minutes* of Board of Directors, 1868.



was presented to the board on July 15, 1869. He asked that the board cancel the 7 per cent bonds and issue a new loan of \$15,000,000 at 6%, that \$8,000,000 of common stock be delivered into the hands of a suitable trustee in installments, that the Blue Ridge Company be purchased from the above funds. He further stipulated that the acceptance of the above conditions would require a change in organization.<sup>45</sup> Both the board and the stockholders agreed to these terms after a committee of thirteen had studied the proposals. When the vote of the stockholders was taken there were 52,501 ayes and 5,100 nays, and at the same time the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved that the stockholders of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company, assembled in general meeting, do approve of the action of the President and Directors of the Company in negotiating, accepting and ratifying the proposition and agreement of Messrs. C. P. Huntington and others, dated New York, November 16, 1869, and do hereby authorize and empower the President and Directors to do whatever may be necessary to carry the same into full effect. 2nd: That the stockholders will proceed to elect eleven directors who shall have authority to choose from their own number a President and Vice-President of the Company. 3rd: That the Directory so organized shall have full power and authority to organize the Company in all its departments, to provide for the selection and employment of all officers and agents of the company; to prescribe their duties and define their authority; to ascertain and fix their compensation; and generally to make, for the government of the company, such rules as they may deem necessary, so that the same be not inconsistent with the charter of the company or the law of the land, and that they be at all times subject to the authority of the stockholders in general meeting.<sup>46</sup>

In conclusion, President Wickham stated, "under these difficult circumstances we are glad to avail ourselves of an opportunity which offered to secure upon terms satisfactory to us and advantageous to the company, the cooperation of gentlemen of New York, large capitalists and of high financial credit and reputation, who have undertaken the charge of

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<sup>45</sup> *Minutes* of the Board of Directors, 1869, found in C. and O. offices, Richmond.

<sup>46</sup> *Annual Report of Stockholders*, 1869, 6-9.



the finances of the company, and substituting a six percent loan will enable us to press the work vigorously to a speedy and successful completion."<sup>47</sup>

When a new board of directors was selected, Fisk and Hatch of New York, dealers in government securities, were allowed to sell \$15,000,000 of C. and O. bonds payable in thirty years.<sup>48</sup> The firm began an advertising campaign in leading commercial journals, newspapers, and published brochures of its own, setting forth the benefits of the new line. One of the latter, entitled "Central Trunk Line to the West," stated that this line would tap the great Northwest, with its 20,000 miles of railroad, thus providing the shortest line to the coast and furnishing coal at \$7.00 to each extremity in contrast to the then current price of \$9.00 a ton.<sup>49</sup> In an advertisement, the firm declared the road had only a \$1,000,000 indebtedness, and the bonds offered for sale were secured by a mortgage on the whole line.<sup>50</sup> Meanwhile, the company purchased with bonds the Blue Ridge Railroad from the Board of Public Works for \$625,348. This was a bargain compared to the original cost of \$1,694,820 in the 1850's. Not only were bonds used here, but President Wickham deposited the new bonds for the entire state debt.<sup>51</sup> Meanwhile, the Fisk and Hatch Company had sold one-third of the bonds, and the last miles of the Ohio extension were under contract.<sup>52</sup> By 1870, the capital actually paid in amounted to \$15,193,787 and the funded debt had climbed to \$6,681,000.<sup>53</sup> When a slight business recession appeared in 1871, the stock remained nearly at par and the whole bond issue was disposed of by 1872.<sup>54</sup> With the financial crisis of 1873, the treasury of the company "was afflicted with a general railroad epidemic of

<sup>47</sup> *Annual Report of Stockholders, 1869*, 6-9.

<sup>48</sup> *Richmond Whig*, February 19, 1870.

<sup>49</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, January 6, 1870; Harvey E. Fisk, "Fisk and Hatch, Bankers and Dealers in Government Securities, 1862-1865"; *Journal of Business and Economic History*, August, 1936.

<sup>50</sup> *Evening State Journal* (Richmond), May 23, 1870.

<sup>51</sup> Manuscripts found in a box labelled "C. and O." in Virginia State Library, Richmond.

<sup>52</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, November 20, 1870.

<sup>53</sup> *Board of Public Works Report, 1870*, 96.

<sup>54</sup> *Richmond Whig*, May 5, 1871; *Richmond Dispatch*, December 27, 1871, September 25, 1872.



emptiness.”<sup>55</sup> The capitalization amounted to \$16,543,787 and the funded debt had tripled.<sup>56</sup> Fisk and Hatch failed, in December, 1873, and the C. and O. employees had to be paid in script bearing a promise to pay in thirty, sixty, or ninety days.<sup>57</sup> In 1875, suit was brought to foreclose the mortgage on the line. January 3, 1876, the property of the road was turned over to receivers. In July, 1878, a new company named the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company was organized from the old.

Turning to the matter of current expenses and earnings, in 1866 expenses amounted to \$627,000 and earnings were \$487,000 with rates of \$3.82 per passenger and \$6.40 per freight mile.<sup>58</sup> The unbalanced ratio of expenses to earnings can be accounted for when consideration is given to the line's major emphasis on the return operation. Material costs were up. Wages had risen 50 per cent above the pre-war level.<sup>59</sup> Earnings could be expected to be light directly following hostilities, while wages were rising—for example, pay for a foreman was \$1.30 and day labor \$.65 a day.<sup>60</sup> In 1867 expenses were still ahead of annual revenues,<sup>61</sup> while the 1868 report showed a great improvement, with 30% increase in travel and trade. The same improvement is revealed for the remainder of the decade, as the following table shows:

	<i>Expenses</i>	<i>Earnings</i>
1868	\$436,000	\$599,354
1869	477,581	661,297
1870	573,280	677,333 <sup>62</sup>

With the 1870's, larger earnings were expected. The gross earnings for 1871 amounted to \$769,265 which might be broken up in the following fashion:

<sup>55</sup> *Board of Public Works Report, 1872*, 10.

<sup>56</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, October 29, 1873.

<sup>57</sup> *Board of Public Works Report, 1873*, 4.

<sup>58</sup> *Hocking Valley Employees Magazine*, December, 1932.

<sup>59</sup> Manuscript (dated 1866) in "Virginia Central Railroad" box, found in Virginia State Library, Richmond; *Richmond Whig*, November 2, 1866.

<sup>60</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1866*, 106-107.

<sup>61</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1867*, 94; *Richmond Whig*, November 28, 1867.

<sup>62</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1868*, 115; 1869, 70; 1870, 96; *Richmond Whig*, November 21, 1868; *Richmond Dispatch*, November 21, 1868.



Passengers	\$313,975.20
Freight	421,903.92
Mail	16,924.00
Other Sources	16,461.93
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	\$769,265.05 <sup>63</sup>

At the time of this report fares varied from \$4.34 to \$.05 per passenger mile, and freight was \$4.85 per ton mile.

A study of the expenses shows the following:

Maintenance	\$158,231.50
Repair	57,566.10
Operation	263,988.50
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	\$479,786.10 <sup>64</sup>

Maintenance included repairs to roadbed, buildings, and insurance on properties; repairs included that made on machinery and cars, and incidental costs; operation included train operation expenses, salaries and wages for the 822 employees, fuel used, depot expenses, advertising, and any damage assessed against the railroad during the year.<sup>65</sup> The continued improvement was recorded in the reports for 1872-1873. Expenses stood at \$480,433 and earnings at \$839,307,<sup>66</sup> thus showing the effect of recovery and the benefits of western extension. No dividends were declared at any time during the period.

#### EXTENSIONS

Extensions and railroad connections had been urged in the ante-bellum and war periods. These rail deficiencies had gravely hampered the rapid transit of war materials. In an editorial, the *Richmond Enquirer* pointed this out in 1865 when it stated that the railroads had not been laid out in a unified plan, and urged both connecting links between lines and extensions east and west.<sup>67</sup> However, the time was inopportune for such a suggestion since the Federals were cutting the original sections wherever they could. The Covington and

<sup>63</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1870, 19.*

<sup>64</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1870, 19.*

<sup>65</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1870, 19.*

<sup>66</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1872, 19.*

<sup>67</sup> *Richmond Whig*, January 4, 1865.



Ohio had been chartered and started by the state with the fond hope that some private company would take it over. The war caught it in the early stages of construction. Then after the war, as we have seen, the Virginia Central had bought it and expended its main energies in opening the line. Both Virginia and West Virginia were anxious to see the project completed.

When the bill to sell the state interest in the Covington and Ohio came up in 1867,<sup>68</sup> some opposition was noted, such as Senator Ould's. He declared the bill failed to safeguard the state should the company fail to complete the line to the Ohio.<sup>69</sup> Those in favor had stronger arguments. Speaker of the House John B. Baldwin stated that if Virginia did not finish this project, The Baltimore and Ohio would siphon the trade from the west via Parkersburg.<sup>70</sup> When the bill passed both houses, in the form we have seen, and President Fontaine let out the contracts for construction, there were those among the stockholders who felt the scheme too ambitious. Others had more vision. Such an optimist, writing in the *New York Herald*, felt that this would be the major line across the Alleghanies and the shortest route to St. Louis. When built the road would have less curves than any New York line, and would make Norfolk the New York of the South.<sup>71</sup>

H. D. Whitcomb advertised for bids and was ready in November 1868 with his first report on the progress. In this report to the stockholders he gave careful estimates of the finished and unfinished portions of the work. Whitcomb concluded by saying, "The unfinished work between Covington and White Sulphur Springs was put under contract immediately after the reorganization of the company, and some progress has already been made. It is expected that the road will be opened to White Sulphur Springs by July, 1869. To accomplish this, it was necessary to lay a temporary track over Jerry's Run and the Lewis Tunnel; but this track will be made with gentler grades and curvature than that which has been operated with so much success for the past eleven

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<sup>68</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, January 17, 1867.

<sup>69</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, February 12, 1867.

<sup>70</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, February 14, 1867.

<sup>71</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, September 5, 1868.



years near Millboro.”<sup>72</sup> C. R. Mason, W. A. Kuper, and Decatur Axtell, were the contractors in building the tunnels and general extension found both the Jerry’s Fill and Lewis Tunnel very troublesome with frequent slides.<sup>73</sup> The superstructure was provided under the direction of Major E. T. D. Myers. Finally in November, 1871, President C. P. Huntington in a report to the stockholders stated, “At the date of this report the whole work from the mouth of the New River to the city of Huntington (incorporated February 27, 1871) on the Ohio, is completed, with the exception of track laying on a part of the distance. The track-laying will be completed and the cars will be running daily over this portion of the line, in all probability before this report will reach you.”<sup>74</sup> Actually, the line from Huntington to Charleston was opened December 4, 1871; to Coalbury, March 4, 1872; and to Kanawha Falls, June 17, 1872.<sup>75</sup> Delays due to weather, slides, and other difficulties prevented completion of sections of the line; and the last spike was not driven until January 29, 1873. This date marked the opening of 419.3 miles of road from Richmond to Huntington. In the next month the first three passenger and freight cars made complete trips over the line. Great excitement was registered by the inhabitants of Huntington and elsewhere. The *Charleston Courier*, January 28, 1873, stated, “. . . If General Breslin is correct when he asserts that the arrival of this first train from Richmond will be welcomed at Huntington with a salute of one hundred guns surely our metropolis can afford to rake up some old ordinance to give them a passing salute. Let the city fathers look to it that our city shall not be behind ‘our country cousin’ Huntington.”<sup>76</sup> City rivalry was developing over the steam horse!

#### PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT

Very little improvement in rolling stock was made during this period. Small engines and wooden coaches were employed. Much of the stock had been bought from the Federal

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<sup>72</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1868*, 56.

<sup>73</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, August 27, 1868.

<sup>74</sup> *Annual Report of President to the Stockholders, 1871*, found in C. and O. offices, Richmond.

<sup>75</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1872*, 28.

<sup>76</sup> *Charleston Courier*, January 28, 1873.



government or from some other line, and had seen hard wear during the war. Just at the close of the period, shops in Huntington and elsewhere were planning great improvements in rolling stock. Steel rails used on the western extension cost the company from \$105 to \$200 a ton.<sup>77</sup>

The personnel of the road was an exceedingly able group of men from top to bottom. Edmund Fontaine, who had served as president since the 40's and had great backing among the stockholders, held his position until 1868. During his tenure of office he had always promoted extensions, had kept the road in operation all through the war, and had always preserved its independence from the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad Company and the state legislature. The sole criticism of Fontaine was his politics.<sup>78</sup> William MacFarland, president of the Richmond City Council, favored him, declaring "Fontaine is a gentleman of considerable experience in railroad management; he has brought the affairs of the road over which he has so long and faithfully presided, to their present position, and has devoted his whole energy to their advancement, prosperity and success; in fact, as has been truly said, he has made the road, and must therefore be the most competent person to manage it."<sup>79</sup> At the conclusion of his tenure, a vote of thanks was extended Fontaine, and a ticket for use over the line was given him and his family for life.<sup>80</sup>

According to the *Richmond Dispatch*, Fontaine's successor, W. C. Wickham, was a gentleman of education and talent, great energy and strong practical sense.<sup>81</sup> Wickham who was a member of a prominent Virginia family, had led a cavalry charge through the fields of his home in Hanover during the war. He had lined up with the Republic Readjusters after the war. Upon assuming the Chesapeake and Ohio presidency, he threw himself wholeheartedly into the extension westward and was responsible for securing C. P. Huntington to succeed him as president. Wickham spent the rest of his life as vice-president. Toward Huntington there were two

<sup>77</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, May 13, 1871.

<sup>78</sup> *Richmond Times*, October 27, 1865.

<sup>79</sup> Manuscript found in Virginia State Library, Richmond.

<sup>80</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Public Works*, 1869, 7.

<sup>81</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, November 30, 1868.



attitudes in Virginia. Some considered him the man who would be able to control effectively the new company. Others feared the control by a so-called "foreign" capitalist. The former view prevailed.<sup>82</sup>

Until 1868, the board of directors was composed of Virginians—the state appointing three and the company two. As soon as the state's stock was bought by the company, the state no longer had the privilege of naming men to the board. This appeared to make little difference to the state, which wanted to get rid of its portion. With the coming of C. P. Huntington, the board was increased in number, and the membership included some "outsiders."<sup>83</sup> W. B. Hatch and Pliny Fisk themselves were directors during the early 70's.

A number of able civil engineers served the line in its expansion program. Some of the men, such as Charles Fisk, H. D. Whitcomb, W. A. Kuper and C. R. Mason, had been with the company since the program's beginning. Others associated with these men were T. M. R. Talcott and Denis Shanahan. In 1868 the remaining 357 employees consisted of a general superintendent and his assistant, treasurer, 16 conductors, 15 train engineers, 2 road masters, 2 division masters, 36 section masters, 84 mechanics, 3 telegraph operators, and numerous foremen, cleaners, brakemen, and laborers.<sup>84</sup> The number doubled in the 70's with the new extension requiring extra hands for operation as well as building. Some 5,000 negroes were employed in October, 1871, for a short period to complete the work. They worked ten hours a day, and seemed contented with their pay of less than \$1.00 a day.<sup>85</sup> Always there was a labor shortage, and President Huntington considered bringing in Chinese to help.<sup>86</sup> During the winter of 1873 when the Huntington, West Virginia, merchants refused to extend further credit to the laborers, Wickham personally arranged for the merchants to accept the company script for a limited time.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, January 15, 1870; April 19, 1871.

<sup>83</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Public Works*, 1869, 88; *Richmond Whig*, November 25, 1870.

<sup>84</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works*, 1868, 124.

<sup>85</sup> *Richmond Whig*, October 26, 1871.

<sup>86</sup> *Richmond Whig*, July 29, 1870.

<sup>87</sup> Axtell's Notes, found in C. and O. offices, Richmond.



## SERVICE

When the Virginia Central's line was open again to the Jackson river on September 1, 1865, the published schedule announced trains leaving from Richmond and Staunton at 6:45 a.m. and 7:15 a.m., respectively, and stopping at stations between.<sup>88</sup> The president reported "The condition of the roadway is good, the rolling stock is in excellent condition. You have on hand a good supply of wood and a fair supply of other necessary material. Several of your depots are rebuilt and will be built in the course of the fiscal year . . ." This was achieved in spite of the post-war depression, the unsettled political situation, and a scarcity of money.<sup>89</sup> Several bills before the Virginia legislature had demanded greater freedom in the handling of express.<sup>90</sup> The law as finally passed again permitted railroads to contract with express companies, it prescribed the rate, and allowed an express company to subscribe to the stock of a particular company.<sup>91</sup> A new contract was made with the Adams Express Company. Tonnage carried for 1866 amounted to 36,887, as compared to 64,270 tons in 1859. The main items hauled were guano, lumber, pig iron, bacon, butter, corn meal, tobacco, hogs and sheep.<sup>92</sup>

A survey made in the fall of 1866 showed the line in good shape west of Staunton. The report noted that through ditching was needed, and urged the use of steel rails especially on the eastern section. Experiments had shown that one steel rail could outlast twenty of the old iron ones. The system of upkeep was praised; it consisted of using three to five laborers for every five miles, under supervision of a foreman with a supervisor covering every twenty miles of the line.<sup>93</sup> In 1867, the progress of the road was noted by the *New York Chronicle*, which stated that the C. and O. was one of the greatest extensions in progress.<sup>94</sup> Major E. T. D. Myers, prominent civil engineer, made a survey and declared the line the best

<sup>88</sup> *Richmond Times*, September 1, 1865.

<sup>89</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1866*, 94.

<sup>90</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, January 19, 1867.

<sup>91</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, January 19, 1867.

<sup>92</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1866*, 103.

<sup>93</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1866*, 104.

<sup>94</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, August 21, 1867.



of its kind in America.<sup>95</sup> President Fontaine called attention to this praise when he urged the purchase of stock. Furthermore, he stated the line would promise 4 per cent dividends paid semiannually, cheaper freight rates, a market for 2,800 ties per mile, and several regular trains daily.<sup>96</sup>

Special days and events often meant that the company was required to provide extra trains, running on special schedules and charging cheaper rates. For example, round-trip tickets to the springs were always quoted during the summer season. In the fall, favor was shown persons with exhibits<sup>97</sup> attending agricultural fairs. The C. and O. reported at the end of 1869 a 13.6 per cent increase in passenger and 338 per cent increase in freight service over 1868 figures.<sup>98</sup> By 1872-1873, business on the line had greatly increased with passenger service to 132,427 for 1872 reported, and to 141,873 the following year.<sup>99</sup>

Service opportunities increased as the westward extension was completed in the 1870's. The major products carried had changed somewhat from those noted above to include lumber, pig iron, hay, bacon, butter, wool, potatoes, fruit and corn.<sup>100</sup> It was predicted that if Virginia could finish her through lines, she might well be the garden for the west, furnishing perishable vegetables.<sup>101</sup> Fisk and Hatch in their brochure set forth the value of the line in bringing tobacco, pork and grains from the east to exchange for the coal, iron and other minerals of the Alleghanies. According to the brochure, "The present trade of the city of Richmond is of greater importance, in its bearing upon the business of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, than is generally supposed."<sup>102</sup> For, it was said that the Haxall and Gallego Flour Mills of Richmond were among the most extensive of the nation. Ships which took flour to South

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<sup>95</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, September 12, 1867.

<sup>96</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, November 19, 1867; *Richmond Whig*, June 30, 1868; *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1868*. H. D. Whitcomb's report in 1868 pointed up the increased use of steel with the announcement that Sibert's steel, rolled at the Tredegar Works, was employed on the new section and one engine had been fitted out with steel wheels. By now the company could list 27 engines and 235 cars of one kind or another, which had carried 126,256 passengers and hauled freight 140,123 miles.

<sup>97</sup> *Richmond Whig*, July 27, 1868; October 13, 1868.

<sup>98</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, January 1, 1870.

<sup>99</sup> *Annual Report of Board of Public Works, 1872*, 14; *1873*, 7.

<sup>100</sup> *Daily Dispatch*, January 2, 1871.

<sup>101</sup> *Daily State Journal*, (Richmond), July, 1871.

<sup>102</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, January 14, 1873.



America and the West Indies would return with coffee and sugar for the nation. Newspapers added their predictions of the tapping resources at every hand.<sup>103</sup>

After the war, there was much feeling that rates either were too high or were discriminatory. Several sessions of the Virginia General Assembly had impaneled committees to study the question, and the stockholders of the railroad likewise held an inquiry. Finally, superintendent H. D. Whitcomb published a table in 1867 comparing the Virginia Central rates on freight with the Baltimore and Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroads:

	<i>Penn.</i>	<i>Balti. &amp; Ohio</i>	<i>Va. Central</i>
Corn 100 pounds	.23	.29	.26
Hay 100 pounds	.28	.68	.33
Iron 100 pounds	.23	.35	.26
Coal 100 pounds	.23	.30	.15

He concluded by saying that as a general rule it would be found that the charges for agricultural and other products on most of the Virginia roads compared favorably with those of the North.<sup>104</sup> This quieted the opposition, and little appeared to come of the effort to get help from the Assembly. It merely recommended that free tickets be issued more judiciously.<sup>105</sup> Charges were made anew in the 1870's that rates were so fixed that trade was drained out of the state. For example, one writer declared that the rates above Gordonsville made it cheaper to send produce to Baltimore than to Richmond or Lynchburg.<sup>106</sup> Another writer dealing with the same subject declared nothing could be done as long as there existed a railroad monopoly wedded to the legislature.<sup>107</sup>

A Wilmington newspaperman asked, "Why is it that it costs 25 per cent more to transport goods between this city (Wilmington, N. C.) and Richmond than it does between Boston and Richmond? Could the rates on molasses, lumber, and naval stores to Richmond; on tobacco, flour and iron from Richmond, be reasonably low, a large business

<sup>103</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, February 24, 1873.

<sup>104</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, November 30, 1866.

<sup>105</sup> *Richmond Times*, May 24, 1867.

<sup>106</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, April 13, 1867.

<sup>107</sup> *Richmond Times*, April 20, 1867.



could be built up between two southern cities to the natural advantage of both."<sup>108</sup> President W. C. Wickham wrote an open letter stating that there were no rate discriminations; the only exceptions were those for contractors and materials used in extensions.<sup>109</sup> The editor of the *Richmond Dispatch* came to the defense of the lines when he declared the railroads had been bankrupt concerns, and must be given time to work out their salvation. But he further declared that the railroads should carry to market all products capable of being turned into money.<sup>110</sup> These cries were quieted with extension westward and with the realization of connections to other lines.

The state still required all roads to send in a full report of their finances, amount of property, rates charged and general characteristics of the road. The governor and Assembly appeared to attach very little value to the stock that the state held in the lines following the war. Governor Pierpont in an address to the Assembly stated, "I attach no value for revenue purposes to the stock held by the state in the James River Canal, turnpikes, bridges, and railroads." He recommended the sale of all shares.<sup>111</sup> In the same address, he condemned the discriminating rates and urged lines to consolidate. Immediately the newspapers of the day responded to this. Some suggested that the stock be sold locally, to prevent some "foreign" line such as the B. and O. buying up the lines.<sup>112</sup> Others accused the capitalists of rushing into the legislative halls to secure control over the state stock.<sup>113</sup> As far as the Chesapeake and Ohio was concerned, it lagged in its appeal to capitalists, for it remained in local hands until the 1870's. In 1869, in its search for capital, the company appealed to the Federal government. Since the Congress had aided western lines, why not help the eastern roads too? The old State's Right argument was advanced in opposition.<sup>114</sup> A writer in the *Richmond Whig* opposing the

<sup>108</sup> Quoted in *Richmond Dispatch*, September 9, 1867.

<sup>109</sup> Letters found in Manuscript Division of the Virginia State Library, Richmond.

<sup>110</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, October 3, 1867; October 31, 1867.

<sup>111</sup> *Richmond Whig*, December 5, 1866.

<sup>112</sup> *Richmond Whig*, December 8, 1866.

<sup>113</sup> *Richmond Times*, February 5, 1866.

<sup>114</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, March 2, 1867.



request argued, "The government is not in the business to build railroads any more than it is the business of the United States to keep a grocer."<sup>115</sup>

Meanwhile, the Huntington contract had been completed, and a committee of the Senate had investigated its validity.<sup>116</sup> This contract set off a tirade of comment regarding railroad control of the state government. Actually, the railroad had taken the sole initiative in consummating the contract without consulting the Assembly.<sup>117</sup> A free railroad bill was urged by those who felt railroading should be free of legislative influence.<sup>118</sup> This would allow out-of-state capitalists to buy controlling interest in Virginia lines with little or no state interference or regulation. The *Richmond Whig* opposed the proposal for fear the lines would all be sold to foreign capitalists.<sup>119</sup> According to the newspaper, Poor's *Railroad Manual*<sup>120</sup> stated that it was against the passage of such a law for it felt competition would be unbridled, too much consolidation would result, and fictitious capital would accrue.<sup>121</sup> The bill failed to carry, but so important was it that it became an issue in the state campaign of 1873. One of the opposition campaigners declared, "let the people of Virginia rally as one man against this invidious and comprehensive scheme of conquest, commercial and political. If our internal improvement interests, our transportation trade and whole business goes to Tom Scott (president of the Pennsylvania Railroad) our politics and entire fortunes and destinies will go along with them."<sup>122</sup> Notwithstanding, Tom Scott bought controlling interest in the Richmond and Danville. C. P. Huntington and Associates followed with purchase of controlling interest in the C. and O. Huntington and his group were considered just, liberal, and public-spirited.<sup>123</sup> Huntington was described by one observer as "a far-seeing man, whose tact and energy have accumulated fortunes,

<sup>115</sup> *Richmond Whig*, January 4, 1869.

<sup>116</sup> *Journal of the Senate, 1869-1870*, 136.

<sup>117</sup> *Richmond Whig*, January 12, 1870.

<sup>118</sup> *Richmond Whig*, March 4, 1870.

<sup>119</sup> *Richmond Whig*, January 21, February 8, 1872.

<sup>120</sup> *Richmond Whig*, February 28, 1873.

<sup>121</sup> *Richmond Whig*, February 28, 1873.

<sup>122</sup> *Richmond Whig*, April 5, 1873.

<sup>123</sup> *Richmond Whig*, December 1, 1870.



who is a better judge of practical advantages and the ways to promote trade and prosperity, than sly-scrapping politicians."<sup>124</sup>

The next problem to interest both the state and the C. and O. was the straightening of lines run through Richmond to the coast. That involved the straightening of the line from Clifton Forge to Richmond via Lynchburg. A "Straight Shoot" line was the label put on the plea. Surveys were made in 1870 for such a line and meetings were held in Powhatan, Cumberland, and Chesterfield counties by groups who felt the line should pass through their section.<sup>125</sup> A Lynchburg and Covington party visited Richmond and Petersburg to promote the cause. Richmonders urged the same cause, for they had been long aware that a large share of trade had bypassed them to use the southside lines.<sup>126</sup> The General Assembly passed a law providing that any company willing to undertake such an effort should put up \$5,000,000 capital. Other interesting provisions required that no discriminatory charges should be permitted, and also provided that land might be taken in payment of capital.<sup>127</sup> The C. and O., with its hands full in the westward extension program, appeared slow in taking up the challenge. The line was more concerned with a connection between Richmond and the coast. Some officials were willing to wait to see if Huntington would be interested in the plan after he reached the Ohio, for, as one said, the "straight shoot" was necessary to achieve the full value of the C. and O.<sup>128</sup> Captain William Mahone, president of the Richmond and Petersburg, showed some interest, and when that was manifest, Huntington also evinced interest. Here the matter rested until after the "crisis of '73."<sup>129</sup>

As for expansion of the C. and O. into the Old Northwest, the people of Cincinnati looked forward to the arrival of the lines which would make contact with the Central Pacific.<sup>130</sup> Other townspeople spoke of a possible connection with

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<sup>124</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, September 4, 1871.

<sup>125</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, January 15, February 3, 1870.

<sup>126</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, January 4, 1870.

<sup>127</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, June 25, 1870.

<sup>128</sup> *Lynchburg Tri-Weekly News*, February 20, 1873.

<sup>129</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, April 29, 1873.

<sup>130</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, February 9, 1871.



Chicago via Dayton, which they were sure was in Huntington's plans.<sup>131</sup>

The critical year of 1873 found Virginia ranked sixth in railroad mileage. Only New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois outranked the southern state. The Chesapeake and Ohio was fast becoming an important national line with low rates, improved equipment, and so-called "foreign personnel." It had survived the perilous period of over-capitalization, the bankruptcy of Fisk and Hatch, and of disruptive reorganization.

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<sup>131</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, October 30, 1871.



## HISTORY IN THE SOUTH—A RETROSPECT OF HALF A CENTURY\*

By J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON

I wish first to express my appreciation of your invitation to address you. It has not been my good fortune to be often with you at the meetings of this Society, or at other historical gatherings, and I am very happy to renew my association with you.

I have followed one of the suggestions of the bearer of your message to me, and have chosen for my subject a retrospect of historical endeavor in the South during the period, lacking only three years of half a century, since I came to the University of North Carolina and joined the goodly company of those already engaged in the teaching and in the writing of history, chiefly that of the South. With some mangling of the quotation I may say:

*Quaeque ipse vidi  
et quorum exigua pars brevisque fui.*

For the sake of those of you whose Latin requirement, like mine, has passed into the void, I venture a translation:

All of which I saw  
and a small and unimportant part of which I was.

At the time of my coming, in 1906, the following were the professors of history in the South in the order of seniority: Thomas C. McCorvey of Alabama, John H. McPherson of Georgia, George Petrie of Auburn, Kemp P. Battle of North Carolina, John R. Ficklen of Tulane, John M. Vincent of Johns Hopkins, James C. Ballagh of Johns Hopkins, Franklin L. Riley of Mississippi, Edgar H. Johnson of Emory, George P. Garrison of Texas, Julian A. C. Chandler of Richmond, Enoch W. Sikes of Wake Forest, David D. Wallace of Wofford, Eugene C. Barker of Texas, William E. Dodd of Ran-

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\* Delivered before the Historical Society of North Carolina, May 2, 1953, at Durham.



dolph-Macon, Edmund C. Burnett of Mercer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson of Charleston, Frederick W. Moore of Vanderbilt, John H. Latane of Washington and Lee, John H. Reynolds of Arkansas, Walter L. Fleming of West Virginia, but shortly later of Louisiana, Henry R. McIlwaine of Hampden-Sydney, who quickly departed from the faith, John P. McConnell of Emory and Henry, St. George L. Sioussat of Sewanee, Yates Snowden of South Carolina, and David Y. Thomas of Arkansas. John S. Bassett of Trinity had just gone to Smith, and Charles L. Raper of North Carolina had just departed from the field of history. William K. Boyd of Trinity, Charles W. Ramsdell of Texas, and John W. Wayland of Bridgewater entered the field in 1906, the year of my coming.

Most of these men had received the doctorate, and a majority of them were eager teachers and many of them were productive scholars. Of the group Barker, Wayland, Raper and myself are, I believe, the only survivors. To them were added within the space of three years, Thomas J. Wertenbaker of Virginia, Joseph M. McConnell of Davidson, Enoch M. Banks of Florida, and Henry M. Wagstaff of North Carolina in 1907, Charles H. Ambler of Randolph-Macon and Ulrich B. Phillips of Tulane in 1908, and William T. Laprade of Trinity, and Thad W. Riker of Texas in 1909. Of these Wertenbaker, Ambler, Riker, and Laprade still survive. Wertenbaker was for years on the wrong side of the Mason and Dixon Line, but now he has come back home.

History was, of course, taught elsewhere than at the institutions named, but most of the teachers were untrained in history, and in most cases they divided their time with other subjects, and many were the absurd groupings.

The work of the men named was almost entirely confined to undergraduate teaching, and the great majority of them taught courses outside of the fields of their major interest. Schedules were heavy and little time was available for research. Salaries were pitifully low, and the necessary funds for the extensive travel required for adequate research were lacking to most of them. Libraries, too, were inadequate,



and that imposed a burden. The wonder is that there was as much productive work outside of teaching.

Graduate instruction was practically limited to Johns Hopkins University. The University of Virginia accepted a few candidates for the doctorate, but could not be said to have a developed system of graduate work.

Historical writing was by no means confined to this professional group. Lyon G. Tyler, Peter Joseph Hamilton, Judge Henry A. Middleton Smith, Stephen B. Weeks, who had taught history briefly at Trinity, Phillip Alexander Bruce, Grace King, Reuben T. Durritt, Thomas M. Owen, Alcé Fortier, William P. Trent, Marshall De Lancey Haywood, Samuel A. Ashe, Joseph A. Waddell, A. V. Goodpasture, Alexander S. Salley, Dunbar Rowland, and many others were making substantial historical contributions.

A manifestation of historical interest which should be noted was the existence of historical societies. The South, it must be confessed, was littered with dead or dying historical organizations, but some—all too few—were rendering genuine and valuable service. Others existed only in name, or in the enthusiasm of a few devoted spirits. Those of wider membership than individual states were the Southern Historical Society with headquarters in Richmond, devoted to Confederate history, and with a small and vanishing membership, and the Southern History Association with headquarters in Washington, with less than three hundred members, more than a third of which were libraries, existing only by grace of the labors of Colyar Meriwether and Stephen B. Weeks, and nearing its end. In 1904 Maryland had eleven members, Virginia twelve, North Carolina twenty-eight, South Carolina sixteen, Georgia nine, Florida four, Alabama four, Mississippi one, Louisiana fourteen, Texas four, Arkansas none, Tennessee ten, and Kentucky eight. The contribution by the professional group to the publications of the Society were relatively few.

In the American Historical Association southern members were relatively rare, but most of the professional group were to be found enrolled. The exact figures of the membership are not available.



Membership in the state and local historical societies was usual with the professional group, and in a number of cases they kept them alive. State societies of varying, but usually of little vigor, were existent in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky.

Many historical publications had been projected in the South, but most of them had fallen on evil days, failing to secure enough public interest to survive. The *Publications of the Southern History Association*, excellent for its time, was entering upon its last year, the *Maryland Historical Society Publications* was gone, as were the *Washington and Lee University Historical Papers*, the *American Historical Magazine* and *Tennessee Historical Society Quarterly*, the *Trans-Alleghany Historical Magazine*, *The Papers of the Alabama Historical Society*, the *Bulletins of the Alabama Department of Archives and History*, the *Texas Historical and Biographical Magazine*, and the *Kentucky Historical and Genealogical Magazine*.

But there were in existence, on the other hand, the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, the *Papers of the Southern Historical Society*, the *William and Mary Quarterly*, the *John P. Branch Historical Papers*, the *North Carolina Booklet*, the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, the *Trinity College Historical Society Papers*, the *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, the *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, the *Georgia Historical Society Collections*, the *Publications of the Alabama Historical Society*, the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, the *Louisiana Historical Society Publications*, *Publications of the Arkansas Historical Association*, the *Texas State Historical Society Quarterly*, and the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, all of which were performing valuable service.

State agencies for the collection and preservation of historical material were just making their appearance. Alabama had its Department of Archives and History, with Thomas



M. Owen at its head. Mississippi had Dunbar Rowland in a similar office, the Archives Division of the Texas State Library was headed by E. W. Winkler, South Carolina's Historical Commission was headed by A. S. Salley, and North Carolina had taken its first step by appointing a historical commission, and was, the following year, to implement it by an appropriation for its support, and R. D. W. Connor, as its secretary, was entering upon his productive career.

Of great collections of historical manuscripts there were none, but important beginnings had been made by the Maryland Historical Society, the Virginia Historical Society, the Virginia State Library, William and Mary College, the South Carolina Historical Society, the Georgia Historical Society, The Alabama Archives, the Mississippi Archives, the Mississippi Historical Society, the University of Mississippi, the Louisiana Historical Society, the Howard Library, the Texas State Library and the University of Texas. The Trinity College Historical Society and the North Carolina Historical Society, the latter identified with The University of North Carolina, had each considerable collections. None of these agencies however, were active in gathering material, and most of them were stagnant.

In general it may be said that the outlook for development of historical research, the preservation of historical material, and suitable and progressive organizations was far from promising.

But development in all these fields came. The growth and expansion of the southern universities and colleges was accompanied by the expansion of the departments of history with consequent additions to the professional group. Standards of teaching and research improved. Salaries increased, and promising young men began to see a worth-while field of labor and an honorable career in historical work.

Public interest in history developed, and aided powerfully in the expansion of the departments of history in the various institutions where the interest and demands of students led to expansion in the courses offered. The thin stream of research, and the publication of the results, widened and grew deeper, thanks to lightened teaching loads, the growth and



expansion of university and college libraries, and rising salaries. State and other agencies for collecting and preserving historical manuscripts increased in number and developed in strength, historical organizations found new life, and historical publications increased in number and improved in quality.

Not all of this growth, by any means, was due to the work and influence of the professional group. They played an important part in it, but a steadily increasing number of devoted and public spirited men and women joined with them in promoting the cause of history. There developed, too, an increasing number of non-professional historical writers whose work steadily improved in quality as it increased in amount. And the increase in university presses and in historical magazines furnished an ever-widening opportunity for publication with consequent aroused interest in research and writing.

Nobody in 1906 ever dreamed of the day when active university presses would be in operation at North Carolina, Duke, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and Kentucky, with embryos at Virginia and Alabama. They have a striking and highly important output, with historical works holding a strong place. Notable among such works are the southern history series of Louisiana and Texas, and the southern biographical series issued by Louisiana.

As we view the scene now we see what a remarkable development has come. The southern universities and colleges have undergone a marvellous change, and their number has increased. There are innumerable vigorous and well-staffed history departments filled with capable teachers and investigators. Graduate schools have been organized; until now they are as follows: Johns Hopkins, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Duke, South Carolina, Emory, Florida, Louisiana State University, Tulane, Texas, Rice Institute, Peabody, Vanderbilt, and Kentucky. In numbers of candidates for the doctorate in history The University of North Carolina stands sixth in the United States, being topped by Columbia, Harvard, Wisconsin, Chicago and Pennsylvania.



In the South it is followed by Texas, Duke, Johns Hopkins, Emory, Vanderbilt, Maryland, Kentucky and Tulane.

Southern historical publications are on a firm foundation. In addition to the more important ones existent at the beginning of the period covered are: the *Maryland Historical and Genealogical Bulletin*, *Maryland Historical Notes*, *Tyler's Historical Quarterly*, *Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (a continuation of the *Historical and Genealogical Magazine*), the *South Carolina Historical Commission Bulletin*, the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, the *Alabama Review*, the *Journal of Mississippi History*, the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (a continuation of the *Texas State Historical Society Quarterly*), the *Texas University Studies in History*, the *Texas Catholic Historical Society Studies*, the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, *The Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, the *East Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, the *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, and the *Filson Club History Quarterly*. In addition, two general publications, the *Journal of Southern History* and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* have won established places among national historical journals.

To the already existent state agencies previously listed have been added the Maryland Archives, the Georgia Archives, and the Florida Archives. The North Carolina Historical Commission has been replaced by the Department of Archives and History, and has built an important body of archives and personal manuscripts.

Other collecting agencies have developed and grown and new ones have been added. The Maryland Historical Society collections have greatly increased, as have those of William and Mary, and the University of Virginia Library has built a great collection. The Flowers Collection of Duke University is large and important, as are those of the Southern Historical Collection at The University of North Carolina, the Presbyterian Archives at Montreat, the Caroliniana Society of the University of South Carolina, the Emory Uni-



versity Library, the Department of Archives of Louisiana State University, the Library of the University of Texas, the Lawson McGhee Library in Knoxville, and the Library of the University of Kentucky.

Other manifestations of historical interests which should be mentioned are the increasing activity of county historical societies, the publication of county histories, the development of historical museums, which in turn increase historical interest, and the increased amount of space devoted by newspapers to historical articles and the reproduction of historical documents.

Nor should carefully prepared historical plays such as "The Lost Colony," "Unto These Hills," "The Common Glory," and "The Horn in the West," be unmentioned. They, too, in spite of their limitations and character, render an important service in arousing interest in history.

A notable undertaking is that of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.

Southern membership in the American Historical Association has increased substantially to 848, thus distributed: Maryland 168, Virginia 159, North Carolina 110, South Carolina 32, Georgia 43, Florida 51, Alabama 29, Mississippi 11, Louisiana 25, Texas 92, Arkansas 19, Tennessee 71, and Kentucky 38. Southern members serve on the Council, on numerous committees, on the editorial board of the *American Historical Review*, and numerous on the programs of the Association.

The Southern Historical Association, a vigorous organization founded in 1934, has nearly a thousand southern members distributed as follows: Maryland 38, Virginia 115, North Carolina 123, South Carolina 75, Georgia 102, Florida 69, Alabama 102, Mississippi 73, Louisiana 68, Texas 82, Arkansas 18, Tennessee 103, and Kentucky 56.

The development thus described of historical teaching, writing, publication, and organization, has passed beyond the wildest dreams and most ardent hopes of forward looking men at the time of my entrance upon the scene. There is much still to be done—it would be unfortunate if there were not—but what has been accomplished is heartwarming



to this old-timer. Except for being a sort of perfectionist in spirit, I would be tempted to make an ending of my retrospect of half a century with a chant of *Nunc dimittis, Domine*, but I refrain. But I heartily congratulate you youngsters, that in spite of imperfections still existent, you can truthfully say with the Psalmist, 'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea I have a goodly heritage.'



PAPERS FROM THE FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL SESSION  
OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER, 1953  
INTRODUCTION

By CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

Marking the completion of two years of its expanded and revitalized program, the State Literary and Historical Association held a series of unusually stimulating and instructive sessions at its fifty-third annual meeting in Raleigh, December 4, 1953. At the morning business session, at the Sir Walter Hotel, reports of committees were presented and other matters were attended to, indicating an active and growing popular interest and participation throughout the state in the Association's work. Three talks were then made: "The North Carolina Department of Archives and History—The First Half Century," by Professor Henry S. Stroupe of Wake Forest College; "North Carolina Non-Fiction Books of the Year," by Hoke Norris of the Winston-Salem *Journal-Sentinel*; and "North Carolina Awards in Literature and History," by Professor Richard Walser of State College.

Three new literary awards were made at the morning session: the Roanoke-Chowan Award for poetry, given by the Roanoke-Chowan group of writers and allied artists, to Frank Borden Hanes of Winston-Salem for his verse narrative, *Abel Anders*; the American Association of University Women Award for juvenile literature to Ruth and Latrobe Carroll of Asheville for their book, *Peanut*; and the R. D. W. Connor Award for the best article published by a student during the year in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, presented by the State Literary and Historical Association to Hugh F. Rankin of Chapel Hill for his article, "The Moore's Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776."

At the luncheon meeting, also at the Sir Walter Hotel, Professor Dougald MacMillan of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill reviewed "North Carolina Fiction for the Three Years Ending August 31, 1953."



The dinner meeting was held in the cafeteria of the new State Highway Building, where Professor Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College delivered the presidential address, "The Courtship of Zeb Vance."

At the evening session, in the auditorium of the Highway Building, Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University spoke on "New Lamps for Old in History." Afterward Mrs. Preston B. Wilkes, Jr., of Charlotte, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, presented the Mayflower Award for non-fiction to LeGette Blythe of Huntersville and Dr. Mary T. Martin Sloop of Crossnore for their work, *Miracle in the Hills*. Miss Clara Booth Byrd of Greensboro, president of the Historical Book Club, then presented the Sir Walter Raleigh Awards in fiction to Inglis Fletcher of Edenton for her series of North Carolina historical novels and to Frances Gray Patton of Durham for her volume of short stories, *The Finer Things of Life*.

All of the papers read at the various sessions are included in the pages that follow. It is believed that as a group they rank among the most interesting and most stimulating that have ever been given at an annual meeting of the Association.



# THE NORTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY— THE FIRST HALF CENTURY

By HENRY S. STROUPE

Fifty years ago State Senator R. F. Beasley of Union County reported to the State Literary and Historical Association on books published by North Carolinians during the year 1903. Although a number of such books had been published, Beasley doubted that a fairly diligent newspaper reader could name as many as two of them. "The point is," he wrote, "that they have not attracted the attention of the public, even the portion of it that constitutes our readers. . . . There are a good many people, an increasing number of people, in the State who read a good many books of one kind or another. But they don't read North Carolina books to any extent." These works were described as lacking "the merit that attracts." The Senator explained why so few outstanding books were being written in history: "There is too great a lack of research, learning and imagination, three things very necessary in the production of historical writing."<sup>1</sup>

An examination of the books written by North Carolinians and about North Carolina since 1903 reveals that the above statements are no longer true. The work of the North Carolina Historical Commission and its successor the Department of Archives and History were responsible to a considerable extent for the growth of interest in the writing and study of North Carolina history. Not only have these agencies collected, preserved, and published vast quantities of historical materials; they have stimulated interest in their use as well.

The founding of the Historical Commission was in part the work of the State Literary and Historical Association. The stated purpose of the Association had included since its founding in 1900 the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of North Carolina literature and history.

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<sup>1</sup> *The News and Observer*, November 15, 1903.



In a sketch of the early history of the Association, Edward P. Moses declared that to it should go the credit for initiating the movement which culminated in the establishment of the Historical Commission. On January 3, 1903, the Association adopted a resolution requesting the General Assembly to pass an act creating a commission charged with the duty of having the historical sources of the state collected, edited, and published. The resolution also provided for the appointment by the Association of a committee to draft the proposed bill. William Joseph Peele, who did more than any other individual to develop the idea of a commission, wrote the bill and secured its enactment into law.<sup>2</sup>

The act, which passed its third reading March 9, 1903, authorized the governor to appoint a commission of not more than five persons for a term of two years and they were to serve without salary, mileage, or per diem. Their duties were "to have collected from the files of old newspapers, from court records, church records and elsewhere valuable dockets pertaining to the history of the State," to direct the publication of these "by the State Printers as public printing," and to supervise their distribution by the State Librarian. The Commission was authorized to expend not more than \$500 in the collection and transcription of documents.<sup>3</sup>

Under this act Governor Charles Brantley Aycock appointed William Joseph Peele of Raleigh, James Dunn Hufham of Henderson, Foster Alexander Sondley of Asheville, Richard Dillard of Edenton, and Robert Digges Wimberly Connor of Wilmington members of the Commission. Only one meeting was held during the two years of the first term. This occurred on November 20, 1903, at Warsaw, with the election of Peele as chairman and Connor as secretary the principal tangible results. The Commission's first report to the governor dealt more with plans and prospects than with achievements. A concise statement of the basic reason for the Commission's existence did, however, appear:

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<sup>2</sup> *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905* (Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1905), I, 21, 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Public Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, 1903*, chapter 767.



The people of North Carolina are realizing more and more every day that it is not safe to trust the future to the control of a people who are ignorant of their past; and that no people who are indifferent to their past need hope to make their future great. But even when this lesson is fully realized it will be valueless unless steps are taken at the same time to preserve the material from which that past is to be made intelligible to the present and to the future.<sup>4</sup>

When Governor Robert B. Glenn appointed commissioners for the second term he chose men living in or near Raleigh in order to facilitate meeting. They were John Bryan Grimes, Thomas W. Blount, Charles Lee Raper, Connor, who had moved to Raleigh, and Peele. Even though more work was completed than before, it soon became apparent that a different and more effective organization was needed. The most urgent need was for a paid secretary and office force.

In 1907, therefore, the General Assembly was persuaded to amend the original act so that the Commission's powers were enlarged and its duties increased. By the provisions of this new act the members of the Commission were appointed for terms of two, four, or six years, with their successors to serve for six years. They still received no salary or per diem but were to be paid their "actual expenses when attending to their official duties." The annual appropriation was increased to \$5,000 with which the Commission was instructed to employ a secretary and equip an office for the filing and preservation of historical documents.

The enlarged duties of the Commission were stated in section two of the act of 1907:

It shall be the duty of the Commission to have collected . . . historical data pertaining to the history of North Carolina and the territory included therein from the earliest times; to have such material properly edited, published by the State Printer as other State printing, and distributed under the direction of the Commission; to care for the proper marking and preservation of battle-fields, houses and other places celebrated in the history of the State; to diffuse knowledge in reference to the history and resources of North Carolina; to encourage the

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<sup>4</sup> *Report of the Historical Commission to Governor Charles B. Aycock, 1903-1905, 3.*



study of North Carolina history in the schools of the State, and to stimulate and encourage historical investigation and research among the people of the State; to make a biennial report of its receipts and disbursements, its work and needs, to the Governor, to be by him transmitted to the General Assembly. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Section five provided that any "State, county, town or other public official in custody of public documents is hereby authorized and empowered in his discretion to turn over to said Commission for preservation any official books, records, documents, original papers, newspaper files, printed books or portraits, not in current use in his office, and said Commission shall provide for their permanent preservation. . . ."

This law made clear the fact that the Commission was expected to do for the entire history of the state what William L. Saunders and Walter Clark had done for the period prior to 1790 by publication of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* and *The State Records of North Carolina*. The duty of collecting, editing, and publishing historical data was recognized by the Commission at this early date in its history as its most important duty.<sup>6</sup>

The Commission appointed by Governor Glenn after passage of the new act was composed of Grimes, Peele, and Blount, all of whom had been members of the previous Commission, Marcus Cicero Stephens Noble of Chapel Hill, and Daniel Harvey Hill of Raleigh. On May 20, 1907, the new Commission met in the office of Secretary of State Grimes and elected Grimes chairman and Connor secretary. A small upstairs room in the east wing of the Capitol was assigned Connor as an office and he was instructed to secure the necessary equipment. Thus after four years of beginnings the Commission had secured an annual appropriation of \$5,000, a definition of its duties, quarters, and a salaried secretary.

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<sup>5</sup> *Public Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, 1907*, chapter 714.

<sup>6</sup> *The North Carolina Historical Commission: Creation and Organization; Duties and Powers; Plans and Purposes, 1907*, 9.



At this time the largest and most important collections of historical materials relating to North Carolina were those in the public archives of the state, in the Capitol, and elsewhere in Raleigh. In his second report as secretary, Connor declared that the manner in which these materials had been kept was "anything but creditable to our intelligence and patriotism. Thousands of manuscripts, records and other documents are stuffed away in dark pigeonholes, in boxes and corners, without order or system, are tossed about from place to place with an utter indifference to their value, or are thrown helter-skelter here and there, in leaky attics in various parts of the city."<sup>7</sup>

The initial task faced by the Commission was, therefore, to collect these records, file them systematically, and preserve them from destruction. Years were to elapse before this could be completed. Among the items in the public archives assembled the first years were the journals of both houses of the General Assembly, the journals of conventions, the journals of the Board of Internal Improvements, the journals of the Council of State, the letter books of the governors, the records of North Carolina troops in the War between the States, the reports of the Land Frauds Commission, numerous volumes of wills, and numerous volumes of miscellaneous documents. Three large private collections, the letters and papers of John H. Bryan, Calvin H. Wiley, and Jonathan Worth, were placed among the collections of the Commission.

Although well aware that collecting, filing, and preserving had to be underway before the law to publish historical materials could be carried out, the Commission was able to begin a modest publishing program at once. A pamphlet entitled *The Beginnings of English America: Sir Walter Raleigh's Settlements on Roanoke Island, 1584-1587*, was issued in time for the Jamestown Exposition. A more ambitious undertaking was the substantial volume entitled *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905*, which had been projected at the first meeting of the Commission.

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<sup>7</sup> *The Second Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1906-1908*, 5.



The Secretary also went to work at once on the assigned duties of marking and preserving historic sites, diffusing information about North Carolina, and encouraging the study of North Carolina history. In this connection he endorsed the work in the field of history of the Colonial Dames, Sons of the Revolution, Daughters of the Revolution, Guilford Battleground Company, Wachovia Historical Society, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Hall of History, North Carolina Historical Society, and Trinity Historical Society. *The North Carolina Booklet*, published by the Daughters of the Revolution, received special notice as the only periodical in North Carolina devoted exclusively to the history of the state.

The three patriotic organizations which, with the collaboration of the Historical Commission, presented the North Carolina exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition were congratulated by Secretary Connor. According to one of the custodians, more visitors sought out the North Carolina exhibit than any other in the History Building: "From various sections of the Union came persons who found there information of value to them personally. As an educational factor the success was complete, and it is believed that this engrossing work will greatly aid in developing the historical awakening already begun in our midst."<sup>8</sup>

Despite its meager appropriation, the Commission was able in 1908 to add an archivist to the paid staff. He devoted practically the whole of his time for the first two years to saving from destruction, classifying and filing some 14,000 letters of the governors from Richard Caswell to Zebulon B. Vance. Collections of private papers were now being added so rapidly that not even the names of most of them can be mentioned here. The David L. Swain collection was described as "one of the most interesting and valuable collections of manuscripts in North Carolina history in existence." Similar words were written concerning the Charles E. Johnson collection, which contained the Iredell papers, and the large Vance collection.

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<sup>8</sup> Quoted from Mary Hilliard Hinton, "The North Carolina Historical Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition," in *The Second Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1906-1908*, 11-12.



In 1910 Connor listed as an encouraging feature of his work the fact that students were beginning to find their way to the collections of the Commission and to make use of them in their investigations into North Carolina and American history. Among those named were Samuel A. Ashe, Justin H. Smith, Archibald Henderson, J. G. deR. Hamilton, William H. Hoyt, and W. K. Boyd.

Displaying a grim sense of humor, the Secretary added three extra pages to his regular 1910 report and introduced them with this statement: "I have next to report several 'historical activities' of an entirely different character from any of the preceding, but which at this particular time are, perhaps, the most important of all." He then described six fires in which quantities of valuable papers had been destroyed. The concluding sentence read: "The inference to be drawn from these forms of 'activity' is so plain that I shall not offer any comment."<sup>9</sup>

Before the Commission had been at work a decade, the number of students who visited the office became so large that in view of the inadequate facilities this type of activity had to be discouraged. Storage space was also urgently needed. Relief came in 1914 when new quarters became available. On January 12 of that year the Commission began the removal of its collections from the room in the Capitol which it had occupied since July 1, 1907, to the second floor of the new State Administration Building (now the Library Building) on Morgan Street. The assignment by the General Assembly of these spacious, fireproof halls was a significant recognition of the necessity for properly caring for the state's archives and historical collections, and of the important place which the Commission had won in the lives of North Carolinians.

With the acquisition of new quarters, the control of the Historical Museum, more commonly known as the Hall of History, was transferred from the State Museum to the Historical Commission. On February 18, 1914, Fred A. Olds, collector of the Historical Museum, began the transfer of over

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<sup>9</sup> *The Third Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1908-1910*, 1-12, 23.



11,000 objects from the old hall to new halls on the second floor of the State Administration Building.

The act creating the Historical Commission had authorized local and county officials to deposit their non-current records with the Commission for preservation. Notwithstanding the fact that most of the counties were not prepared to take proper care of such records, they had been slow to take advantage of this opportunity. But when the Commission became better known and acquired adequate facilities, many valuable local and county records did come into its collections.

A further illustration of the fact that by the time of the first World War the Historical Commission had become fully established as the State's chief agency for various types of historical activity may be found in the story of the North Carolina Confederate History Fund. On October 20, 1915, the North Carolina Division, United Confederate Veterans, adopted a resolution providing for the raising of a fund of \$25,000 to be devoted to the preparation of a history of North Carolina's part in the War between the States. The resolution provided that when the amount had been raised it should be turned over to the North Carolina Historical Commission, with the request that the Commission select a suitable person for the work and supervise the expenditure of the fund. Robert H. Ricks of Rocky Mount donated the entire sum and the Commission entered into a contract with Daniel Harvey Hill, who resigned as president of North Carolina State College, to undertake this work. At the time of his death in 1924 Hill had completed the history only through the battle of Sharpsburg, September, 1862. The Commission made arrangements with J. G. de R. Hamilton to edit this material and write an introductory chapter, which he did.<sup>10</sup>

The Historical Commission acquired another new duty when in 1915 the position of Legislative Reference Librarian was created. After Secretary of State J. Bryan Grimes, chairman of the Commission, and Senator Frank Thompson, who

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<sup>10</sup> *Sixth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1914-1916*, 16; *The North Carolina Historical Commission: Forty Years of Public Service, 1903-1943*, 25.



introduced the bill, had persuaded the General Assembly that a Legislative Reference Librarian was "one of the most necessary officers in North Carolina," it unanimously passed an act creating this office. The Historical Commission was authorized and required to appoint a qualified person to collect, tabulate, annotate, and digest information for the use of the General Assembly upon all questions of state, county, and municipal legislation. W. S. Wilson was the first to hold the post of Legislative Reference Librarian. From its creation in 1915 until its transfer in 1933 from the Historical Commission to the office of the Attorney General, the Legislative Reference Library issued thirty-six publications and answered thousands of inquiries.<sup>11</sup>

The Historical Commission recognized at the beginning of United States participation in the first World War the importance of undertaking to collect at once materials bearing upon the part taken by North Carolina soldiers and civilians in the struggle. Accordingly, a special history committee, of which Connor was chairman, was appointed by the Commission and the North Carolina Council of Defense to collect for permanent preservation the war records of the state. The materials collected included letters, rosters, records of organizations, and many other types of materials. At the close of the war Robert Burton House became Collector of World War Records and soon completed a collection numbering over 100,000 pieces.

In 1919 William J. Peele, a member of the Commission since 1903, died, and to the vacancy thus created Governor T. W. Bickett appointed Frank Wood of Edenton. Wood made a valuable contribution to the work of the Commission by securing the splendid collection of Chowan County records. Connor, who had been Secretary of the Commission since its inception, resigned in 1921 to become Kenan Professor of History in The University of North Carolina. The Commission elected Daniel Harvey Hill, one of its members, Secretary, but he died in 1924 and was succeeded by Robert Burton House. Thomas M. Pittman had succeeded John

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<sup>11</sup> *Sixth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1914-1916*, 20-21; *The North Carolina Historical Commission: Forty Years of Public Service, 1903-1943*, 24-25.



Bryan Grimes as chairman of the Commission the year before.<sup>12</sup>

Already engaged in a broad program, the Commission added still another activity in January, 1924, when it launched *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a medium for the publication and discussion of history in the state. Issued quarterly at the price of two dollars a year, the magazine had by January, 1925, gained a circulation of about one thousand. This was also approximately the circulation in 1952.<sup>13</sup>

During a meeting of the Commission on April 23, 1926, Secretary House resigned to accept the position of Executive Secretary of The University of North Carolina, effective July 1. Albert Ray Newsome was elected by the Commission to succeed him on that date. In a letter to the Commission dated April 23, 1926, House discussed a matter pertaining to the forthcoming budget that required immediate attention. The General Assembly had increased the appropriation to \$25,000 a year, but the work of the Commission had expanded until this sum was inadequate. Salaries and other fixed expenditures could be anticipated, but, wrote House, "the life of the Historical Commission is not a static thing. It not only serves through its routine work, but it is constantly finding out new things to do and new opportunities that must be taken advantage of at once." The incident to which House referred illustrates the techniques and problems of collecting for the archives. "During the past two years," he continued, "almost by complete accident, we have found existing in Spain one of the most startling collections of North Carolina records that has ever been found." He had applied all available funds to the copying of these records and still had about two thousand dollars to spend. There were, however, many "manuscripts yet to be copied, both in England and Spain, and it is exceedingly expedient to copy those in Spain at once, because they are apt to be lost altogether if not copied now." House recommended that ten thousand dollars be requested for this work.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> A short paragraph on each member of the Commission from 1903 to 1942 may be found in the forty year report.

<sup>13</sup> *Tenth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1922-1924*, 8.

<sup>14</sup> This typescript letter is in the Library of Wake Forest College.



The person who found the Spanish documents was W. W. Pierson of The University of North Carolina. Even though the copying was prosecuted vigorously until July 1, 1926, it was not completed and the exhaustion of funds compelled its suspension at that time. Not until a new legislative appropriation became available a year later was the making of photostatic copies of these records resumed. The delay proved to be serious, for on August 12, 1927, the work of the North Carolina Historical Commission, as well as that of many other agencies in this and other countries, was stopped abruptly by an order of the King of Spain prohibiting absolutely the copying of Spanish documents in series. But for the royal order, the Commission would have completed the project by July 1, 1928. But for the lack of funds, the project would have been completed before King Alfonso XIII changed his mind.<sup>15</sup>

In accord with the duty prescribed by law of seeking "to stimulate and encourage historical investigation and research among the people of the State," the Historical Commission in May, 1927, began to secure the selection by Boards of Education of a county historian for each of the state's one hundred counties. So favorable was the response that seventy-two county historians were selected within a year. Several of these have completed and published significant studies.

Only sixteen years after the Commission moved to the State Library Building, the Secretary wrote that its most pressing need was "enlarged filing facilities." He pointed out that the acquisition of much new manuscript material was being delayed by the inadequate facilities for mounting and filing. The Hall of History was unable to display much of its collection. He suggested a new building to house the historical, literary, and cultural agencies of the state.<sup>16</sup> Every year more persons were coming to consult the collections of records than had come the year before. During the biennium of 1930-1932, for example, 3,259 visits heavily taxed the facilities available for researchers.

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<sup>15</sup> *Twelfth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1926-1928*, 16.

<sup>16</sup> *Thirteenth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1928-1930*, 46-47.



The likelihood of obtaining a new building lessened with the coming of the depression. As a matter of fact, the General Assembly reduced the appropriation of the Commission about ten per cent in 1929-1930 and continued to lower it gradually until the reduction reached about seventy per cent in 1933-1934. By the latter year the total annual appropriation was down to \$13,226. The lack of funds was felt most keenly by the publication program. Only routine reports and the magazine in reduced size survived. The continuation of the series of documentary volumes, universally recognized as one of the most important achievements, was entirely suspended. The worst was yet to come, for in 1934-1935 the appropriation was only \$11,315, out of which the salaries of eight persons had to be paid. In each of the next three years there was a slight increase, but not until 1945-1946 did the appropriation exceed those of the late twenties.

Effective October 10, 1934, President Roosevelt appointed R. D. W. Connor, former Secretary and at that time a member of the Commission, Archivist of the United States. This was probably the most significant national recognition that has come to the North Carolina Historical Commission. It was a tribute to the man who did more than anyone else to establish that institution on a high level of efficiency and to win for it wide recognition.<sup>17</sup>

Secretary Newsome resigned effective June 30, 1935, to become a professor in The University of North Carolina. The Commission then elected as Secretary, effective July 1, 1935, Christopher Crittenden, Assistant Professor of History in The University of North Carolina. Thus the man who has directed the work of the Commission for the past eighteen years assumed his duties at the time when available funds were at a minimum and other problems such as the shortage of space had become acute. Gradually, in spite of difficulties, the activities which had been curtailed were resumed and new programs were launched.

Among the latter was a new historical marker program. One of the duties of the Commission was to "care for the

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<sup>17</sup> *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1934-1936*, 28.



proper marking and preservation of battle-fields, houses, and other places celebrated in the history of the state." By the time of the depression many markers had been established by the Commission or under its direction. These included the marble busts of William A. Graham, Matt W. Ransom, Samuel Johnston, and John Motley Morehead in the rotunda of the State Capitol, and a plaster replica of Canova's statue of George Washington, which was also first displayed in the Capitol. The original had been destroyed when the old State House burned in 1831. The Commission also assisted in the establishment of an imposing North Carolina monument on the battlefield at Gettysburg.

Beginning in 1917, each General Assembly appropriated \$2,500 a year for historical markers and authorized the expenditure by the Commission of not over \$100 for any one marker, provided at least an equal amount was obtained from some other source. Under this program, which terminated in 1929, fifty-six tablets and monuments were erected.

Then in 1935 came legislative authorization for the new roadside historical marker. Under this plan the necessary research was done by the staff of the Historical Commission, the sites to be marked were selected and the inscriptions were written by a group of historians, the markers were cast under the direction of the Department of Conservation and Development, and they were erected by the Highway and Public Works Commission. The program got under way in 1935 with an appropriation of \$5,000 from the Highway Fund, and, except for the period 1942-1947 when suspended because of the shortage of metals, it has continued to date. By 1952 the cost of a marker had increased from \$40 to \$85 and the annual appropriation to \$10,000. More than 700 roadside markers have now been erected.

Between 1933 and 1942, by sponsoring various Federal relief projects, the Commission was able to accomplish objectives which, with its own small staff, it could not have undertaken. Materials in the Hall of History were catalogued, approximately 250,000 marriage bonds in the Commission's archives were indexed, and diaries were copied. Excellent guide books to the state as a whole and to several of its



communities were prepared and published. Indian mounds were excavated, and several buildings were erected on the site of Fort Raleigh, on Roanoke Island. A card index of the 125,000 names in John W. Moore's *Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States* was prepared.

Most significant of all the Federal relief projects sponsored by the Commission was the Historical Records Survey. By 1942 it had prepared inventories of the records of all the state's counties, and these inventories had been published in three volumes edited by Christopher Crittenden and Dan Lacy. It had made inventories of the chief public manuscript collections in the state. It had prepared and published inventories of the records of several of the Associations of the Baptist State Convention. It had collected and placed in the search room an alphabetical file of vital statistics from more than 225,000 tombstones in every part of the state.<sup>18</sup>

The successful movement for the new quarters which the Commission had long needed got under way in 1936. The State Literary and Historical Association passed a resolution authorizing its president, W. T. Laprade, to appoint a committee to bring to the attention of the General Assembly at its forthcoming session the Commission's need for more space. The committee laid the matter before the governor. Several departments of the state government also voiced their needs. After the recommendation of the governor had been submitted, the General Assembly appropriated \$675,000 for the construction of a new building. This structure, known now as the Education Building, was completed in 1939. The Historical Commission occupied the first floor and about one-half of the ground floor, space which had been especially designed and equipped for its use.

By virtue of an act passed in 1941 the size of the Commission was increased from five to seven. In 1943 the General Assembly changed the name of the Commission to State Department of Archives and History. It was believed that the new title, by emphasizing the agency's archival work, better described its functions, and also, by substituting the word

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<sup>18</sup> *The North Carolina Historical Commission: Forty Years of Public Service, 1903-1943*, 40-41.



"Department" for "Commission," recognized its importance and permanence.<sup>19</sup> In 1945 the General Assembly revised the basic act under which the Department operated. Although the new act made no drastic changes in the functions and duties of the Department, it did give the governing body the name "Executive Board" instead of "Commission," and altered the title of the executive officer from "Secretary" to "Director."

About the time these changes were being effected the Commission published a pamphlet entitled *The North Carolina Historical Commission: Forty Years of Public Service, 1903-1943*. This informative booklet presents a comprehensive view of the various activities in which the Commission engaged. Following the historical introduction is a partial inventory of materials in the Commission's archives. To illustrate, the legislative papers, covering the period from 1689 to 1900 and consisting of bills, petitions, data on contested elections, and many other types of materials, totaled no less than 1,660 boxes and volumes. The records from the various counties, consisting of more than 5,000 volumes and boxes, included wills; inventories of estates; deeds; minutes, dockets, and file papers of the various courts; marriage bonds; lists of taxables; common school reports; and other materials.

A systematic effort had been made to secure an original or a copy of every known map relating to North Carolina, from the earliest recorded times. By 1942 there were 1,700 maps in the archives. The secretary and his staff had also sought to obtain an original or photostat of every known issue of a North Carolina newspaper published before 1801. By 1942 the archives contained an estimated total of 12,565 issues of newspapers.

Regarding the use that had been made of the collections, the forty year report listed the authors and titles of fifty-seven published monographs and general works relating to North Carolina that were based in whole or in part upon research done in the archives. As the result of the publication

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<sup>19</sup> *Twentieth Biennial Report of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, 1942-1944*, 7.



of these and other studies, the history of North Carolina was becoming much better known, and various misconceptions of the state and its past had been corrected.

In forty years the Commission had published 32 volumes of historical documents, calendars or inventories; 12 legislative manuals; 53 pamphlets and leaflets; 74 numbers of *The North Carolina Historical Review*; and 54 other items, making a total of 225. In 1952 this figure reached 292. The importance of such works as the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* or *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* needs only be mentioned to be immediately appreciated.

Throughout World War II the Department sought, in spite of abnormal conditions, to carry out the customary duties and to find new ones. The Hall of History was kept open on week ends, when it was visited by tens of thousands of men and women in the armed forces, as well as by the general public. A program for collecting war records was pursued, and as a result a large and valuable collection of materials relating to the part played by the state in the war was brought together.

Gradually the difficulties born of war subsided and the Department entered into a period of steady and solid progress. Perhaps the outstanding item collected after the war was the charter of Carolina, 1663, purchased for more than \$6,000 and presented to the Department by a group of citizens of the state. An event that aroused a great deal of public interest was the unveiling on Capitol Square in Raleigh October 19, 1948, of a monument to the three Presidents of the United States born or reared in North Carolina—Andrew Jackson, James Knox Polk, and Andrew Johnson.

Compared with the small beginnings of a half century ago, the Department is today a complex organization engaged in large-scale activities. The money spent annually has increased from \$500 to more than \$160,000, the staff from one to twenty-nine, and the space occupied from one room to a large section of a modern building.

The Department's broad policies are controlled by an Executive Board of seven members appointed by the governor for overlapping terms of six years each. The members



at present are Benjamin Franklin Brown, chairman, Gertrude Carraway, Clarence W. Griffin, William Thomas Laprade, McDaniel Lewis, Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton, and Mrs. Callie Pridgen Williams. The Board elects a Director, now Christopher Crittenden, and under him and his immediate staff the work is carried on by three Divisions: Archives and Manuscripts, Museums, and Publications.

Under the management of W. Frank Burton, State Archivist, the Division of Archives and Manuscripts is responsible for preservation of records, reference service, and modern records management. The Division of Museums, under Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, is concerned primarily with the visual presentation of state history and the preservation of historical objects. Last year approximately 100,000 persons visited the Hall of History. The Division of Publications, with D. L. Corbitt, a veteran in the service of the Department, as Editor, is responsible for the publication and distribution of documentary volumes, pamphlets, leaflets, and *The Review*. In a single year about 14,000 copies of the Department's publications are mailed. The Historical Marker Program, with Edwin A. Miles as Researcher, is under the Director of the Department but not a part of one of the Divisions.

All who write or comment on the development of the Department of Archives and History agree that R. D. W. Connor contributed more than any other individual to its rise to a place of pre-eminence among agencies of this type. It is also agreed that under Christopher Crittenden the Department has not only continued to perform faithfully and effectively the important duties assigned it in earlier days, but has found significant new ways of making the people of North Carolina aware of their history.



## NORTH CAROLINA NON-FICTION BOOKS OF THE YEAR

By HOKE NORRIS

I am certain that I describe not alone my own reaction but that of all your judges when I say that this duty we have performed—or rather, this privilege which has been given us—has led to an amazing and prideful revelation.

In a past now happily somewhat distant, H. L. Mencken published an essay called "The Sahara of the Bozart." His subject was the culture of the South—or the South's lack of a culture. "Once we have counted James Branch Cabell," he wrote, ". . . you will not find a single Southern prose writer who can actually write." This Sahara of the Bozart, he said, possessed not a single critic, musical composer, painter, sculptor, architect, philosopher, theologian, historian or scientist worthy of the name.

The protests of course were instant and violent. The pride of a section noted for its pride had been deeply wounded. It was understandable that Southerners should resent an indictment of such character and of such magnitude. Yet in retrospect it must be granted that he was right. The South was virtually without a contemporary culture. Sentimentality, sweet romance, a fond and sad yearning for a past that perhaps never was—such we had in plenty, in the harmless and empty frauds of the few Southern writers who were or had been at work. Mencken, then, was like the psychiatrist who listened for a while to his patient, stepped back, looked him up and down and said, "My dear fellow, you don't have a complex. You are inferior."

Of course we must discount about 50 per cent of Mencken as showmanship. And he was referring to popular or general culture, not to such fields as the social sciences and scholarship. They have a long and distinguished history, at least in North Carolina. After those reservations are granted, perhaps with the passage of time and the softening of our passions, we can without too much reluctance now admit the truth of Mencken's judgment. But if the South was asleep,



it was not long in awakening. Ten years after Mencken wrote "The Sahara of the Bozart," a North Carolinian was to produce a work which should have alerted the rest of the literary world that something of importance and of greatness was beginning in the South. Paul Green won the Pulitzer Prize in 1927 for his play "In Abraham's Bosom." Another North Carolinian was not long in arriving—Thomas Wolfe with *Look Homeward Angel*. I trust that the judges of North Carolina fiction will not consider that I am invading their province by references to these North Carolinians. Paul Green has of course done his magnificent best with facts in "The Lost Colony" and other symphonic dramas, and as our Asheville friends have told us, there was some doubt for a while whether Thomas Wolfe was writing fact or fiction.

I spoke of an amazing and prideful revelation. The truth began to dawn upon me at the writers' conference held at Boone in August. Forty or more North Carolina writers were there—and that was by no means *all* of the North Carolina writers. Their number included novelists, short story writers, poets, essayists, critics, editors, anthologists, writers of non-fiction, and at least one compiler of a cook book. For North Carolina has furnished and is furnishing much of the impetus for the great southern literary movement, the Southern Renaissance. We are all no doubt aware of the publisher's complaint that southerners are now writing more books than they are reading. And sometimes it seems that we are writing better books than we are reading, if one is to believe the testimony of the newsstands.

Yet I myself was not prepared for the statistics of this undertaking, nor for the statistics of the other awards. About 100 writers are eligible for the six awards which are being presented in 1953—21 in non-fiction, 65 in fiction published since September 1, 1950, nine in juvenile fiction, 22 in poetry, several writers of local history, and contributors to *The North Carolina Historical Review*. That is a flood, and a welcome one.

In preparing this report, I followed the example of a judge who preceded me, LeGette Blythe. He stacked the



books about his study according to several classifications. When I had surrounded myself with books, I found that I had five groups: biography and autobiography, history, scholarship, books of a religious nature, and that inevitable refuge of the perhaps lazy and unimaginative, miscellaneous. The classifications are in many cases arbitrary and perhaps inappropriate. Obviously some books fit into two groups or even more, but the job had to be done and I knew no better way to prepare for this summary.

I am going to describe each book briefly, without title or name of author. Nothing I say here should be taken to indicate the name of the winner, for when I wrote this report, I didn't know who the winner was to be. My purpose is only to demonstrate the richness and the variety of the North Carolina harvest in non-fiction this year.

First—in biography and autobiography, we have these six books:

The story of a Negro boy growing up in Elizabeth City, going away to college and himself becoming a college teacher and administrator.

The biography of a man called aptly the Sunday School Man—a fat, jolly man of tremendous influence among southern Baptists.

The biography of a notorious gangster who turned honest and became a bartender and eventually a police officer and crusader for prohibition.

The story of a boy growing up in Galesburg, Illinois—a boy who eventually became a noted poet, singer of ballads and biographer of Lincoln.

The tangled story of two brothers who left North Carolina in the middle of the nineteenth century, went west and made a fortune.

The story of a woman doctor and her husband, also a doctor, who brought the blessings of modern medicine to an isolated mountain community.

Second—in history, these five books:

The story of four Indian kings who visited England during the reign of Queen Anne.



The history of the Cherokee Indians in North Carolina, their wars, their tragedies and their fulfilments.

The history of the sugar industry in the Gulf states, particularly in Louisiana, and its significance and influence in the lives of the people and of the nation.

A study of democracy in pre-revolutionary Virginia— the cradle of our own democracy—a book demonstrating some rather startling truths about that colonial period.

An account of the campaigns and administrations of David S. Reid, governor of North Carolina from 1848 to 1854.

Third—scholarship, with these five books:

An investigation of philosophy, of the origin and nature of man and God, and of the great systems of religion.

A broad survey of philosophy, from the earliest times to the present with its problems of complexity and bigness and cataclysmic weapons.

A study of the philosophy of William Ellery Channing, a leader in the New England Unitarian movement.

An exhaustive listing of the silversmiths of Virginia from the early days to 1850.

A book on the origins and significance of the names of several hundred American colleges and universities.

Fourth—these three books of a religious nature:

A book establishing the significance of Christ and His church in the lives of men.

The story of how our Christmas symbols and customs came into being.

A book of inspirational essays emphasizing the power and importance of love.

And fifth—two books which I have classified as miscellaneous:

A book which might qualify as history and scholarship, because it is both—an important investigation of how power is wielded by a few men in a southern community.

And a book about cooking—big cooking—a book for food managers and food handlers in institutions and restaurants.



Such is the list which your judges have considered this year. I am certain you are familiar with the title devised by the writer who wanted to guarantee that his book would be a best seller. After studying the lists, he decided that "Lincoln's Doctor's Dog" combined all the elements which would assure fame and prosperity. A title of the same sort was fabricated once upon a time by a non-fiction writer who set out to devise the one title that would encompass everything appearing or likely to appear in *The Reader's Digest*. After hours of labor, he staggered from the typewriter bearing in his hand a sheet of paper on which was written, "How a Little Dog Cured Me of Hiccups and Led Me Back to God and Free Enterprise."

No such title, I am sure, could be devised for the group of books which your judges read this year. This observation leads me to a discussion of a dilemma which I faced as a judge and which no doubt the other judges faced also. I raise this question in no spirit of complaint or criticism, but as a subject for your consideration. Many of the books on the non-fiction list had in common only the fact that they were written in the English language. That is, they were concerned with widely divergent subjects, and they addressed themselves to those subjects in widely different ways. Your judges faced the problem of considering them for a single prize. On the same basis, we had to judge a book about cooking, for instance, and books about philosophy; investigations of history, and accounts of the trials and tribulations of individuals finding their way in the world. It was a serious problem, and one for which there may be no answer.

We are already blessed in North Carolina with not one but six literary awards. Perhaps I should not propose that the list be extended. But perhaps it should be extended, so as to eliminate the dilemma which I have described, to end the conflict among books of different sorts competing for the same prize. If possible, it might be desirable at some time in the future, if other awards are provided, to establish separate classifications for biography and autobiography, for history, for scholarship.



However, as I said, I am not complaining. Who would complain about an embarrassment of riches? We need not fewer books but more books. We need them now as never before, to guide us through the complexities and the dangers of Twentieth Century life. We need them to combat the foul breath of oppression that might come from without and has already manifested itself within. As Jonathan Daniels once observed, man has not yet absorbed the impact of the wheel. We need only look at the newspapers to learn how many persons our four-wheeled vehicles are killing every day. If we are still baffled by the wheel, it's small wonder that some men—even some Americans—have not yet learned the meaning of a more recent thing, freedom. If it seems incredible that some of us do not yet know its meaning, look again to your daily newspaper, and read about the mal-factors of great power, the symptoms of what we aptly call McCarthyism. Our big technological civilization, our big government, our big country, our small world must have their balance in thought, in scholarship, in creative art, all of them free to follow truth wherever it may lead.

At this point, in concluding, I offer a few words from one of the books submitted in competition for the Mayflower Cup—"We train medical technicians to make us healthier, but, alas, we tend to despair of training technicians to make us wiser; they can only teach us 'know how' and not 'know why.' To know why, a person needs a certain amount of technical training in critical analysis and judicious synthesis; but beyond that, 'know why' can only be obtained through a process that goes counter to technical training (which concentrates on the specific). The process is one of constructing a world view—a synthesis in terms of which the 'why' becomes meaningful—a synthesis of the most general principles of all branches of knowledge."

Of making many books may there be no end, in North Carolina and in all the world.



## NORTH CAROLINA AWARDS IN LITERATURE AND HISTORY\*

By RICHARD WALSER

In 1905, almost a half century ago, John Charles McNeill was awarded the first literary prize within the state of North Carolina. In a ceremony at the Capitol, he received the William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup,<sup>1</sup> instituted the year before by Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson, from the hands of President Theodore Roosevelt, who was in Raleigh on that October day. McNeill's poems were later issued in book form as *Songs Merry and Sad*, but this first award was the last to be given for a manuscript.

We can certainly believe that in 1905 there were not many literary efforts to choose from, though the McNeill honor was one of the most successful ever given. The paucity of entries then is contrasted today by an amazingly large number. Almost a hundred books and brochures are in competition in 1953. The times have changed indeed.

Since the beginning, the State Literary and Historical Association has always undertaken to supervise the competitions, though the physical awards themselves have been purchased and sponsored by other state organizations. The history of the cups has been an unusual one.

For eight years after the awarding of the last Patterson Cup in 1922,<sup>2</sup> there was no recognition of literary talent in North Carolina. In 1931 the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina initiated a new cup, which is today displayed in the Hall of History along with all the other

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\* This paper has been revised to include comments on the 1953 winners.

<sup>1</sup> William Burlie Brown, "The State Literary and Historical Association," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (April, 1951), 174.

<sup>2</sup> Brown, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 194. Besides McNeill, winners were Edwin Mims, Kemp Plummer Battle, Samuel A'Court Ashe, Clarence Poe (twice), R. D. W. Connor, Archibald Henderson, Horace Kephart, J. G. de R. Hamilton, William Louis Poteat, Olive Tilford Dargan, Winifred Kirkland, and Josephus Daniels. No awards were made in 1916, 1918, 1919, and 1921. Brown is in error when listing Winifred Kirkland's *The New Death* as the 1920 winner; it was her book *The View Vertical and Other Essays* which was cited; see "Asheville Woman Declared Winner of Patterson Cup," *News and Observer* (Raleigh), Dec. 4, 1920.



awards, including the Patterson Cup. After 1931 the Mayflower Society honored a single book each December.<sup>3</sup>

Even in 1931 there were not many volumes in the competition; but later in the decade when the number of entries increased appreciably, talk was already going the rounds that the judges could not fairly choose between a work of fiction and of non-fiction.

Many years passed before the Mayflower Society decided to alternate the awards in fiction and non-fiction every other December. But by this time, the entries had become so numerous that the plan did not seem sufficiently broad to honor North Carolina's increasing number of writers. Then it was that the Historical Book Club of Greensboro began to study the situation seriously and eventually agreed to provide the Sir Walter Raleigh Award for fiction (including poetry, drama, and the short story),<sup>4</sup> leaving non-fiction entirely to the Mayflower competition.

The first Raleigh Award was given in 1952 to Paul Green for the total of his literary achievement; and since there had been no competition in fiction for 1951 and since the Paul Green citation was not competitive, the judges in 1953 found themselves with a backlog of three years' accumulation of books for consideration. Not till 1954, then, will the annual awards be running smoothly.

Meanwhile, a committee was appointed to look into the matter of awards; and from deliberations there, at least three other prizes were recommended.

First, a special award in poetry was suggested. Not since 1917 had a book of poems been accorded recognition in the annual literary celebrations. At that time the winner was Olive Tilford Dargan for her sonnet-sequence *The Cycle's*

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<sup>3</sup> Mayflower Cup winners (1931-1952) were M. C. S. Noble, Archibald Henderson, Rupert B. Vance, Eric W. Zimmerman, James Boyd, Mitchell B. Garrett, Richard H. Shryock, Jonathan Daniels (twice), Bernice Kelly Harris, David L. Cohn, Wilbur J. Cash, Elbert Russell, J. Saunders Redding, Adelaide L. Fries, Josephus Daniels, Josephina Niggli, Robert E. Coker, Charles S. Sydnor, Phillips Russell, Max Steele, and John McKnight. See *North Carolina Authors: a Selective Handbook* (1952), 135-136.

<sup>4</sup> Only four books of fiction received the Mayflower Cup: works by James Boyd, Bernice Kelly Harris, Josephina Niggli, and Max Steele. A possible fifth is Adelaide L. Fries' *The Road to Salem*, which though written in the form of a novel, is based solidly on authentic documents.



*Rim.*<sup>5</sup> Though the publication of poetry had constantly been an engaging activity in North Carolina, the slender little volumes were overlooked in the competition with heavier tomes. Even so, thirty-five years seemed too long a time to neglect poetry. Last spring a group of writers and artists in northeastern North Carolina, calling themselves the Roanoke-Chowan group and looking about for a good cause to sponsor, decided to donate the poetry award. The new Roanoke-Chowan Cup is to have engraved on it annually the author and title of the best book of poetry written by a resident North Carolinian.

A new area of literary activity which has risen sharply in the last decade is the writing of juvenile books. They, too, had been overlooked in competition with weightier works.<sup>6</sup> After the committee had suggested a second special award, the American Association of University Women, North Carolina Division, some of whose members had been interested for a long time in such a recognition, came forward with the plan that they be allowed to provide a mahogany and silver scroll for the Hall of History and individual cups for the winners.

A third award also was proposed for the undergraduate or graduate student in North Carolina who had written the best article of research in North Carolina history to be published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*. It was decided to name this prize the R. D. W. Connor Award to perpetuate the memory of a great student and teacher of North Carolina history. A yearly cash prize of \$25 was to be given the winner by the State Literary and Historical Association.

Meanwhile, outside the awards set in motion by the parent organization, the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians provided a competition within its own group. This was the D. T. Smithwick Award, donated by an energetic member in Louisburg long interested in promoting the writing of local histories. While the State Literary and

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<sup>5</sup> Only McNeill and Mrs. Dargan had been cited for poetry till the special award in 1953.

<sup>6</sup> No strictly juvenile book had ever been cited till 1953.



Historical Association did not help in setting up the Smithwick Award, it applauded heartily from the sidelines.

And so, in 1953, after many years of keen competition for only one literary prize, the field was opened widely; and North Carolina can now do justice to many of those who have been responsible for her literary renaissance of the last quarter century. In 1953, instead of the usual one person, nine people were cited in announcing the winners of the six awards.

The oldest award, the Mayflower, went to *Miracle in the Hills* by Dr. Mary T. Martin Sloop of Crossnore as written by LeGette Blythe of Huntersville. This collaborative autobiography-biography of a famous North Carolina woman talking out her story to a famous North Carolina writer is a most happy selection from a notable list of twenty-two entries. Most of the words in the winning book are Dr. Sloop's; but the organization, the writing, and the artistic presentation of her life as a woman doctor crusading for health and education among our mountain people are all Mr. Blythe's. The volume has already been widely acclaimed, was a book-club selection, and doubtless will find an even wider audience when it is issued in one of the popular paper-back series.

The judges of the one-year-old Sir Walter Raleigh Award for fiction found themselves in a dilemma when they conferred to pick a winner. There were sixty-five entries in the three-year backlog. Though they relegated poetry and juvenile books to the special new awards (actually both were eligible for the Sir Walter Raleigh Cup), the eighteen remaining novels and volumes of short stories still presented a problem. It was then that the judges made a decision which was entirely unheard of until this year. They picked two winners. They found their authority in the regulations for the Sir Walter Raleigh Award in the clause which provided that a citation could be made for "an author of outstanding literary achievement over a period of years." While those words seemed to fit Inglis Fletcher of Edenton so well that they could not be ignored, the judges were hopelessly in love, as all readers must be, with that delightful book of short stories *The Finer Things of Life* by Frances Gray Patton of



Durham. From comments heard, the board of judges could not have performed their task better.

Two of Inglis Fletcher's books were in this year's competition, *Queen's Gift* and *Bennett's Welcome*; but to have singled out either, or to have kept silent about the earlier novels of the monumental seven-book Carolina Series which began with *Raleigh's Eden* in 1940, would not have been justified. Thus the "outstanding literary achievement" phrase, which had brought the cup to Paul Green in 1952, was called into action.

The title of Mrs. Patton's book is, consequently, the first book-title to be engraved on the new Sir Walter Raleigh Cup. Surely no one book from a North Carolina writer has received more critical acclaim in the last three years than Mrs. Patton's group of stories about the sometimes not so placid lives of the educated middle-class of this state. The Raleigh Award could not have had a more propitious beginning than to have led off with Paul Green, Inglis Fletcher, and Frances Gray Patton's *The Finer Things of Life*.

With twenty-five books of poetry from which to choose the winner of the Roanoke-Chowan Cup, the judges picked *Abel Anders* by Frank Borden Hanes of Winston-Salem. It is a most ambitious effort, a book-length narrative of the frustrations and ambitions of a man growing up in Piedmont North Carolina and of his dilemma as he is caught in the cross-currents and drives of himself and those about him. Parenthetically, it should be mentioned that Mr. Hanes had two books entered; the other, titled *The Bat Brothers*, was published early in 1953.

Nineteen juvenile books were in competition—the winner(s) a husband-and-wife team, Ruth and Latrobe Carroll of Asheville. Though the Carrolls also had another entry *Salt and Pepper*, the winner was declared to be *Peanut*. Beautifully illustrated in black and rust, this tale for youngsters seven to ten years old is about a tiny dog named Peanut, who is happy until jealousy of a Great Dane makes him run away with a family of field mice. *Peanut* was cited by the *New York Times Book Review* as one of the best juvenile books of the year. Its selection portends well for the new



A.A.U.W. award by a statewide organization which wishes, through its sponsorship of juvenile literature, to bring to the attention of North Carolina the good work being done in that field by writers in the State.

The R. D. W. Connor Award for an article of original research in North Carolina history was won by Hugh F. Rankin, a doctoral candidate in history at The University of North Carolina, for his excellent treatise "The Moore's Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776." Again, the State Literary and Historical Association hopes the initiation of this award will stir more writing in North Carolina history.

After presentation of the first poetry, juvenile, and history-article prizes, at the morning meeting of the 1953 assembly of the Association, but before the Mayflower and Raleigh announcements at the evening session, the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, in its own conclave, presented the Smithwick Award. John A. Oates of Fayetteville received the award for his 900-page exhaustive book *The Story of Fayetteville and the Upper Cape Fear*. Covering 225 years of history in Cumberland and the surrounding counties, it is certainly one of the most complete studies of its kind ever written. Mr. Oates had spent a lifetime gathering his material, and his volume will be a permanent source-book for all who work in the field he has so painstakingly covered.

Six awards, and nine persons cited instead of one! The half century of changes between John Charles McNeill and the 1953 winners is indicative of the growth of literature and writing and recorded history in North Carolina. Already authors are busy at work preparing books and studies to be entered in next year's competitions. Again the field will be rich, but no one can deny that 1953 is a banner year.

All the awards are indicative, also, of North Carolina's literary eminence; but particularly they focus attention on books and history in a state which has been said often to write more than she reads. It is hoped that the citations will encourage Tar Heels to peruse the winning entries as well as to make books themselves.



## NORTH CAROLINA FICTION\* FOR THE THREE YEARS ENDING AUGUST 31, 1953—A REVIEW

By DOUGALD MACMILLAN

I have been asked to discuss the books submitted in competition for the Sir Walter Raleigh Award for fiction, the Roanoke-Chowan Award for poetry, and the Association of University Women's Award for books for children. Most of these works are interesting, several seem to me to be good, and a few very good indeed. This situation is very different from that which existed when this society was founded. Fifty years ago, for instance, few professional writers lived in the state; and most of them did not produce works that would be eligible to enter the contests we are now considering. Today we are reviewing in these groups 65 works of 46 authors. All of these authors live in North Carolina, writing is the profession of many of them, and they have written a great variety of works. We have before us historical novels, prose tales of local life, two novels in verse, songs and sonnets, verses in unconventional forms, and tales for children.

This means that the literary productions of North Carolinians have been exceedingly diverse. It shows, also, that though we all live in the same place, we do not all think alike or write alike by any means. It may also be taken to represent the characteristic diversity of the topography and the life of the state, a diversity that we should rightly be proud of and encourage. Since I am a native myself, I am pleased to see that a large proportion of these books were written by native North Carolinians; I am also glad to observe that a large number of the best works before us have been written by persons who have come from other places to live with us.

Before I begin to examine these books, I should like to make a personal remark, which may be taken as an excuse for my bad judgment if some of you find that you do not agree with me. I was very much surprised to be asked to

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\* Including poetry, drama, and juvenile fiction.



make this speech; I should have thought of myself as one of the last North Carolinians to be thought capable of making it. As a teacher of literature written in the more or less remote past, I am but slightly acquainted with the writings of my contemporaries. I almost never read the books written by my friends and neighbors. This deprives me of comparative criteria for judging contemporary writings; perhaps it also leaves me free from prejudices except those incidental to my temperament and profession. At any rate, I have enjoyed reading these books and I am pleased and flattered to be asked to talk to you about them.

We may take up first the works of fiction. Novels and short stories can generally be divided into two classes on the basis of the times of their settings. Those which show action that is represented as taking place in a remote period, a period of which the author does not have personal knowledge from his own experience, are generally called historical; others that represent action taking place within the experience of the author are given no such descriptive name.

The group of historical novels that we are considering contains seven titles: LeGette Blythe's *A Tear for Judas*, two by Mrs. Fletcher, two by Burke Davis, James Street's *The Velvet Doublet*, and Brenda Cannon's *Strength of the Hills*. The periods and places described as background for their action vary widely. One shows Palestine in the first century; one is centered around the discovery of America and shows old Spain and the New World at the close of the fifteenth century; four are set in Colonial America, Virginia and North Carolina between the middle of the seventeenth century and the end of the eighteenth; and one shows North Carolina during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This spread of interests from Palestine in the first century to North Carolina just after the Civil War reflects the range of the researches of LeGette Blythe, James Street, Inglis Fletcher, Burke Davis, and Brenda Cannon.

The settings of the rest of the novels and stories show more recent time, within the memory of most of us, but the place-settings vary greatly. One novel gives a picture of China during the 1920's. I do not know anything about China myself,



but I found the setting very effectively sketched and convincingly related to characters and action, with fine perception of the varying effects of environment on the temperaments of different persons in the same circumstances. A small city, apparently in Kentucky, serves as the background for another novel, in which I think the author shows the effect on the characters of the transition from the relatively simple life of the 1890's into the twentieth century and more complex environment of our own times. In this novel the city itself becomes something more than mere background—some of its enduring qualities being personified in the characters. An unidentified college town in the Middle West is the setting of a third novel on our list. North Carolina, the place of the action for most of the rest, provides the following backgrounds: several sections of the mountains, a community near Raleigh, an area containing parts of Anson and Stanly counties, Durham, and Mrs. Patton's Stonesboro. All of these show the writers' intimate knowledge of their own sections, which they represent with sympathy and sometimes with humor. They provide the local color that gives these tales charm and contributes to their local popularity. We may look therefore among these stories of contemporary life in North Carolina for the most characteristic expression of regionalism in the literary art of this state.

In these settings, romantically distant or prosaically nearby, the characters and the action they are involved in give the reader the theme, the thesis, or the message which the author wishes to convey. In some cases this is quite explicit. Mrs. Fletcher, for instance, and, somewhat less palpably, Mr. Davis, in their portrayal of the men and women who populated the English colonies and revolted against the crown, show the struggle and triumph of the common man in America against privilege and tyranny during our Colonial, Revolutionary, and Early Federal periods. The firm character of these early inhabitants of the state and their persistent adherence to liberal convictions provide the useful lessons of history for guidance in equally troubled times to those readers who will discern the implications of these accounts of adventure in years long past.



Childhood recollections interpreted in the light of later experience are a common and fine source of fiction. A number of these novels now before us appear to be based on them. Mrs. Harris's *Wild Cherry Tree Road* thus shows the normal and the eccentric persons and the usual and the extraordinary doings of her community with faithful and understanding exactness. Here we should place Mrs. Irving's *The Golden Hammock*, Mr. Knox's *Little Benders*, and Mr. Ross's *Jackson Mahaffey*. Mrs. Patton's stories, too, thus show with humor and light irony, the daily lives, the ideals, and the prejudices, of college professors' families now and of "representative" people a few years ago. They provide a fine expression of our characteristic provincialism, which Mrs. Patton sees so accurately and presents so urbanely.

Somewhat different in quality are psychological interpretations of character, in many ways after all the finest products of a literary interpretation of life. Such great works as *Hamlet* and *Middlemarch* belong to this sort of writing. I do not see before us a Shakespeare or a George Eliot at the moment. We do have here among these novels some fine attempts at psychological characterization. Here I would put Miss Rogers' sensitive and perceptive studies, particularly the Chinese girl and her mother in *The Storm Cloud* and the young lady and her companions in affliction in *Landscape of the Heart*. Here, too, belongs Mr. Macauley's thoughtful and incisive interpretation of three characters, father, mother, and son, in *Disguises of Love*.

Somehow, I had got the notion that contemporary writers, particularly young writers, were interested in technical experiments. This doesn't seem to be the case in North Carolina. Technically most of our works of fiction are conventional, though there are some exceptions. The blends of history and fiction generally follow the line laid down in *Waverley*, a plan from which few historical novelists have been able to escape since Sir Walter Scott forged their bonds. Nevertheless some do incline toward historical documentation and some lean toward journalism. And I might say parenthetically, I think Mr. Davis's account of the surrender and evacuation of Yorktown is a very fine piece of reporting.



One escape from Scott's formula, that tried by Thackeray in *Henry Esmond* a hundred years ago, is to have the principal character write his own memoirs. Now, Mr. Street has done this effectively in *The Velvet Doublet*; and here he has maintained the point of view of the narrator with technical dexterity and preserved the impression of writing in a foreign language with remarkable effect and incredible consistency. An interesting handling of the technical feature known as point of view is that used by Mr. Macauley. In *Disguises of Love* he tells the same story as it appears while it is going on to three related but different people, each intimately concerned with the outcome and each ignorant of the others' reaction to the situation they are in. The academically trained reader will probably be reminded of *The Ring and the Book*.

Mr. Hanes's tales in verse, *Abel Anders* and *The Bat Brothers*, are probably the most unconventional works of the lot. Here the telling is seldom straight narrative, the characterization is often of the stream-of-consciousness variety, and the works are held together and interpreted by lyrics that resemble, for want of a better comparison, Greek choral odes. The result is certainly interesting, though I must admit that I find it sometimes very bewildering.

I cannot qualify as a critic of writings for children, but I have read those now before us with a good deal of interest. There are a great many of them, but written by only nine authors. Each writer of books for children seems to have his own formula for the composition of his work and he seems to repeat it with some variations. I suppose his readers get to know what to expect from him, and I believe this is also the habit, and the reward, of many writers of popular fiction for adults as well. We have here some bits for very small children, a number of tales for older children, and two scientific treatises disguised to resemble fiction, after a fashion. These last, by Dr. Richardson, treat an important subject with skill and discretion, without sentimentality and without evasion, and show with remarkable discernment an understanding of the differences between boys and girls. The stories for the very young, by the Bells and the Carrolls, I thought were effectively told and charmingly illustrated.



Among the stories for older children, we find accounts of the trials and toils and pleasures of life in the mountains as it is lived by young people dependent upon their own resources and sustained by their love for each other and their trust in the Providence that controls their lives. These stories come from a close association with the persons represented, and show faith in the efficacy of essential traits of character to carry one through adversity to ultimate happiness. Other works in this group appeal more to a youthful interest in woods and animals and Indians and sports. They appeal to children of several ages, and cannot therefore be judged by the same standards; but in the rapidly moving stories of Mr. Burgess, Mr. Wellman, and Mr. Rounds boys, and probably girls too, will find pleasure in straight forward narratives of adventure and sports.

We come now to the poetry written by our neighbors during the last three years. Much has lately been said about the obscurity of modern poetry as opposed to the obvious clarity of that which preceded it and that which has constituted the poetical diet of most of us. Reading of Arnold's tides of faith on Dover Beach or of Lord Tennyson's crossing the bar, we think at least that we know what they were driving at. Now, it is said, that is no more. But poetry has always tended towards obscurity; little of it can, or should, be immediately obvious, the nature of poetry being its figurative or obscure element. Writing long ago about beauty, Bacon said, "There is no Excellent Beauty that hath not some Strangeness in the Proportion." Since poetry is the writing of most excellent beauty, we should expect some strangeness in the proportion of it.

In the verses published among us recently, one can look for this strangeness of proportion and find very little. Most of the volumes of poems now before us are conventional in ideas and in form. They show simple sincerity and true feeling. The emotional responses to external nature, to love and life and death, are generally those that for many ages have supplied subject matter to poets far better than our contemporary North Carolinians. And the verse forms employed



are mostly those to which we are accustomed, and handled with no great skill.

But there are exceptions. Without implying the exclusion of others, I have chosen one or two to illustrate my point. First, the linked stanzas of Mr. Eaton's verse, from *The Shadow of the Swimmer*:

Tonight prime yellow is the moon.  
The dark of fields, the shadowed trees  
Are still as memory that wakes  
To feel the land grow fresh and strange.

The moon is motionless serene,  
Suave light that floats its fullness near  
This rough and shaggy side of earth  
Until the sense of being watched

Makes watchfulness alert and clear.  
The fierce and vital force of day,  
Locked in horns of the hill, though tamed,  
Is never broken, and we know,

Tonight, that time is copious.  
Resources of the moon, so calm,  
Shimmer without shattering and fill  
But do not quench the unslaked heart.\*

And then Miss Pingel's poem based on some lines from Horace, and written at Fort Macon, on Atlantic Beach. It is called "Shoreline," and begins:

At dawn I strolled along the beach and felt the shifting sand  
replace each step;  
The wind flowed liquid-cool upon my face, and to my eyes  
It seemed the hearth of heaven had just begun to glow,  
As flaming streaks sprang silently to life behind undrawn gray  
shades.  
I trembled as I wandered, as I wondered at the Infinite —  
And while I gazed, Eternity rode by upon the foam,  
Singing a sad, soft song into the murmuring wind.  
I felt the surge of life and death, of time and change as wave met  
wave,  
For, as I stood spellbound and still, I watched each wave  
precipitate itself upon the shore

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In headlong agony—or was it apathy?  
 For, was the voice I heard the voice of anguish? death? or  
 prophecy?  
 . . . tu ne quaesieris . . . quem mihi . . . tibi . . . finem  
 . . . dederint . . .  
 The sea with loving hands  
 Caressed the shrinking sands  
 The breeze which shuttled back and forth upon the spume  
 Wove a web of harmony—and doom;  
 A resumé of the past and present, vast, profound—  
 I was at peace, and one with sand and wind and sea and sky—  
 Primeval elements!\*

We should conclude these illustrations with one of Mr. Hanes's choral odes or a passage of his narrative free verse. Much of the beauty of these comes from their cumulative effect, and excerpts seem to me to show a disproportion of strangeness. I shall therefore not do them the injustice of quoting out of context, but I can suggest that you read the full poems for yourself.

Looking back now over these books written in North Carolina and thinking of the purposes of the donors of the awards that are to be made tonight, we might ask what is expected of literature written in this state. Or, to phrase it another way, what is typically North Carolinian about these books? Mr. Eaton, a native of the state, has written poems that are the result of his residence in Brazil; Mr. Hanes, another poet from Winston-Salem, has drawn the material for his latest book from the far north-west and Indian lore quite foreign to us. Mr. Blythe's source of inspiration come from ancient history; Mr. Davis draws on the history of the Revolutionary War. On the other hand, Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Patton use people and events from close at hand. Are they then more truly representative North Carolinians than the three gentlemen I mentioned? One might ask, too, if Mr. Street's historical novel is less North Carolinian than Mr. Blythe's. Or, is Miss Rogers' representation of life in China recently less representative of us than Mr. Hanes's account of Indian country long ago? Mrs. Fletcher has written the epic of the founding of North Carolina. I think we may certainly

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regard her as one of us, but she was not born and raised within our borders. Some others who have become good North Carolinians since they came to live here have written however, not about us but about people and experiences they recall from other days and other places.

The question, perhaps, is the question of regionalism in literature, associated in England in the last century with Thomas Hardy and Sir James Barrie, as opposed, for example, to Joseph Conrad, who, though not a Briton at all, greatly enriched English literature by writing excellent English novels.

It is very important for our culture that we shall have writers, native and imported, living among us and interpreting life to us and to people everywhere, each according to his own interests and capacities. For this reason I find the variety, the absence of homogeneity or distinctive local characteristics, of these books that we have been talking about encouraging evidence that we have broadened and enriched our culture in the last fifty years until our literary products may have real meaning for persons who cannot identify the minute details of persons or places. These societies meeting here this week have taken a distinctive part in this extension of our literary culture. With their continued encouragement I think we may look forward to even better books in North Carolina than we have had in the past.



## THE COURTSHIP OF ZEB VANCE<sup>1</sup>

By FRONTIS W. JOHNSTON

On the evening of January 21, 1880, in the Blue Parlor of the Riggs House in Washington, D. C., Senator Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina suffered a severe heart attack.

He had been senator for less than a year. When he entered the Riggs House that wintry January evening he was already suffering, but only from a sore throat which had often plagued him and to which he gave the impressive name of Follicular Laringitis. In time he recovered from the sore throat, but he never recovered from the heart attack.

There were distinguished doctors present at the gay party that evening but no one of them was called to minister to the stricken senator. It was just as well, for the cause of the sudden attack lay beyond the scope of medical administration; his malady resulted from his introduction to a gracious and charming lady who was dressed in black mourning and possessed strands of gray in her hair; she was a widow with some fortune and a son nearly twelve years of age. At this particular time the senator was vulnerable to such an attack: he was almost fifty; he had been married for more than twenty-five years; he had four grown sons, the eldest of whom was himself married and the youngest of whom was a student at The University of North Carolina; and he had been a widower for a little more than one whole year. He succumbed quickly and completely, for he was in no condition to endure such exposure. And so it was that Zebulon B. Vance, former state legislator, United States congressman, Confederate colonel, and three times Governor of North Carolina was married to Mrs. Florence Steele Martin by a Catholic priest at her home in Louisville, Kentucky. In less than five months the forty-year-old widow became a June bride.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read as the presidential address at the dinner session of the annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh, December 4, 1953.









MRS. FLORENCE STEELE MARTIN  
LATER MRS. ZEBULON B. VANCE



This paper is the story of their courtship and will be told almost entirely in their own words. They met for the first time on January 21, 1880, the night of the ball at the Riggs House.<sup>2</sup> Before she left Washington three weeks later they were engaged. They did not see each other again until June 15, the day before their wedding. But there are now extant about 130 letters written in those four months, and they tell of something of the trials and ecstasies of young lovers in the good old Victorian days. If, as we read tonight, you begin to wonder if these letters were meant for our ears, if you suspect that we violate good taste in exposing the boyish exuberance of one who was certainly no longer a boy, remember that *she* saved the letters, that *she* gave them to Dr. R. D. W. Connor of the North Carolina Historical Commission many years after Vance's death, and that we probably do tonight what *she* wished done with them.

The courtship began tamely and normally enough. The first extant note is dated January 27 and reads simply: "Mrs. Martin, Please accept the flowers which are sent with this note. Your impatient patient, who is holding on to a sore throat with a yet sorer heart."<sup>3</sup> A week later the tone was different:

I have been at work all this forenoon disposing of a neglected pile of letters. In glancing at the tenth answer I was surprised to find that I had concluded every one with a fervent "God bless you," including one to a man in California whom I have never seen! I just let it stand. Like the letter writer who refused to strike out a surplus C on the ground that he had plenty of them, so, overflowing with happiness myself I let some of it *slop* over on the poor fellow who I fear has no *sweet-heart*! And now isn't it too bad that I can say nothing more heartfelt to you than the same old refrain which my whole soul has been pouring forth all night & all day, God bless you.<sup>4</sup>

Do we agree that progress has been made? The next night, at midnight, he wrote:

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<sup>2</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 31, 1880, Zebulon B. Vance Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C. All other manuscripts cited in this article are to be found in this collection, unless otherwise noted in a footnote.

<sup>3</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, January 27, 1880.

<sup>4</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 3, 1880.



My dearest one: It is the hour most solemn to me of all the twenty-four—the one which comes between labor and repose: when the deeds of the day are reviewed and conscience passes judgment upon them. Reflecting upon this day I cannot free myself from the somewhat unorthodox notion that the great love in my heart which has burned there all the day has in some way helped to atone for all the evil I have committed, even as the one great love of our Lord has atoned for all Sin! I feel purer, holier than I have ever done in my life, all through the influence of my Darling's love.<sup>5</sup>

February 11 was the day she left Washington for her home in Louisville. Two hours after he left her on the train he wrote:

Can I realize that you are gone! Did I really part with you . . . Alas, yes, and you are now flying from me, from me, further and further every moment. Ever since I began to write the cruel wheels - they are well made of iron - have whirled you at least one mile further from my arms. I swear I can feel their *crash* upon my heart as they bear my love away! God grant that they may keep their appointed track and bear Her in safety, as those who dwell beneath the shadow of the everlasting wings! Oh my darling! How feeble are our tongues to express the feelings of the heart. You have been so good and so kind to me. You have blessed me with your love and promised to be my wife. The fountain of youth is once more opened within my heart. I am a boy again with a sweetheart. Poetry comes back to me and ravishes me with her glorious images. A good, pure, and noble woman *loves me*, and God of all mercy, how sweet it is! . . . I shall devote my life to the task of convincing you how earnestly I love you. It shall be an epic of tenderness and devotion.<sup>6</sup>

Time and absence only made the heart grow fonder, as another letter a week later testifies:

When my own dearest Sweet Heart sees this third letter dated on the same day, I *know* she will say I have lost my senses. The Gods truth is I believe I *have*! . . . In very fact I am ashamed of myself. . . . In very truth I am *scared* when I analyze my feeling for you. . . . Now do not laugh at me, Please. I feel every word that I write you and a thousand times more that

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<sup>5</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 4, 1880.

<sup>6</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 11, 1880.



I cannot write - that it seems to me would be a desecration to put into words - that can no more be put into words than the odor of a flower. What is it my Darling? Is it the odor of the heart emitted only for loved ones? I can think of nothing else with which to compare it. I am a middle aged man, with a heart in which many emotions slumber - some that I fancied dead or at least overlaid by care and ambition or selfishness. I never dreamed that I could have them all renewed again. I was mistaken. The magic wand of love has awakened them all: The sweet visions of my youth - of the days when I was a college boy have all come back to my heart and set it on fire: . . . For is not your home in my heart? And is there an emotion, a thought, a single pulsation there, that does not with exultation welcome the footsteps of its mistress? If not, so may its beatings cease forever, if I prefer not thee to my chief joy! The thought that I have met one who could then triumph over time and give me again those sacred joys, this delightful wretchedness, and stir my heart to its innermost depths, is well calculated to craze my intellect, and must plead for me. Let your heart sit in judgment upon me. It is a blessed madness, and I feel that I am to die without a lucid interval!<sup>7</sup>

No lucid interval came in another week, for on February 23 he continued: "Yesterday morning the mail was brought to me in bed: when I found nothing from you I groaned aloud. I rose and kneeled by the bedside and prayed with all my soul for patience and—for Florence. I then dressed, read the 17th chapter of St. Matthews gospel and started to church."<sup>8</sup> "Oh, how your dear sweet words did soothe my burning impatience, and pour oil on the heaving bellows of my heart."<sup>9</sup>

Are you punishing me because I didn't write you last Sunday & Monday whilst in Baltimore? If so my punishment is greater than I can bear; and I call your attention to the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of all the States which declares that cruel and unusual punishments shall be no more inflicted - The *peine forte et dure* is repugnant to the spirit of our free institutions. True, love is a despotism and not a republic; but an enlightened absolutism like that which you exercise over me should be very merciful to its caring subjects . . . Pray for me

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<sup>7</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 19, 1880.

<sup>8</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 23, 1880.

<sup>9</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 23, 1880.



that I may be patient and trustful. I do for you. I fairly agonize on my knees for your happiness and *peace*.<sup>10</sup>

This sort of quotation could go on all evening, for such were written almost every day for a period of more than four months, but we have time to add only a few more samples to those already given.

Songs of praise and love to my darling must be poured out before I thank God for this days mercies & follow the "weary world" to rest. Where shall I begin and what shall I say? I believe I shall start with something *new* and tell you that I *love* you! Fresh as this assertion may appear *it is true*, absolutely and positively true.<sup>11</sup>

- - - - -  
Sweet love I worship you, not wickedly I hope, but as one who may lawfully revere Gods noblest creation. If I were with you tonight only one thing would satisfy me and that would *not* be a repetition of the kisses you gave me - tho they would come too - because kissing implies an equality of the parties; I would get down at your feet if you would permit me & place your foot on my *neck* in token that in the bonds of love I am your submissive humble slave. Ah me! How sweet! How sweet! To love again with all the ardor, all the rapture of youth, and to feel that you are thus loved in return! The fierce passion that now consumes and delights us, this *lovers glow* can be tempered to a steady, sober flame that will warm our home with a happiness rarely vouched to mortals and will light our souls in the ways of peace, even in the hour of death.<sup>12</sup>

- - - - -  
Don't depreciate yourself, my love. *You must not*. You say you are neither pretty nor strong, nor good nor sweet, & you are sorry for me. Please don't talk like that - Dear Darling what am I? Alas, alas, I would be ashamed to tell you. To *my* eyes you are the loveliest, as to my heart you are the noblest and best and sweetest of all Gods living creatures. If I could, I would not change a single thing about you except your health. I am sorry you are not stronger, but do you, dear one, know that I believe I love you more on that account? There is an appeal, mute and eloquent, which goes out from those who suffer to those who are strong that no manly heart can resist. I believe in my inmost soul, that never in the days of my fervent

<sup>10</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 21, 1880.

<sup>11</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 23, 1880.

<sup>12</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 3, 1880.



youth did I love my fresh and blooming young wife as I did when her poor emaciated arms were around my neck as I lifted her in and out of bed. The care and anxiety we expend endears the object to us. This every loving heart knows.<sup>13</sup>

- - - - -  
Your letters all abound with affection, but this one overflowed its banks and poured its floods of delicious *love* all over the plains. My soul bathed in them and was refreshed. I feel that I need never fear a *drouth* with such a fountain. . . . to feed the glorious stream. . . . For love is a purifier - it promotes all the moral virtues and helps to color our souls with the hues of heaven.<sup>14</sup>

- - - - -  
I am weary and unsatisfied with merely *writing* to my love. Though it is better than nothing, yet after all it is like satisfying ones hunger by looking through the window at the dinner table! It only sharpens the appetite.<sup>15</sup>

As the weeks went by and the business of the senate sessions increased Vance found it more and more difficult to concentrate on work. He wrote her that he could hardly transact ordinary business, and that he found all sensible books utterly tasteless because there was not a particle of love in them.<sup>16</sup> "Every letter adds fuel to the already fierce and growing flame. I have told you more than once that I could do nothing except the most routine work, that my ambition was in abeyance—that in short I was utterly & fearfully worthless. It is painfully true and you are to blame for it. . . . Love once stirred my ambition and made me work—why does it not now?"<sup>17</sup> "You ask me how many kisses I would give you if I could be with you as you write? That I can't tell. I never was good in Mathematics—it was the only thing I was second in in college."<sup>18</sup>

"No letter this morning? How am I to get through another 24 hours? . . . You have spoiled me by your kindness in writing. You have given me my *sugar* so regularly that it almost kills me to go without it."<sup>19</sup> He insisted that she put "sugar

<sup>13</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, May 30, 1880.

<sup>14</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 17, 1880.

<sup>15</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, April 4, 1880.

<sup>16</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 26, 1880.

<sup>17</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 15, 1880.

<sup>18</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, April 17, 1880.

<sup>19</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 19, 1880.



in your next one and remember, I like my toddy sweet.”<sup>20</sup> This got results: “I just can’t help dropping you a pencil note from my seat [in the Senate] to thank you from the depths of my heart for your letter. It was just so good & kind, hopeful and sweet that I believe in my soul that I am defrauding the Revenue by withholding it from the tax on high grade sugar! . . . As the negro said at the camp-meeting I’m so glad I’m alive, I’m almost dead.”<sup>21</sup>

As the time neared to go and claim his bride, his imagination was given full play. “Do you know dearest,” he wrote, “I have been trying to imagine what I should do with you, how behave, how manifest my love without being thought an idiot, and conduct myself generally. I *have rehearsed* a dozen tender scenes and made as many pretty speeches full of pathos &c &c until, smiling at my folly and thankful that no one was looking at me, I brought myself back to sober life and voted myself” simply in love.<sup>22</sup> “The thought of seeing you soon dries up my pen and I can write no more. . . . Mercy of God, how I love you! How I want to hold you in my arms and call you mine. Your husband—almost.”<sup>23</sup>

Throughout the correspondence Vance tried, from time to time, and in a variety of ways, to warn her of his financial position. There were moments when this warning had to be delivered in blunt terms, for the subject of money occasionally intruded prosaically upon their dreams of love.

The warnings began in February with these lines:

I never before regretted being a poor man. Except when I wanted to help my kindred or some poor friends, in their distress since the war I never felt the need of money, or cared for it. You have seen enough of me to know that I am not mindful of these things, not enough so in fact for my own good. But now that you are going to trust yourself to my care, it seems to me my nature is changing. I want to buy out this whole town and present it to you with my sincere apologies that it is not bigger & handsomer.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 11, 1880.

<sup>21</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 15, 1880.

<sup>22</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, June 6, 1880.

<sup>23</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, June 12, 1880.

<sup>24</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 29, 1880.



This was the introduction; the main point came later:

Your letter this morning fairly took away my breath. The dream of my life has been to go to Europe, and my heart leapt high when I read your proposition. But only for a moment. When I resolved myself into a committee of Ways & Means my spirits fell to zero. Let me be candid; I do not see how it is possible to be done. To omit the repairs, furnishing &c of my house I could still raise not more than a thousand or twelve hundred dollars . . . It pains me to have to say this, to be unable to comply with your *first* request. . . . Already you are paying the penalty of marrying a poor man. I am so sorry. . . . It has been that way with me all my life, & will be perhaps to the end. But one great consolation is that I *can look people in the face!* Thats equal to a trip to Europe, isn't it Darling?<sup>25</sup>

- - - - -  
I am so much pleased at the spirit you evince, of conforming yourself to my circumstances - the life of a poor politician. It is such a relief to me. One great secret of my success has been this very thing; from my first entrance into public life I have been placed in the very trying situation of occupying high political positions without the money to live in a style commensurate with their supposed dignity. Instead of trying to cut a swell at the expense of my friends and by going in debt to everybody I lived scrupulously within my means and paid every man the last cent due him. When we (my wife and I) had the money to keep a carriage we rode in it, when we didn't we *walked*. When we had the money to spare in summers we went to the springs, when we didn't we staid at home or went to the *branch!* What we lost in display I found we more than made up in the respect of all sensible people and in the comfort of a good conscience. Holding so many high positions and continuing poor is accepted by my kind people as proof of my honesty & incorruption. Such has been my manner of life, and if I had believed you to be a giddy woman bent on making a display as a Senator's wife I should never have asked you to occupy that position - not even if you could have brought with you the money for that display. Nevertheless I believe in enjoying to the full what one has, and so we will live as well as our fortunes will permit.<sup>26</sup>

The fact was that she had more money than he did, and this proved embarrassing. A month before the wedding he

<sup>25</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 30, 1880.

<sup>26</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 8, 1880.



wrote: "In a few days I shall prepare and send you a draft of the marriage settlement which I promised you. You must take it to your lawyer, lay aside your blushes, and make him tell you if it is all right. If not, you must return it with your objections. There must be no misunderstandings. . . . There is only one thing you may expect me to insist upon in the future, and that is that we *must* live within our income. Remember the golden words of our wise friend. . . . Given, said he, income £20, expenditure £19.19s, result happiness; income £20, expenditure £20, 1s, result misery. That odd shilling does it all; true as holy writ." <sup>27</sup>

As she left Washington for Louisville he wrote: "Tell them [her family] the simple truth about me Darling, as I told it to you—that I am a poor man & ever likely to be. You may boast of nothing for me except my love for you: that you *can't* overdo! I do hope they will all learn to love me. If they will only try for your sake I shall make them end by liking me for my own, or I am no politician." <sup>28</sup>

Not all their literary courtship was quite so idyllic as these samples would indicate. There were some rougher waters, and they were tempestuous because of religion and gossip as well as money.

So far as the letters reveal it was she who first raised the question as to the effect of her religion upon his political fortunes. He tried to comfort her doubts on the subject from the first. The fear

that your religion will injure my political prospects I beg you not to trouble yourself about for a moment. I thought about all that when I first found my heart was going out to you. The great mass of the people of N. C. will not care a particle what your religion is: my kinfolk - than innumerable mountain tribe - will receive you kindly from the start and will be your sworn admirers and fighting partisans in six months, and so will the great bulk of my neighbors and associates at home. Only a very few, and those of my own church [the Presbyterian] people will "cut up" somewhat. These I shall expect you to capture! In fact, I do not anticipate any damage to my political status that you cannot easily repair; . . . As a general rule our North

<sup>27</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, May 17, 1880.

<sup>28</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 11, 1880.



Carolina people though old fashioned and unprogressive, are very tolerant, generous in matters of sentiment and just in their judgments.<sup>29</sup>

On a visit to Charlotte late in February, he reported: "I shall have much to say at a more convenient time as to what I learned here in regard to the effect on my political status of my marrying a Catholic. Indirectly I have heard a great deal, but I can't tell you now."<sup>30</sup> A week later he gave her more details: "Well, I heard many things at home—I mean in N. C. I told my son, my doctor, my old law partner, and my preacher friend. My interview with the preacher Rev. Dr. Harding was most interesting, as I was most anxious to know from him how my church people would take my marrying a Catholic—as I expected, he said at first it would produce a great shock, then a a nine days wonder, and then—it would all disappear and they would learn to love you without regard to your religion."<sup>31</sup>

But is was not quite as simple as this, and not all the complications came from *his* church members. On March 4 he wrote a letter which deserves quotation almost in full.

I have spent one of the most wretched days of my life, . . . . I got your letter this morning . . . . and read it with the utmost joy until I came to that something which you said I had to promise before the Priest would marry us. Then, positively, my heart stood still with fear & agony! What was it, I asked myself again & again, I had to promise except to love & cherish her until death? A thousand fears came upon me, and there rushed before my imagination all the stories I had heard from childhood about the diabolical craft of the priests in entrapping people by taking advantage of their passions, their loves and hatreds and what not; and how in every divided household the priest came between man and wife, dethroning him and sewing distrust between him and the wife of his heart. I thought all these things and shuddered at the suggestion that priestcraft might extort something from me that would wound my conscience and degrade my manhood, as well as rob me of the love and respect of my people - and I thought it must be something hard to be done or you would not have so hesitated to tell me

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<sup>29</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 24, 1880.

<sup>30</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 29, 1880.

<sup>31</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 3, 1880.



. . . . It then occurred to me that my brother's doctor . . . . had married a Catholic and I had heard the Doctor say the priest had made him promise that he should bring up all his children in the Catholic church. Is that it? . . . Please, my Darling, pardon me for mentioning such a subject, but if I am right in my conjecture that this is the promise you refer to, then of course the matter must be mentioned; . . . As you say, you are sacred to me now, and no false modesty should pave the way for future misunderstandings. I shall hold all you say as the necessary utterances of a pure and refined woman to the man who has promised to be her husband. . . . I will spare you as far as I can. If God should permit us to marry and our union should be blessed by a child or children and this promise should relate to them, just use the word "*they*" and I shall understand . . . and I will tell you frankly what I can do and what I can not - and what I *dare not* do. There is a great difference between your church and mine in this matter of personal liberty. No protestant clergyman who draws the breath of life would dare intimate to me, were I marrying a Hindoo, such a promise as you say the priest exacts. And yet the people who teach and practice this largest Christian liberty of conscience would turn from me with contempt if they thought I had surrendered *that* conscience for any motive other than honest conviction. . . . Not until these fears came upon me today did I know - did I have the faintest idea, how dear, how inexpressibly precious you are to me. You have grown into my heart - you have melted into my soul and shaped and clored its flame with your own. For Jesus' sake make me do nothing to be with you that would separate me forever from my self respect. You could not love me, Precious darling, if my manhood was humiliated and my proud integrity of principle wounded unto death. You love me *now* - let me stay as I am, and do not let anyone force you to put burdens upon my love greater - not that it can bear, but - than it ought to bear.<sup>32</sup>

A few days later Vance referred to this letter as "petulant outpourings of fearful misery," as "raving like a jealous madman in search of something to make me wretched,"<sup>33</sup> but he was wretched. The next day he wrote in calmer tones: "I am going to have a free talk with the Arch Bishop tomorrow, and if there is anything required which I cannot do I will tell you, and we will talk it over. You *know* that it will be

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<sup>32</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 4, 1880.

<sup>33</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 8, 1880.



no small matter that I shall refuse to do for you.”<sup>34</sup> The interview was held in Baltimore on March 9 and Vance immediately telegraphed: “All is well,”<sup>35</sup> and he soon wrote:

I am now so glad I went to see Archb. Gibbon. I can now make the promise cheerfully, as I told him, & keep it like a Christian gentleman. . . . I suffered too . . . for I knew in the depths of my heart that nothing but death could make me give you up. Yes, my blessed Love, I long ago reached that point. Dishonor I would *not* have incurred, *but I did not intend to live without you*, so long as you loved me. That is all. I was ashamed when you indicated I might forsake you - forsake you so long as you loved me! God have mercey! You don't know me - you have not yet sounded the great deep of my heart and learned of the passion for you that reigns there. You will know some day I trust.<sup>36</sup>

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And forgive me for the harsh things I said about your church. I did not say I believed them but only that all those stories I had heard rushed to my mind. . . . And don't think I shall ever object to the priests of your church visiting you. Such an idea never entered my head. On the contrary I have already invited the Archbishop to visit us when we go housekeeping and he has promised to come on the first notice of that interesting fact! Now kiss me!<sup>37</sup>

Thereafter the religious matter was often mentioned in their letters, but it was assumed to be settled. For example, on April 12 Vance wrote:

I am anxiously waiting for my breakfast. Before that interesting event takes place I thought I would break my heart's fast by writing you a note to tell you that *I love you*. I *confess* it, tho' Presbyterians you know don't believe in the confessional - you see I am growing Catholic! . . . Catholics confess their sins and to *love* you is no sin but the noblest thing a man can do! I give more and better evidences of Catholicism than that: I said my prayers this morning with your picture close before my face and kissed it as I prayed to you! If the Session only knew it, I fear they would have me up for violating the 2nd Commandment. Seriously, I do love you too much, I am afraid.

<sup>34</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 8, 1880.

<sup>35</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 10, 1880.

<sup>36</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 10, 1880.

<sup>37</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 10, 1880.



God may chastise me for a divided allegiance - But - well, I love you, and I don't repent it.<sup>38</sup>

Repent it or not, there was still concern over what others might say. Three weeks after the engagement Vance told his first friend, his brother, General Robert B. Vance. He wrote her the result:

On my way [to church] I said, "Brother, I am pleased with a lady who in person, character, position in Society, and fortune are all and more than I could desire; but she is a Catholic, what do you say?" He stopt and looked at me, & asked, "Do you love her brother?" "With all my heart," I answered. "Then," said he "don't hesitate a moment about her religion." I wanted to hug him right in the street. I felt so happy in church I joined the choir in singing a familiar old hymn & made my throat hurt all night in consequence.<sup>39</sup>

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He is one of nature's noblemen - so much better than I am . . . . He gives away in charity and in aiding his kindred & friends almost everything he has in the world - I don't; he speaks evil of no one - I do; he does not fight his enemies, personal or political - I do, and draw blood whenever and wherever I can until they let me alone. . . . I find that our engagement has been well scattered over No Carolina, from the mountains to the sea. You remember the Gov of our State was here & with him a number of R Road directors & at least three kinsmen of mine. They live in different parts of the State, everyone has a *wife* and every wife a *tongue*! And when I tell you that N. C. men have the reprehensible habit of confiding in their wives you can understand that our Secret (?) has out traveled that fury crop which used to gather the clans! Besides all this, if not enough, every Congressman from N. C. has a wife & several of them are here in person. Now then, might we not as well put a card in the N. Y. Herald and be done with it . . . Let 'em talk.<sup>40</sup>

Mrs. Shober, the wife of the clerk of the senate from Salisbury, N. C., teased him delightfully. "She is a gay society woman, & knows everything going on in our State. She says N. C. is ringing with your name & mine. . . . When I go home

<sup>38</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, April 12, 1880.

<sup>39</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 23, 1880.

<sup>40</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 23, 1880.



I dread to meet the questions & when I start to have my house repaired, the winks & the nods, & the I told-you-so's will be perfectly fearful." <sup>41</sup>

On a trip to Raleigh late in March he sounded out the politicians, and duly reported the results:

My visit to Raleigh was a most delightful one. I met so many good friends & their greeting was so cordial. In particular two - Col Kenan the Atto Genl of N. C. and Mr. Geo. Davis, once Atto Genl. of the Confederate States. They are the only ones to whom I confided my secret. They are both pleased at the prospect of my happiness. Mr. Davis is one of our most cultured and elegant gentlemen - he squeezed my hand when I told him goodbye and said "Vance, old fellow, think of me when you go after her." I promised that I would, but I know I shan't. *How could I?* <sup>42</sup>

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In Raleigh everyone seemed to know what was going on and I was most delightfully teased. No one of my friends indicated any apprehension that I was doing myself any political injury, except one man: Gen. Leach, an old Ex Member of Congress who was here [Raleigh] much this winter . . . he was on the train as I went home and assumed to know that we were engaged and said it would do me damage to marry a Catholic . . . . Conceive no prejudice against him. <sup>43</sup>

He would not allow her to worry over Leach's doubts and took occasion to reassure her in other letters: "He is not a *nice* man nor one with whom I would wish you to be intimate but only on civil terms. He has long been my political friend and supporter—and having lost caste with our people of late years I should feel ashamed to drop him on the *down grade*." <sup>44</sup> "He is a good friend of mine, but I am a better politician than he is, and his single opinion doesn't disturb me." <sup>45</sup>

But he was disturbed by a letter from Florence on April 21. Her nephew, Willie Pope, she wrote, came rushing into her room with a very important air and

<sup>41</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, February 23, 1880.

<sup>42</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 24, 1880.

<sup>43</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 3, 1880.

<sup>44</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 24, 1880.

<sup>45</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, March 3, 1880.



began to tell a real *adventure* he had had with a customer from Raleigh, N. C. - an old gentleman of sixty who asked him if he knew a Mrs. Martin here who was going to marry Senator Vance. . . . Willie laughed and crowed to think he had "found me out," . . . "he *combed* the Gov. down some - said he wouldn't make a lady a good husband - for he wasn't good to his first wife and that he got on "big busts" - had been on them with him - the old gentleman - and that you had tried mighty hard to get married down there &c &c" . . . I couldn't make him tell me the man's name. . . . There are so many people in the world who try to be *important* by talking knowingly of important people. I feel exactly like slapping Willie good.<sup>46</sup>

But of course Vance was hurt by the story, which he called a "cruel outrage." On the whole he wrote with great restraint: "I have written to Raleigh to learn the man's name. I have many political enemies there, and some personal ones, as it is the home of my principal rival Mr. Merrimon whom I beat for the Senate. But I did not believe there was a man in N. C. who would say I had not been kind to my wife. I think it must have been a joke; . . . The story that I get on 'big busts' I do not mind. A public mans habits are so well known that a false charge like that corrects itself. But the other is a matter not so in view of the public, and is cruel and mean in the extreme."<sup>47</sup>

Willie, confronted with this denial, sputtered and fumed and said the whole thing was a joke. Florence, not quite believing him yet, loyally declared that

All North Carolina - even if it included all the territory in the original grant couldn't have weighed with me for one small moment. I have faith in only one quality that I possess - I think I know a man without any help from outside people. . . . And from the first I have felt toward you that nothing any one could say for or against you would change my mind and faith in you. . . . I know you were tender and true and lovely to your wife and you revere her sweet memory. . . . I love you, I bless you. We have both been blest in a former marriage and let us rejoice that God has sent us this lovely Indian Summer to glorify our later years - don't lets allow any foolishness

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<sup>46</sup> Mrs. Martin to Vance, April 21, 1880.

<sup>47</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, April 23, 1880.



to dim the splendors of our suns and moons. . . . I ought not to have troubled you, but you know I'll do it all my life. . . .<sup>48</sup>

In May a more formidable person than Willie brought a definitely angry reaction from Louisville. On May 17 Vance wrote Mrs. Martin and enclosed a letter from Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, to which he added this comment: "What did you think of Mrs. Spencer's letter? I thought it mighty well written, kind and friendly but with a touch—just a touch of disapprobation in it. Did it strike you so?"<sup>49</sup>

It did, and Mrs. Martin was not the first person that Mrs. Spencer's pen ever prodded into protest.

Do you know Mrs. Spencer's letter made me so mad I just couldn't see . . . and I thought so little of my hold upon you - that I felt you would care more for this old friend than for me . . . . I thought she said you had expressed yourself as wanting judgment in addressing me . . . all the bigotry I could encounter would not enrage me like that letter did - Oh, I just went all to pieces - so cool - so audacious - inasmuch as it was written to *you* - *She* would uphold you in your hour of misfortune &c &c - oh, She'll never know from my manners but the day will come when she will understand *that I understand* the cool impertinence of that letter!<sup>50</sup>

May 20 produced two long letters in an attempt to answer this outburst.

How sorry I am that I sent you that letter! I never dreamed of hurting you. . . . I long ago cast to the winds all thought of how your religion would affect my political status and determined to follow my *heart* rather than the cold dictate of *judgment* as one goes about a purchase. This is what I in substance wrote the lady, adding rather boastingly, that I hoped never to be so old and mercenary as to ignore the feelings of a heart ever young in the choosing of a wife. The word "judgment" was used only in referring to your religion, and then only in deference to the supposed opinion of my correspondent, not that in my own opinion I had "judged" badly. . . . This lady's opinion I especially valued, and feel sure she will prove one of our truest friends.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Mrs. Martin to Vance, April 25, 1880.

<sup>49</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, May 17, 1880.

<sup>50</sup> Mrs. Martin to Vance, May 19, 1880.

<sup>51</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, May 20, 1880.



A second letter followed that night:

I infer that you felt yourself not merely hurt but insulted. . . . I am forced to believe that you take Mrs. S's letter as an intimation that my marriage with you is undesirable (I will not use your own word), that my own words to the lady had induced her to write as she did, and that I had sent you the letter with at least the knowledge that it would wound your pride. I am mortified that one I love so tenderly could for one slight moment imagine me capable of such disingenuous meanness . . . . I simply wanted my darling wife to be welcomed with open arms to the hearts and homes of N. C. . . . [and] to see *no evidence* whatever of coldness or indifference because of your religion. In such a spirit I wrote to my old friend. . . . I am to blame for her writing on the subject at all, I am to blame that you saw her letter. . . . I want to burn your letter - it is the only one in which there is an unkind word for me.<sup>52</sup>

Vance thought that Mrs. Martin had misunderstood Mrs. Spencer and that her letter had been written in the kindest spirit. But perhaps the lady understood Mrs. Spencer better than the gentleman did. That same day Mrs. Spencer wrote another which neither Vance nor his future wife ever saw. It was to her sister-in-law:

I had a letter from Gov. Vance last week announcing his approaching marriage with a Kentucky lady, "in every way suitable to me except that she is a Roman Catholic. Think of it! What will you all say." I could say a good deal. I cannot help feeling distressed about it. . . . Can it be a rebound from the straight-laced Presbyterianism of Mrs. Vance? But he professes to be a Presbyterian now himself! I do believe I would not have felt as deeply hurt if he had told me she was a Mahometan or a heathen. There would be some hope of her conversion then. He adds that it gives him "much concern," but that he is in love and it can't be helped. What will his Presbyterian friends say, indeed. Isn't it unspeakable, all things considered?<sup>53</sup>

Perhaps it need hardly be added that Mrs. Spencer was a Presbyterian, too.

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<sup>52</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, May 20, 1880.

<sup>53</sup> Cornelia Phillips Spencer to Laura Phillips, May 20, 1880, Cornelia Phillips Spencer Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.



Mrs. Martin was pacified a little, but really unpersuaded: "I never thought for one simple moment that you *meant* to hurt me. . . . I do not care any more about Mrs. Spencer. I am going in a little time right into your arms and heart—and if you keep me snug and warm the blasts may blow." And then, continuing:

I may be regarded as a heathen or worse, I don't care - *but*, no one can come between us to offer you *sympathy* and *pity*. All the people of North Carolina couldn't fret me about my religion - for to tell the truth I have a most unchristian contempt for their doctrines - and Mrs. Spencer may assume a high degree of sanctity and look upon me as anything she pleases - but you! I don't think there was ever a prouder or more intolerant woman who ever lived than I would be towards anyone who dared come by one word even between my husband and myself.<sup>54</sup>

In spite of these troubles June came, and with it the wedding day. The marriage was solemnized on June 16 with about fifty friends of the families on hand. Vance was saddened by the fact that only one of his sons went with him, but Senator Ransom accompanied his colleague and Dr. Boykin, of Baltimore, the former surgeon of the twenty-sixth North Carolina, C. S. A., made the journey with his former colonel,<sup>55</sup> as faithful in love as he had been in war. The wedding trip did not include a European tour, but it did take in a part of Canada and the White Sulphur Springs. And so what Vance had called his "epic of tenderness and devotion" began. In the fourteen years of married life that remained for them before his death there were trouble and tribulation and tragedy, but in the voluminous correspondence that remains there is no slightest hint that he ever wished to be rid of the pain in his heart which so suddenly struck at the Riggs House that January evening in 1880.

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<sup>54</sup> Mrs. Martin to Vance, May 23, 1880.

<sup>55</sup> Vance to Mrs. Martin, June 11, 1880.



## NEW LAMPS FOR OLD IN HISTORY\*

By ALLAN NEVINS

One curious thing about history, as Guedalla said, is that it really happened. Another curious fact about history is that while it was happening, nobody really understood its meaning.

John Fiske, pausing one day in his young manhood before the window of Little, Brown in Boston, saw a volume within entitled *Pioneers of France in the New World*, and noted that its author was identified as the man who had written *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*. He remembered that when that earlier volume appeared, he had wondered whether Pontiac was a barbarous chieftain of medieval Europe. He recalled also that some teacher at Harvard had once expressed the view that the French and Indian War was a dull squabble of no real significance to students of history. Passing on, Fiske wondered why anyone should write about French pioneers in America. He lived to pen an essay on Francis Parkman which not only placed that author at the head of American historians (where he yet stands), but recognized that the epic significance of the struggle of Britain and France for the mastery of North America—a significance which Parkman had first expounded—could hardly be overstated. An interpretation of our continental history which nowadays we assume no child could miss had been beyond the grasp of the brilliant young John Fiske in the 1860's.

The idea that history can ever be so well written that it does not need rewriting can be held only by those foolish people who think that history can ever ascertain exact truth. It cannot. We can go further than the assertion of that truism. We can say, "Fortunate for history that it cannot ascertain exact truth!" If history were a photograph of the past it would be flat and uninspiring. Happily, it is a painting; and like all works of art, it fails of the highest truth unless imagi-

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nation and ideas are mixed with the paints. A hundred photographs of London Bridge look just alike and convey altogether a very slight percentage of the truth, but Turner's Thames and Whistler's Thames, though utterly different, both convey the river with a deeper truth.

All parts of our history are always being rewritten; no segment of it, from 1492 to 1952, is not now in need of vigorous rewriting. Whenever an expert applies himself to the scrutiny of a special area, he at once sounds a lusty call for more searching exploration of the terrain. Douglas Freeman, carrying Washington through the Revolution, agreed with Bernard Knollenberg, writing a history of that war, that every part of the Revolutionary struggle needs the most searching re-examination and the boldest reinterpretation. Merrill Jensen states in the preface to his study of the Confederation that the entire period 1783-1789 demands a study that will embrace every state and every act of Congress. There are men who believe that the historical study of the Civil War period has but just begun—and they are right. Margaret Leech, just completing a study of the McKinley Administration, is convinced that a hundred research workers should be set to exploration of the dark nooks and secret crannies of the time.

"In vain the sage, with retrospective eye," writes Pope, "would from the apparent what conclude the why." The three main reasons why history constantly needs reinterpretation include something more than the impossibility of ever learning all the truth about all the motives and actions of the past.

The chief of the three reasons is the need of every generation for a reinterpretation to suit its own preconceptions, ideas, and outlook. Every era has its own climate of opinion. It thinks it knows more than the preceding era; it thinks it takes a wider view of the universe. Every era, too, is affected by cataclysmic events which shift its point of view: the French Revolution, the Metternichian reaction, the movement for national unification in Italy, the United States, and Germany, the apogee of Manchester Liberalism, and so on down to the multiple crisis of our atomic age. We see the past through a prism which glows and sparkles as new lights



catch its facets. Much of the rewriting of history is a readjustment to this prism. George Bancroft's spectrum was outmoded a few years after his laborious "last revision;" Charles A. Beard's begins to be outworn today, for we possess what Beard would have called a new frame of reference.

As a second reason, new tools of superior penetrative power are from time to time installed in the toolshed of even our rather unprogressive race of historians. Our council for research in the social sciences (it should be studies) justly emphasizes the value of overlapping disciplines. Much could be said for the contention that the best historians nowadays are prepared in some other field than that of history. Thus Wesley Clair Mitchell, the historian of the greenbacks, of business cycles, and of the ebb and flow of economic activity, whose National Bureau of Economic Research inspired so much fruitful historical writing, was trained as an economist. (He also was trained by John Dewey, who gave courses under all sorts of titles, but "every one of them dealt with the same subject—how we think.") Beard was trained as a political scientist. Parrington was trained as a student of literature. Carl Becker was trained in European history but wrote in the American field. James Henry Breasted was first trained in theology, a fact which stood him in good stead when this pioneer of Egyptology in America began to trace the development of conscience and religion in the Ancient East. Not one historian in fifty knows as much as he should of the tool called statistics, or of psychology, or of economic geography, or of ecology. The kinship between Halford J. Mackinder, the geographer, and Frederick J. Turner, the historian, in loosing seminal ideas showed what the geographer can learn from history, and the historian from geography.

But the third great reason why history is rewritten is simply because the constant discovery of new materials necessitates a recasting of our view of the past. We might think that this would one day cease, but it never does. Everyone who has laboriously mapped any historical subject knows how steadily dust of new facts falls upon that map, blurring some lines and defining new ones. Happy are those



who live to rewrite their books, as even Parkman rewrote one of his—"LaSalle and the Great West." One would have said that all the materials for a history of the Revolution had been assembled in print by the innumerable agencies, local, state and national, devoted to that effort, but Freeman assures us that the great archives like the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Philosophical Society, and the main state libraries, bulge with unstudied documents. One would have said that all the material for the history of the Confederate War Office had been studied and re-studied; but, behold: the diary of the third officer of that department, Kean, is suddenly deposited in the University of Virginia, and we find a complete reassessment of the southern military administration possible.

Thus the idea that history is photography is set at naught. It is art; it constantly requires a new mixture of pigments, new points of view, new manipulation of light and shade; and as an art, it presents an endless challenge to the writer who perceives that the highest truth of history will always transcend a statement of fact; that indeed, historical fact is but a foundation for the truth won by imagination and intellectual power.

The best history is always interpretive, but this does not mean that the best history is consciously or ostentatiously interpretive. The work of the historical masters, from Thucydides to Trevelyan, illustrates the fact that interpretation is most effective when implicit rather than explicit. The true historical attitude is a search for truth about a situation, force, or event—the war of 1812, the abolitionist impulse, Pearl Harbor—which slowly, painfully, accurately dredges up an unforeseen interpretation. That is, history properly operates by the inductive, not the deductive, method. The merit of an Olympian historian like Parkman is that he says, in effect; "Let us collect and collate all the relevant facts, and find what conclusions emerge from their impartial analysis." The cardinal weakness of a controversial historian like Beard is that he repeatedly gave the impression—perhaps falsely—of having said to himself, "Let us take this provocative theory of the past, and see how impressive an array of facts we can



collect in its support." Ideas in history, that is, should be applied in subordination to the ascertainment of all the facts, and not in control of the ascertainment of one picked body of facts. Hence it is that nothing could be more absurd than to try to predict in advance the interpretations to be applied to our history by future writers—who will certainly go their own way. But we may legitimately make some guesses as to the general drift of some of the new interpretations lying ahead of us.

As American history lengthens and the past falls into longer perspective, we tend not so much to discard major interpretations entirely as to place new ones beside them; not so much to substitute one simple synthesis for another as to embrace old monistic views in a new and complex synthesis. Let us take a sweeping view of the first century of our national history, 1775-1875. In that tremendously variegated, complicated, and baffling sea of events, forces, personalities, tendencies, and fortuities, let us assume that three great dominant developments lift themselves above all others.

These three—let us assume—are the establishment of American independence, political, economic, and finally cultural, from Europe; the westward movement for the conquest and development of the continent; and the abolition of slavery and a southern way of life in a civil war which vindicated national unity. Some students, to be sure, would select other elements in our historical fabric, but three special students out of five and nine lay readers out of ten would, I believe, choose these. Now it is evident to a cursory view that each of the three lent itself at first to a simple monistic interpretation, expounded in the work even of subtle historians; and that within one or two generations this simple view of the past was replaced by a dual or multiple interpretation. What had been a flat telescopic image was given depth and reality by a stereopticon lens.

The Revolution seemed to our primitive historians down to and including George Bancroft simply a political upheaval; richly interesting as it was, it was the epic story of the establishment of political liberty in a new nation in a new world, as a guiding torch to all mankind. Before long, however, his-



torians doubled the lens. They showed that the Revolution was a social no less than a political convulsion; that the internal transformation of America was quite as significant as the external; that a broad sequence of changes was set in motion, or rather accelerated, which rolled inexorably on through the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian eras. Some of this truth was visible to that early historian Richard Hildreth, who was as realistic as he was conservative; more of it to Moses Coit Tyler and John Bach McMaster; and all of it to a later school headed by J. Franklin Jameson, Parrington, and others.

The westward movement and the taming of the continent were first treated in terms of the transforming impact of man on nature; the expulsion of the Indian and wild beast, the hewing out of pioneer farms, the building of roads, and the ultimate planting of school and factory where the fur trader had trod. Then arose the eminent historian who perceived an equally rich meaning in the impact of nature, the wilderness, upon man; who explained how the frontier converted the European into an American, how it transformed men of caste-ridden minds into belligerently democratic individualists, how it manufactured nationalists out of separatists, and how, in short, it altered the whole pattern of thought, emotion, and conduct. This binocular view of the westward march was infinitely more interesting and arresting than the old monocular view. Parkman, Justin Winsor, Reuben Gold Thwaites, Edward Eggleston, Theodore Roosevelt, H. H. Bancroft, had been roughly accurate in their delienation of the westward thrust, but their interpretation had lacked depth and distinctness. When Turner substituted his perceptive and penetrating image of the frontier for this flat photograph, it flashed into life, color and meaning; and behind Turner came a new body of writers who saw with his eyes.

To Hermann Von Holst the abolition of slavery seemed to mark the climax of seventy years of national life. America, to this German of Lithuanian birth, this hater of Russian and Prussian tyrannies, was the home of freedom and democracy; and the development and exemplification of these two inestimable gifts had been its principal mission in the world.



But liberty in America had suffered from a cancerous social institution—slavery—which sadly impaired her usefulness in the sisterhood of nations and threatened her very life. This interpretation possessed more validity than some recent writers have been willing to allow; indeed, within limits it was entirely valid. But it was too obvious, and it left too many historical phenomena of the period unexplained. The antagonism of North and South by 1860 transcended slavery, even though the conflict over slavery was certainly its central element. The simple monistic view of our great upheaval in the middle of the 19th century had to be amplified.

Hence arose the interpretation of that upheaval as one which included conflicts of economic interest, of philosophies of life, and of ingrained prejudice; a conflict between the 18th century and the 19th century mind; a conflict between the nascent industrialism of the North and the entrenched agrarianism of the South. Such an interpretation had been adumbrated by southern politicians and publicists like Yancey during the war; it was stated with emphasis by a southern historian, Percy A. Greg, soon after Appomattox. It had the merit of both widening and deepening the canvas. It demonstrated the links which joined Thaddeus Stevens, the anti-slavery convenanter, with Thad Stevens, the ironmaster, and Thad Stevens, the high-tariff legislator. If used as a constructive interpretation and not as a cloak for our political shortcomings and errors or as a means of glozing over the hideous blot of slavery, it had immeasurable value.

So much for three great developments in American history: the severance from Europe, the conquest and settling of the continent, and the elimination of slavery and State Rights doctrine as retarding agencies in our national growth. The character of a fourth great development, accomplished and sealed in the last fifty years of our national life, can hardly be missed. On that new phase of our history, too, general agreement will perhaps be found. We have become first a great world power, and then the great world power. We have moved first into the open arena of world affairs, and then into the very center of that arena. We now view our national past from the vantage-point of this new turn, and with the changed perspective which it gives us.



Just as John Fiske saw our history from 1607 to 1789 as an evolutionary preparation for the gift of practical democracy, and the Anglo-American principle of self-government to the world in the shape of our Constitution and Federal system, just as Von Holst saw the whole period from 1776 to 1861 as a preparation for the vindication of human liberty and national unity, so now we have historians who view our whole national life as an unconscious preparation for the time when we should become "Protector of the Faith" for all democratic peoples, when, having turned away from western European affairs until we gained first place among the nations, we returned to them as the pivot and support of western European civilization. These writers regard American history not in terms of the western continent, but in terms of an Atlantic community. We find, indeed, that we never left that community; that the Seven Years War was our first world war, the Revolution our second; that we have but awakened to our consciousness of a global role. And when these historians write of our national future, they speak not of short-term objects, but of what Lincoln called "man's vast future."

This tremendous change of the past forty or fifty years—this emergence of America to the leadership of the Western World—will undoubtedly affect our children's children, and the long generations to come, in the most sweeping way. It will loom up, in time to come, and tremendously as the great changes which preceded it—as the Revolution internal and external, the American conquest of the frontier and the frontier's conquest of the American, the death of slavery and the birth of machine industry. But the full significance of this development will not become evident until it, too, is given the dual or multiple interpretation that historians gave these older developments. We shall not understand its essential character until all the accompanying phenomena, social, economic, and intellectual, have been analyzed, and some mind as electric as Parrington's and as penetrating as Turner's has pierced nearer its heart. What then will be its significance? That is a question we cannot answer; it is for the oncoming generation of historians.

My own guess is that this great development by which America has been projected into world leadership, with all



the exhilarations and perils, the opportunities and costs of that position, will in some fashion be connected, by future interpreters, with the advent of an age of mass action, mass production, and mass psychology in American life. From being one of the most unorganized, the most invertebrate of nations, in 1860, we have grown into the most powerfully and efficiently organized people on the globe. Our population of 155,000,000 disposes of its resources through such mass combinations, political, social, and economic, as mankind never saw before. Our thinking in 1865 was still individual thinking; today it is largely mass thinking, shaped and colored by mass-media of unparalleled and sometimes dismaying potency—press, radio, television, cinema. No one can go to what were recently primitive frontier communities in America—say Texas and California—without being struck, and a little appalled, by the complexity and efficiency with which they have organized their life. It was our mass production which won the two last world wars; it was our genius for making big organizations work which has built the means for saving western democracy since the latest world war. Our national outlook, once that of the individualistic pioneer, has become a social outlook. Without this pervasive internal change, our new position in the world would have been impossible.

The striking shift in our character and our world position in the last half century of course has some direct results, already visible, in our interpretation of history. We are evincing a greater militancy in asserting the virtues of our political and social system. The apologetic attitude of the years of the Great Depression is gone. We can henceforth be more confident, and more energetic, in asserting that our way of life, called decadent by our enemies, has proved itself historically to be freer, more flexible, and more humane than any other in history. We can be as emphatic and frank as ever in describing our past weaknesses, from slavery to slums, but we shall insist more rigorously on the fundamental healthiness of our system, and on its proved ability to mend its defects and give us a constantly self-regenerating society.

We shall also evince, I think, a tendency to insist more emphatically on the fundamental unity of the United States



with Western Europe, and the various other nations sprung from Western Europe. All kinds of western institutions and virtues now find their principal stronghold in the United States. The literature written in the English tongue increasingly has its main centre of vitality in America, a fact well recognized by the *London Times Literary Supplement*. The Roman Catholic Church, like the Protestant churches, finds its chief springs of wealth and power in the United States. The Atlantic Community, as many publicists term it, has taken the place of the former division between Europe and the Americas. Oldtime quarrels between America and Western Europe have lost a great part of the significance which was once attached to them. What does the War of 1812 count for compared with the maintenance and growth of the political, social, and cultural ties that have made the English-speaking nations so nearly a unit? The nationalistic view of our history will increasingly be replaced by the international view, treating America as part of a great historic civilization with the Atlantic its center, as the Mediterranean was the center of the ancient world; the tides of population, power, and influence first moving from Europe to America, and then beginning to flow in the opposite direction.

We may look forward, also, to a more appreciative attitude toward our material strength, and to a more scientific treatment of the factors which have created this material power. In the past our historians were apologetic about our love of the dollar, our race to wealth, our interest in material objects; they deprecated our worship of size, and deplored our boastfulness about steel tonnage, grain production, and output of machinery. Clio, with her tradition of devotion to moral values, was scornful of any others. Our writers in general—for the historians but followed the poets, the novelists, and the dramatists—intimated that America had grown too fast, too coarsely, too muscularly; they exalted the rural virtues as against industrial might, the rarefied air of the study as against the smoky atmosphere of the mill.

Without denying that many accompaniments of our swift industrialization were unhappy, that many business leaders were guilty of offences which can not be condoned, we can



now assert that this historical attitude was erroneous. The nation grew none too fast. We can see today that all its wealth, all its strength, were needed to meet a succession of world crises—and we still dwell in a crisis era. Had we applied restrictions to keep our economy small, tame, and timid, we would have lost the first World War. Had the United States not possessed the mightiest oil industry, the greatest steel industry, the largest automotive factories, the most efficient machine-tool industry, the best technological schools, and the most ingenious working force in the world, we would indubitably have lost the second World War. Were we significantly weaker today in technical skills, in great mills and factories, and the scientific knowledge which gave us priority with the atomic bomb and hydrogen bomb, all Western Europe would be cowering—we ourselves would perhaps be cowering—before the knout held by the Kremlin. The architects of our material growth—the men like Whitney, McCormick, Westinghouse, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Hill, and Ford—will yet stand forth in their true stature as builders of a strength which civilization found indispensable. As that realization spreads, industrial archives like that created in Dearborn by the vision of the Ford Motor Company will take their place as equal in importance to the political and cultural archives so long indispensable to students of our past.

It will yet be realized that the industrial revolution in the United States came none too soon, and none too fast; and that the ensuing mass production revolution as yet so little understood by Americans, was not born a day too early. That is a fact which is well appreciated in Manchester and London, in Paris and Berlin, and in Moscow. We shall also come to realize that the turmoil and human suffering which inescapably accompanied the industrial revolution and the mass-production revolution were not after all a tremendous price to pay for their benefits. The price was smaller in the United States than in foreign lands. The industrial revolution cost less in human travail here than it did in England, where it first came to birth; less than in Germany or Japan; far less than it is costing in Russia. Here is a wide field for the re-



writing of American history, and for the re-education of the American people; a field in which all archivists may contribute their due share.

Our material might, to be sure, is valuable only as it supports, and carries to victory, great moral ideas; only as it buttresses a civilization in which spiritual forces are predominant. But the fundamental difference between the democratic world and the totalitarian world lies precisely in the superior position which we give to moral and spiritual values. It is we, not our enemies, who have the right to talk about what Lincoln called "man's vast future," for we really value men as individual souls. Behind our dreams of man's vast future, we mobilize an unconquerable strength. In time, when future historians look back on this period, which to us is so full of struggle, sacrifice, and anxious uncertainty, they will perhaps give it an interpretation of exalted character. They may say: "The era in which the United States, summoning all its strength, led democracy in winning the first World War, the second World War, and the ensuing struggle against the Communist tyranny, was one of the great eras of history. It stands invested with all the radiance of the Periclean era, the Elizabethan era, and the era of Pitt and the long struggle against Napoleon."



## NORTH CAROLINA BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1952-1953<sup>1</sup>

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WOLFE, THOMAS. Von zeit und strom, eine legende vom hunger des menschen in der jugend, roman. Hamburg, Rowohlt [1952] 976 p.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Gubernatorial Campaigns and Administrations of David S. Reid, 1848-1854. By Paul Apperson Reid. (Cullowhee, N. C.: Bulletin of Western Carolina College, Vol. XXX, No. 3, July 1953. Pp. 119. No price.)

The July, 1953, bulletin of Western Carolina College is devoted to publication of a research paper by its president, Paul A. Reid. The author has chosen the gubernatorial career of David S. Reid of North Carolina, very properly beginning with his unsuccessful campaign for office in 1848 and closing with his election to the United States Senate in 1854. His three campaigns and two terms as governor are fully described from the available sources for the period.

The chief political issue during these three campaigns was free suffrage, although internal improvements ran a close second. Reid as the candidate of the weakened Democratic party, in attempting to unseat the Whigs in 1848, made removal of the remnants of property restrictions on suffrage the keynote of the campaign. The Democrats, having at last found a popular issue, regained control of state politics in 1850, and the Whigs received their death blow. While to a degree the slavery question was significant, it played a relatively minor state role; and the true drama of this brief span is the awakening of North Carolina from a long sleep. Railroads, plank roads, geological surveys, and public schools, were the order of the day; by 1854 "Old Rip" no longer slumbered.

Mr. Reid has done a careful job of research and his writing is unprejudiced. It is also unflavored and colorless. One may question the advisability of chronological organization for a period of only six years; the topical approach would seem preferable. Maps would be helpful. This reviewer finds fault with the footnotes placed at the end of each chapter instead of conveniently at the bottom of the page. One also questions the validity of including Governor Thomas Bragg's legislature in the administration of Reid, inasmuch as Reid's only contact with it was to deliver his final message and to accept his election to the Senate.



Careful students of North Carolina history will be pleased that Governor Reid's administration has been described in such detail, and will find Mr. Reid's thesis useful.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon.

Meredith College,  
Raleigh.

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A Documentary History of the University of North Carolina, 1776-1799. Compiled and annotated by R. D. W. Connor, and edited with a preface by Louis R. Wilson and Hugh T. Lefler. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953. 2 volumes. Volume I, Pp. xxiv, 541. Volume II, Pp. xxiii, 532. Bibliographies and indices. \$15.00.)

The University of North Carolina, the first state university in the nation to graduate students, has been publishing an imposing list of titles as a part of its sesquicentennial celebration. In a sense these comprise a history of an institution whose genesis stems from a bill passed by the General Assembly in 1754, but which was not chartered until 1789, and did not confer degrees upon its first graduating class until midsummer of 1798. These, in a very sense, were the foundation decades, years when supporters of the university were plagued with a multitude of problems involving land titles, political influence, fund raising, acquiring a faculty, and building a curriculum. Their story may be gleaned by a persistent reader from the pages of this two-volume documentary history, which was begun by Dr. Connor, first National Archivist, and, after his death, concluded by Louis R. Wilson, director of the sesquicentennial, and Hugh T. Lefler, professor of history at the university.

No short review can begin to catalog or even summarize adequately the more than four hundred source documents which have been located, transcribed, edited, and printed. They include not only obviously significant bills, charters, and minutes of the board of trustees, but also correspondence of the founding fathers, newspaper attacks, building bids and other financial transactions, and legal opinions. There are debating society rules and regulations, inventories of books in the library, notices of examinations, toasts to the univer-



sity, commencement programs, confessions of misconduct, and records of expulsion. All these and more add knowledge in greater or lesser degree, and certainly such raw materials are essential for the writing of history.

The collection is large enough and various enough to interest in some degree almost anyone who is concerned with the roots of the university. Even the casual browser will now and again stumble across dramatic incident and colorful detail. Yet these volumes, professionally edited as they are, leave something to be desired. Reading them is like peering through a glass that reveals details but mists the whole. Perhaps there are too many sources and perhaps some of these are trivial. Had the collection been pruned by at least a third, it, in the opinion of this reviewer, would have been vastly improved. And if it had been trimmed even more and then made to cover a longer chronological period, the result might have been a greater contribution and undoubtedly would have attracted more general readers. Terminating the sources at about 1799 actually fails to do much more than get the infant institution under way and leaves unanswered the question: What happened after that? It is only fair to state in this connection that Dr. Connor had hoped to bring the documentary history to 1835.

Finally, even if one assumes that each and every items in the two volumes is of real significance, there still remains the fact that The University of North Carolina does not have a recently written history which covers the period from 1776 to 1799. Dr. Connor and his colleagues most certainly have assembled the basic sources for such a history, and their compilation will no doubt benefit an historian who in the future may be charged with the task. The very bringing together of this material is no mean contribution and deserves the applause of those who appreciate the time and labor that always are a part of a project like this one.

Philip D. Jordan.

University of Minnesota,  
Minneapolis.



Orange County—1752-1952. Edited by Hugh Lefler and Paul Wager. (Chapel Hill: The Orange Printshop. 1953. Pp. xii, 389. \$3.00 paper-bound; \$5.00 cloth-bound.)

If any county can hope for a well-written history, that county is certainly Orange County, which is fortunate enough to claim the talents of that brilliant galaxy of historians who have been associated with The University of North Carolina. When the reader sees on the title page such distinguished names as Fletcher Green, J. G. de R. Hamilton, Edgar W. Knight, and many others, he expects to find a local history well above the average, and this volume does not disappoint him.

Although the cooperative authorship adopted here inevitably leads to uneven quality, it has succeeded in producing a book while the celebration of the county's bicentennial was still fresh in the public mind, and it has allowed the editors to make good use of the special knowledge of the various authors. The history is organized chronologically for the first nine chapters, which carry it down to the end of the Reconstruction era; since then, Orange County, like so many others, seems to have had no history. The developments after 1877, however, are treated incidentally in the chapters covering journalism, education, medicine, county government, agriculture, industry, churches, and fraternal orders.

The test of a good local history is its value to a person with little knowledge of the locality concerned, a test which this book passes with flying colors. Through its pages one obtains a close-up view of the history of North Carolina and of the South. Its details highlight the story of the settlement of the back country and the friction between that section and the seaboard, especially since Orange County was the center of the famed Regulator movement. Of similar value is the chapter on county government, which gives an excellent summary of two centuries of local government in North Carolina.

Local residents will derive additional pleasure from the scores of illustrations and will find reference value in the hundred-odd biographical sketches and the full historical



list of office-holders. Although the editors regret that they were not able to produce the definitive history they would like to have seen, *Orange County—1752-1952* is still one of the best county histories yet written in the United States.

Marvin W. Schlegel.

Longwood College,  
Farmville, Va.

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St. Luke's Episcopal Church, 1753-1953. By William S. Powell.  
(Salisbury, N. C.: St. Luke's Episcopal Church. 1953. Pp. viii,  
76. \$1.00.)

Two hundred years ago St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Salisbury began its ministry to churchmen of the state, and to celebrate its birthday this beautiful little volume appeared as a memorial history. The story which it has to tell is a dramatic one. As an established church in a dissenting area, St. Luke's faced serious problems. Yet for each crisis—whether dissenter opposition, a weary succession of wars, ever-present financial insecurity, public apathy, or the westward movement—the young church triumphantly met the challenge. Leaders of prophetic stature saw the church grow through its difficulties until it became the significant spiritual force which it represents today. Mr. Powell has performed a useful work in patiently assembling the details of the church's past. For another reason, too, his work is valuable: it is source material for some future history of religion in North Carolina.

But it suffers from the usual—though unnecessary—difficulties of local history. It is, for the most part, a chronological account of ministers and their administrations, with little attempt at interpretation. Despite his lack of synthesis, however, Mr. Powell has written an inspiring chapter in North Carolina religious history. He also included biographical sketches of rectors and a list of the memorials in the church. Photographs of the church beautifully illustrate the work.

David L. Smiley.

Wake Forest College,  
Wake Forest, N. C.



Southern Accent. By William T. Polk. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1953. Pp. vii, 264. \$4.00.)

"This is a book about the South, written by a Southerner out of love, shame, admiration, exasperation, perplexity and fascination." Thus does Mr. Polk, associate editor of the *Greensboro Daily News*, characterize his volume which surveys innumerable facets of a great region whose importance is increasing rapidly, and whose problems today are the cynosure of the country's eyes.

To interpret the entire South, of course, is no easy task, for it demands a knowledge of the several states of the section as well as objectivity. Actually, *Southern Accent* places major emphasis upon North Carolina, the commonwealth which perhaps the author knows best. And it is difficult, indeed, for anyone, no matter how hard he strains, to be impartial and judicial when dealing with questions of heat such as the aftermath of the Civil War, the decline of a planter aristocracy, the rise of incompetent politicians, the Negro and segregation. Yet Mr. Polk, while admitting prejudice, maintains a better balance than have some other commentators. He is at least aware of vexing situations that have bedeviled the South for generations.

*Southern Accent* is a series of essays, delightfully written and possessing the saving grace of humor, rather than an orderly developmental survey of the decline of the Old South and the emergence of the New. The book opens with an amusing and penetrating analysis of what the author considers the South to be. Then Mr. Polk asks the question: What is the South doing? He answers that industry and technology are replacing agriculture and says further that the difference between the agrarian South and the new industrial South is that "the former never knew how much it made, while the latter knows very well because it gets paid every week." The South booms today because it offers men, materials, and markets and because of a really intense emphasis upon research.

It is easier, of course, to describe industrial development than to dissect away and lay bare the thoughts and the ways of thinking of a most complicated culture. Yet the author devotes a rather lengthy section to the mental processes of



the South. Here enters the thorn of racial segregation, the rise of demagogues, and an interesting, although perhaps over-simplified, survey of the main currents in southern thought from 1850 to 1953. The main streams of contemporary thought, writes Mr. Polk, are devoted to race relations, labor relations, politics, and industrialization. It is to be regretted that both education and religion do not receive adequate treatment, for it is difficult indeed for this reviewer to conceive of an interpretation of any society without serious consideration being given schools and educational philosophies and ways of belief and worship.

In his final chapter, Mr. Polk lists three contributions the South may make to itself, the nation, and the world of international affairs. The first is the solving or mitigating of the race problem "in a more humane and democratic fashion than it has yet done." Secondly, the South can once again attempt to elect and send to Washington, D. C., its best men. Finally, the South can bend its best intellectual effort toward the achieving of world peace.

Stimulating and provocative, although not necessarily representative of the whole South, this volume is actually only the southern accent from the lips of one spokesman of a truly American region. At times, as has been indicated, over-simplification, the wise-crack, and the too-pat phrase mar the exposition, but, in general, the book seems to achieve its purpose. It is, as the author points out in his foreword, not a comprehensive picture of the region; it does over-emphasize North Carolina; it does "stretch things." And, as Mr. Polk admits, it is difficult to get at the truth, "whether for a Southerner or an outsider."

Philip D. Jordan.

University of Minnesota,  
Minneapolis.

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Southern Renaissance. The Literature of the Modern South.  
Edited by Louis D. Rubin, Jr., and Robert D. Jacobs. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1953. Pp. xxi, 450. \$5.00.)

It is more than thirty years since H. L. Mencken mockingly called our South "The Sahara of Bozart" and dared us to produce some modern evidences of a culture which might



favorably compare with that of our ante-bellum past. How much Mr. Mencken's hackle-raising remarks had to do with the revival of letters in the South, one would find it hard to measure. That Mencken's insults are sadly out of date today, however, would be obvious to anyone who has followed the progress of American literature since 1920. Even Mencken himself admitted the anachronous nature of his essay when he recently reprinted it—as a sort of historical curiosity—in *A Mencken Chrestomathy* (1949).

Today we have a literature and we can claim a group of southern-born authors of whom any region would be proud. They have won national and sometimes international acclaim, and there seems a fair assurance that this fame will not be a mere ephemeral one. Not only have they attracted millions of readers, they have drawn the attention of serious critics in many quarters.

In *Southern Renaissance* the editors of *The Hopkins Review* have collected a group of twenty-nine critical studies of the literature of the modern South. Originally published in *The Hopkins Review*, the essays well deserved the republication they have received; and the volume as a whole is an impressive critical contribution to our literature. The essays are arranged in four groups: "The Mind of the South," "The Themes of Southern Literature," "The Novelists of the South," and "The Poetry of the South." The third group, as one might expect, covers almost as many pages as the other three together; and this, one feels, is only proper since the fame of recent southern literature rests principally upon our fiction. The term "novelists" in the group title is not equally applicable, however, to all the fiction writers included in the several studies. Though Katherine Anne Porter and Eudora Welty have not concentrated exclusively upon the short story, they have achieved their place largely through their work in this form; and it is the short stories of Miss Porter and Miss Welty which we find treated in Ray West's "Katherine Anne Porter and 'Historic Memory'" and Robert Daniel's "The World of Eudora Welty."

The studies in *Southern Renaissance* vary in manner, in comprehensiveness, in approach, and in value as criticism.



In a brief review one can simply mention a few of the essays and then urge the reader to secure the volume himself. Robert D. Jacobs, in "Poe and the Agrarian Critics," defends Poe against the aspersions of some of the New Critics, and shows how they owe more to him, their "worthy ancestor," than they have realized or cared to admit. William Van O'Connor's "Protestantism in Yoknapatawpha County" contains an interesting analysis of the part which the Protestant tradition in the South has played in the work of Faulkner, with a special emphasis upon the Calvinist spirit as "the central issue of *Light in August*." Isabel Gamble's "Ceremonies of Bravery: John Crowe Ransom" examines the themes and emphases in Ransom's poetry, and draws many parallels and contrasts with authors as unlike as Foster, Hopkins, Browne, and Yeats.

The editors of *Southern Renaissance* have supplied a useful appendix of biographical sketches of the twenty-six authors represented, and an index.

H. G. Kincheloe.

North Carolina State College,  
Raleigh.

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Chronicler of the Cavaliers. By Curtis Carroll Davis. (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Inc. 1953. Pp. xxii, 570. \$5.00.)

At long last, and justly so, what is and what will remain the definitive biography of William Alexander Caruthers (1802-1846), early Virginia novelist, has been compiled. The scholarship is meticulous, and the research exhaustive. Dr. Davis begins the story with some background genealogy, introduces his main character during his early days at Washington [and Leel] College, transports him to medical school in Philadelphia, returns him to Lexington until 1829, when he left for New York to live there until 1835. Here his first novel appeared, *The Kentuckian in New-York*, to which a detailed chapter is devoted. A second novel followed in the next year (1835), *The Cavaliers of Virginia*, which is accorded another careful chapter. Caruthers then returned briefly to Lexington and then went to reside permanently in Savannah, Georgia, where his third (and, according to Davis, his best)



novel appeared (1841), *The Knights of the Golden Horse-Shoe*, which is given very careful treatment in another fine chapter. Thereafter follows Caruthers' life in that city until consumption destroyed him in the mountains of Marietta, Georgia, where he had gone for his health. A final chapter analyzes Caruthers' artistic theory, his literary virtues and blemishes, his literary allusions, the bases of his appeal, and his latter-day reputation.

Included in appendices are Caruthers' obituary notices, digests of his three novels, and a discussion both of his brothers and sisters and of his sons and daughters. In addition to more than 100 pages of notes, there is a bibliography (including "Works by Caruthers"), and a very fine index.

My only criticism is probably not a just one: the author makes much of Caruthers' literary exploits but gives us too little of the personal and intimate relations of his daily life, of the man himself and his character. I assume, however, that such records are not extant (though what about his personal letters?), for such a careful workman as Dr. Davis would never have omitted such important material as this had it been available.

The book is not only thorough and scholarly in all respects, but the story it has to tell is an interesting one throughout and at times a fascinating one. Dr. Davis is to be highly commended on this salutary result of his long and painstaking research.

James Atkins Shackford.

North Carolina State College,  
Raleigh.

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Richard Oswald's Memorandum on the Folly of Invading Virginia, the strategic Importance of Portsmouth, and the Need for Civilian Control of the Military.—Written in 1781 by the British negotiator of the first American Treaty of Peace. Edited by W. Stitt Robinson, Jr. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for the Tracy W. McGregor Library, 1953. Pp. 61. \$5.00.)

Richard Oswald, who is best known to students of American history as the leading British negotiator of the Treaty of Paris (1782-1783), had a varied career as merchant, slave



trader, and adviser to the British ministry on the conduct of the "American War." Oswald, the son of a Scotch clergyman, owned large estates in the West Indies and in the Floridas. His mercantile firm carried on an extensive trade with the colonies for more than thirty years. As a young man he lived for six years in the Norfolk, Virginia, area, and he "had in person visited every part" of that colony and "had bought upon the spott Assortments of Cargos of every Article of . . . produce."

Henry Laurens handled most of the slave cargoes Oswald shipped into Charleston, and Oswald and Laurens carried on a correspondence of more than twenty years. When Laurens, one of the five American peace commissioners, was captured by the British and imprisoned in the Tower of London in October, 1780, Oswald visited him several times and finally posted £2000 for his release.

Because of his intimate knowledge of American geography and trade, Oswald was frequently consulted by Lord North and other British Officials about the conduct of the war. It was not surprising that Lord Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Home Department, selected Oswald to begin informal peace negotiations with the American peace commissioners.

From 1775 to 1782 Oswald made many proposals to the British Ministry relative to military and naval operations. The central theme in all of his "plans" was to divide and conquer, to break up "the American Confederacy by detaching one of the Southern Provinces." He thought the war could be won in the South, and he had little use for the "mob of Northern Yeomen," "despicable Rabble of Rioters," and that "Confederacy of Smugglers" in New England. Had his Memorandum of August 15, 1781, been accepted early enough, Yorktown would have been prevented.

Professor Robinson of the University of Kansas has done a magnificent job of editing these documents: Oswald's Letter of Transmittal, the Memorandum, and the Conversation with Laurens (August 14, 1781). His superb essay on "Richard Oswald; Adviser to the British Ministry on the Conduct of the American Revolution," throws much light on hitherto neglected phases of Oswald's long and significant career. A



scholarly bibliographical essay, an editorial note explaining Oswald's "rough Sketch" of the Chesapeake Bay area (reproduced on p. 22), and an index round out this splendid little volume.

Hugh T. Lefler.

The University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill.

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Thomas Rodney: Revolutionary & Builder of the West. By William Baskerville Hamilton. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 96. \$2.00.)

The record of Thomas Rodney's career does not place him among America's "greats" or "near-greats." Yet his story serves a useful purpose. Readers of Professor Hamilton's little biography will find a carefully delineated account of a man whose political fortunes may be representative of many lesser figures during the Revolutionary and Early National periods.

During the first part of Thomas Rodney's public life, he was a fiery patriot who, with his cooler-headed and more prominent brother Caesar, helped lead Delaware into the Revolution and statehood. By 1778 Thomas was holding important judicial posts in his state; and in 1781 he was elected to Congress. But much of his position was derived from his brother, who emerged from the Revolution as governor of Delaware. When Caesar Rodney died in 1784, a new era began for Thomas. Family and financial difficulties beset him sorely; politically, his light flickered and in the 1790's it shown but dimly from local civic and church work. Yet this down-but-not-out Rodney was to rebound into importance. Republican victories in Delaware and the election of his son (Caesar A.) to Congress opened up new patronage for Rodney: a judgeship and land-commissionership in the Mississippi Territory. From 1803 until his death in 1811 Thomas Rodney served his country on the frontier with surprising competency, leaving minute personal and court records as a legacy of unquestioned value.

This work originally appeared as a biographical introduction to Hamilton's *Anglo-American Law on the Frontier*:



*Thomas Rodney and his Territorial Cases* (Durham, 1953), which marked the first appearance in print of legal records for the Mississippi Territory during years as early as those of Rodney's tenure. The biography has been assembled with meticulous documentation, mainly from Rodney's records. The writing is smooth despite the obvious complexity of the subject's life. The author demonstrates an amusing tongue-in-cheek in recounting the "visions" and "whoppers" recounted in Rodney's papers when the decaying old officeholder of the 1790's sought to show his as a vital role in the Revolution. Indeed, perusal of some of the choicest quotations leaves the reader marveling at Mr. Hamilton's restraint.

The account of Judge Rodney's accomplishments in bringing a greater degree of law and order to the Old Southwest is a proper climax to the book. Despite Professor Hamilton's regrettable tendency to use legal terminology unfamiliar to the layman, the biography is a distinct contribution.

Henry T. Malone.

Atlanta Division,  
University of Georgia.

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Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library. Compiled by William S. Ewing. Second Edition. (Ann Arbor: Clements Library. 1953. Pp. ix, 548. Photolitho-printed. \$4.00.)

The first edition of this *Guide*, published by the University of Michigan Press in 1942, holds its rank as one of the most scholarly and detailed reference works of its kind, and as an example of fine bookmaking it is not likely to be equalled by similar guides in these days of fabulous printing and publishing costs. If the second edition by contrast provokes something of a shock in its photo-offset dress, the reader may be assured nevertheless that its content reveals the steady growth of the Clements Library as a distinguished institution for historical research. During the past decade about 120 accessions have been added, varying from single items to collections of many hundreds or thousands of manuscripts. Descriptions of collections acquired before 1942 have been abridged, with references to the fuller entries in the first edi-



tion. The form of entry has been revised according to the rules for cataloguing collections of manuscripts prepared by the Library of Congress in planning its project for the National Register of Historical Manuscript Collections, which is to become a union catalogue of printed cards embracing eventually all manuscript holdings.

It is well known that William L. Clements' interest in materials on the period of the American Revolution, especially representing the British point of view, put the Clements Library foremost in this field. Subsequent manuscript acquisitions after his death in 1934 further enriched the library's resources of both American and British origin on this broad subject, covering the second half of the eighteenth century and extending into the early nineteenth century. The papers of Gage, Clinton, Wilkes, Simcoe, and Greene are closely associated in historians' minds with this library. One must not overlook, however, the interest of the founder and of the first director, Randolph G. Adams, in material on the early history of Michigan, the anti-slavery crusade, the activities of nineteenth-century collectors who were precursors of Mr. Clements, and other significant subjects in American history on which newly available manuscript collections would provide valuable information. Whatever may have been the more recent determining factors, it is interesting to point out that none of the largest acquisitions since 1942 pertain to the Revolutionary period, e.g. the papers of Lewis Cass of Michigan; the manuscripts collected by Clinton H. Haskell and by Jesse S. Reeves; the papers of Frank J. Hecker especially rich on the Spanish-American War; the correspondence of the historian Claude H. Van Tyne; and the family papers of William Wilson of Clermont, N. Y., manager of the Livingston estate.

Among the smaller collections, a few are concerned with the American Revolution and its background: the answer of Sir Francis Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, to queries about the colony, ca. 1770; three orderly books of British army units in America; the journal of a Hessian soldier; letters of Charles Townshend, 1763-1766; and the papers of John Calef consisting of letters and documents



concerning claims of loyalists. Other recent acquisitions cover a wide range of subject matter and geographical area, e.g. documents on Anglo-French rivalry in the Mississippi Valley; the Journal of Thomas Duggan, storekeeper of Fort Michilimacinac, 1796-1800; a small group of papers of the American Fur Company, 1808-1830. There are others from more distant regions--documents of the colonial and early national period of Mexico and the papers of President Porfirio Diaz during the second half of the nineteenth century; journals, maps, and pictures of H. Mann, a naturalist who explored the Hawaiian Islands in 1864; and three documents on Japanese-American relations in 1852, 1853, and 1861. Various aspects of life in the United States during the nineteenth century are portrayed in the letters of Henry C. Carey, Owen Lovejoy, and Theodore Roosevelt, among others, and in the clerical correspondence of Protestant Episcopal bishops of the American Church, 1785-1904.

As in the first edition of the *Guide*, the names of the writers of letters are listed after the description of each collection. The index of personal names supplies dates of birth and death when known, but it is to be regretted that no subject indexing has been provided. Scholars are fortunate to have the *Guide* to the manuscript resources of this great library brought up to date so soon.

Lester J. Cappon.

Institute of Early American History and Culture,  
Williamsburg, Va.

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The Traitor and the Spy. By James Thomas Flexner. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1953. Pp. 431. \$5.75.)

The retelling of as familiar a story as that of the treachery of Benedict Arnold is justified only if the author presents new material or a definite reevaluation of the facts already known. Mr. Flexner scores on at least one of the two counts. He has located and used effectively new material on John André from British and Australian branches of the family. The "spy" emerges from the shadow of legend as a man of force and ambition rather than the foppish and artistic



sycophant often dismissed as a pawn in the deadly game of changing sides.

This new version of André is perhaps the most important contribution of Mr. Flexner. He does an excellent job of giving the details of the early lives of Arnold and André in parallel chapters which enable the reader to contrast the self-made Colonial warrior with the young professional British officer. The writing throughout the book is bright and effective; especially noteworthy is the description of Arnold's march to Canada and the retreat. In many ways Mr. Flexner inserts phrases which make the whole confusion of the war intensely real, and the conflicts within Arnold himself understandable.

So much does the figure of Arnold dominate the book that the author defeats his avowed purpose to implicate Peggy Shippen as the real key to the treachery. Undoubtedly she had known André before she became the second Mrs. Arnold, but there seems little basis for the definite statement on page 254 that she was the first to suggest treason to Benedict. Throughout the story this lady remains, in spite of the author's skill with his other characters, singularly unbelievable to this reviewer at least.

This well-written book will be of considerable interest to the general reader. For the scholar, however, its usefulness is hampered by the fact that the source references must be obtained from the publisher as a separate pamphlet.

Davis Applewhite.

University of Redlands,  
Redlands, California.

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Federal Aid to Veterans, 1917-1941. By William Pyrle Dillingham. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1952. Pp. xvi, 258. \$4.50.)

Professor Dillingham's volume is a detailed and clear account of the assistance that the federal government gave to veterans from World War I to Pearl Harbor, as well as of the political and administrative problems arising in connection with this aid. The author discusses allotments, insurance, compensation for the disabled, and medical and hospital



care. He then considers death benefits, vocational rehabilitation, the veteran's bonus fight, the fight for retirement pay for disabled emergency officers, veteran's preference in the civil service, the problem of guardianship for incompetent veterans and minors, and the pensions paid to veterans of prior wars. He concludes with a summary of the cost of veteran's grants as compared with other governmental costs, and a trenchant survey of trends recorded in his study.

The book is actually a case study in American government, showing how legislation is evolved, particularly emphasizing the role of pressure groups and the administrators themselves in formulating the laws. On almost every page the enormous influence of the American Legion as the most vocal and powerful of the veteran's organizations is described. The Legion, although continuously advocating the American way of life, demands special preference from the government not only for disabled veterans, but for other veterans as well. While attacking the concept of a welfare state, it would create a welfare state for a particular class of citizens—the veterans—on the ground that the government and the people owe the veterans a great debt because they risked their lives for their country.

The well-told story is one mainly of increasingly generous grants to all classes of veterans under the persistent prodding of the American Legion. The value and comprehensiveness of Professor Dillingham's study is indicated by the fact that the Graduate School of Duke University gave it the annual award for 1951, and it can justly be described as a worthy sequel to Professor Glasson's standard work, *Federal Military Pensions in the United States*.

Edward G. Lewis.

University of Illinois,  
Urbana, Ill.

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Decision for War, 1917: The Laconia Sinking and the Zimmermann Telegram as Key Factors in the Public Reaction against Germany. By Samuel R. Spencer, Jr. (West Rindge, N. H.: Richard R. Smith Publishers, Inc. 1953. Pp. 110. \$2.50.)

One of the most significant acts of the United States Government in the Twentieth Century was the decision to



enter the First World War against Germany. By making the United States a belligerent, that decision influenced the outcome of the war and thus the course of subsequent history. Professor Spencer of Davidson College has written a brief analysis of the events which led up to that fateful decision. His purpose has been to revise the revisionists who have criticized America's entry into the war, and the method he uses is to seek an actual "overt act" on the part of Germany which made war "necessary." The thesis of the book is that, in the eyes of American public opinion, Germany attacked the United States by sinking the Cunard liner *Laconia*, an action which was closely followed by publication of the Zimmermann Telegraph proposing a German alliance with Mexico and Japan against the United States.

As the author attempted to measure the shift in public opinion which those two events caused, his case was difficult to prove. Public opinion, as the pollsters will substantiate, is a nebulous matter at best. Newspapers—and in particular cartoons, with which the author has illustrated his work—are a questionable reflection of reader opinion. Moreover, the source material is limited. For the most part the author's choice of evidence concerning public opinion is that provided by the editors of *Literary Digest*, whose later experience in assaying American thought was disastrous. Further, quotations from non-interventionist journals whose editors changed their minds prove only that the editors shifted. In short, the assertion that American public opinion shifted in February-March, 1917 is unproven.

But in addition to the basic problem of charting public opinion, Mr. Spencer's work is further affected by his controlling assumptions. He believes that the Kaiser's ambition was back of the war; that the United States was attacked by Germany, though the *Laconia* was a British ship; and that there is such a palpable entity as the "public mind." Perhaps his most fundamental assumption is that there must have been some "overt act" to precipitate Americans into war. From that frame of reference he has produced a study in propaganda, a portrait of a weak president under pressure. Where Spencer writes history he writes effectively, but where



he preaches and prognosticates he becomes a rationalizer and an apologist for war.

David L. Smiley.

Wake Forest College,  
Wake Forest, N. C.

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The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861. By Avery O. Craven. (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. 1953. Pp. xi, 433. \$6.50.)

Mr. Craven's study of this critical period in the United States is the sixth volume in the projected ten-volume *History of the South*. It might almost be subtitled "Southern action and reactions," for it details the interworking of the political movements on a state and sectional basis with an increasingly hostile northern bloc of states. The cohesive force of industrialism was countered by the increased devotion to the agrarian way of life. By the middle of the century, most of the real and imagined rights and wrongs of each section had clustered around the institution of chattel slavery. This became the core, according to the author, of the many vital differences, and it was the watchword on both sides as the nation divided.

The author relates the mounting crises of this period with skill and a real detachment. This latter is not easy for a historian discussing so controversial a section of the national picture. Mr. Craven does not hesitate to characterize certain of the leading figures with pungent phrases, nor, when necessary, to note an opposing point of view to leading American historians on the interpretation of some political leaders. The whole tone of the book, however, is even and seemingly unbiased.

A good deal of this tone is the result of the author's habit of quoting from a wide variety of local newspapers to discover the real point of view of the people as various crises were met. He gives the general stereotype of "Southern Reaction" as it was imagined in the North and then follows with a variety of quotations indicating quite a different reaction. Unfortunately the true picture was not understood in



the North, whether from intent or ignorance, and the South was blamed for holding ideas which it did not hold generally. In discussing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise during the Kansas-Nebraska trouble, Mr. Craven points out that the South was definitely worried about the accusations she would suffer for "breaking a sacred compact," when actually many thoughtful men in the South were opposed to the action. "So insistent was, and still is, the assumption, that the South actually paid the price of it as if it had been a fact in the developments of that day and in the history of the present," the author concludes.

The constant reference to various newspaper quotations, as valuable as it is in gaining a well rounded picture of the temper of the times, does rather interrupt the author's highly readable style. The only other criticism of this solid and well written book is perhaps not the fault of the author, but he does leave the impression that the history of the South during this period was almost entirely political and economic. Surely there should be a little more depth to the picture of the South even during this period.

Davis Applewhite.

University of Redlands,  
Redlands, California.



## HISTORICAL NEWS

Charles S. Sydnor, dean of the Duke University Graduate School and chairman of the History Department, died in Biloxi, Mississippi, on March 2, while on a lecture tour of Mississippi and Louisiana colleges. He had recently been appointed to one of the new James B. Duke professorships.

E. Malcolm Carroll has been appointed to a James B. Duke professorship.

At the December meeting of the American Historical Association, held in Chicago, Joel Colton read a paper entitled "Leon Blum and the Crisis in Contemporary French Socialism"; and E. Malcolm Carroll led a discussion session on the Second German Empire.

Recent publications by members of the department include: John S. Curtiss, *The Russian Church and the Soviet State, 1917-1950*; I. B. Holley, Jr., *Ideas and Weapons: Exploitation of the Air Weapon by the United States during World War I—A Study in the Relationship of Technological Advance, Military Doctrine and Development of Weapons*; William B. Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law on the Frontier: Thomas Rodney and His Territorial Cases*, and a separate printing of a portion of the introduction to the book; Hamilton, *Thomas Rodney, Revolutionary and Builder of the West*; William H. Cartwright and Hamilton, *The Duke University Centennial Conference on Teacher Training*, published as *Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXX; William T. Laprade, "Twenty-Five Years of Duke University," *Alumni Register* (January, 1954); and Laprade, "State Parties and National Politics," *The American Scholar* (winter, 1953).

The Woman's College of The University of North Carolina announces promotions in the department of history of Josephine Hege to associate professor, and of John H. Beeler to assistant professor. Lenore Wright of Columbia University



is a visiting lecturer in the department this year. Franklin D. Parker has published "Jose Cecilio del Valle and the Establishment of the Central American Confederation," *Publicaciones de la Universidad de Honduras*, XVI (Tegucigalpa: Talleres Tipograficos Nacionales, 1954).

Visiting lecturers during the 1954 summer school terms at Appalachian State Teachers College will be Thomas B. Alexander, head of the Department of Social Studies of Georgia Teachers College, and Harley E. Jolley, head of the history department of Mars Hill College.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, member of the Meredith College history department, was elected president of the Social Studies Conference of the North Carolina Baptist colleges, meeting at Gardner-Webb College, February 20.

Alice B. Keith has been promoted to professor of history.

Horace H. Cunningham, chairman of the Department of Social Sciences at Elon College, was the principal speaker at the meeting on February 26 of the Wake County Chapter of the Elon College Alumni Association.

Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College addressed the Robeson County Historical Society at its mid-winter meeting in Lumberton, January 22.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association met in Montreat on January 30. The program for the session consisted of an executive committee meeting, a luncheon, a welcoming address by J. Rupert McGregor, president of the Montreat Assembly, a talk by T. H. Spence, Jr., on the Historical Foundation of Montreat, a talk by Mrs. Elizabeth Stone and André Michaux in western North Carolina, and a short history of the first railroad approaching Buncombe County from the south, by Mrs. Sadie S. Patton.

The North Carolina Historic Sites Commission, authorized by the 1953 General Assembly and appointed by Governor Umstead, held its organizational meeting in Raleigh on Sep-



tember 25. J. A. Stenhouse of Charlotte was elected chairman and Christopher Crittenden of Raleigh, is secretary ex officio. Other members of the Commission are Mrs. Ernest Ives of Southern Pines, Hugh T. Lefler of Chapel Hill, William T. Polk of Greensboro, and Paul A. Reid of Cullowhee.

At Kill Devil Hill and Kitty Hawk a four-day celebration, reaching its climax on December 17, was held in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of powered flight. The state's part in the program was planned and conducted by a commission, appointed by Governor Umstead. Carl Goerch of Raleigh is chairman of the commission and Christopher Crittenden, secretary-treasurer.

On December 17, announcement was made that the Avalon and Old Dominion Foundations had donated \$82,000 and the North Carolina Council of State \$25,000 for the purchase of additional land adjacent to the Wright Memorial.

The Department of Archives and History, in cooperation with other agencies and organizations, has initiated several conferences and has taken other steps within recent months, looking toward launching the Junior Historian Movement, which was authorized by the 1953 General Assembly.

On October 31 in Asheville, Christopher Crittenden addressed a joint session of the Western North Carolina Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Press Association on "Newspapers and History—Opportunity and Responsibility." He spoke to the Rocky Mount Kiwanis Club on November 19 on the topic, "Let's Preserve Historic Halifax." On January 21 he addressed a Lee-Jackson gathering of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Charlotte on the subject, "North Carolina's Contribution to the Southern Confederacy."

On February 22, under the auspices of the Caswell-Nash Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, D. L. Corbitt spoke over Radio Station WPTF, Raleigh, on the life of George Washington.



Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, on February 16-18, visited Winterthur, the Dupont museum in Wilmington, Delaware, where she studied the collections and also museum techniques and procedures.

The State Department of Archives and History announces the publication of the following two pamphlets and book: *The First Half Century. The North Carolina Department of Archives and History—A Record of Achievement 1903-1953* (free); Ann Beal, *Hall of History Railroad* (free); and William S. Powell, *The Carolina Charter of 1663* (pp. vi, 80. \$1.00). The publications may be obtained by application to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, N. C.

The American Historical Association announces the 1954 competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Award for the best complete original manuscript in English on American history (including the history of the United States, Latin America, and Canada, from 1492 to the present). The award consists of \$1,000 in cash and publication of the manuscript by the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund, plus royalties. Information on the competition may be secured from John Tate Lanning, Chairman, Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award of the American Historical Association, 501 Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

The United States Naval Academy announces the James Forrestal Fellowships in naval history. Eligible candidates must have an interest in naval and military history, with a demonstrated ability in research. Appointments are on a one-year renewable basis. For additional information write The Superintendent, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland.

Radcliffe College and the Department of History at Harvard University will offer an eight-week summer institute on archival and historical procedures beginning June 23. Open to both men and women college graduates, the institute will offer training in the handling, management, and procuring of



manuscripts and other source materials, and will acquaint students with the area of archival and museum management. Included among the faculty members will be Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History. Applications and inquiries on the summer institute should be sent to Mr. Earle W. Newton, Archival Procedures Institute, Radcliffe College, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that the entire April issue of its magazine, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, is devoted to the field of Scottish-American relations in the eighteenth century. Orders for copies of the issue should be addressed to *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia, and should include \$1.25 for each copy desired.



## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Donald J. Rulfs is an assistant professor of English at North Carolina State College, Raleigh.

Dr. Marjorie Mendenhall Applewhite of Chapel Hill has contributed to various historical journals.

Dr. Charles W. Turner is an associate professor of history at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton is director emeritus of the Southern Historical Collection in the library of The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe is an associate professor of history at Wake Forest College, Wake Forest.

Mr. Hoke Norris is associate editor of the *Winston-Salem Journal-Sentinel*.

Mr. Richard Walser is an associate professor of English at North Carolina State College, Raleigh.

Dr. Dougald MacMillan is chairman of the Department of English at The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Dr. Frontis W. Johnston is head of the history department at Davidson College.

Dr. Allan Nevins is a professor of history at Columbia University, New York.

Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton is librarian of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.



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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## LISTEN TO THE EAGLE SCREAM: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE FOURTH OF JULY IN NORTH CAROLINA (1776-1876)

By FLETCHER M. GREEN

### PART I

The day after the Continental Congress had agreed upon a declaration of independence, John Adams, writing to his beloved Abigail, predicted that "The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America."<sup>1</sup> "I am apt to believe [said he] that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore." But it was to be July 4—the day Congress adopted the Declaration drafted by Thomas Jefferson—not July 2 that was to be celebrated "as the great anniversary festival." And had Adams added dinners, orations, the drinking of toasts, the reading of the Declaration, an evening ball or dance, and the shooting of firecrackers to his list of the means by which the day was to be celebrated, his prophecy would have been more nearly accurate.

Charles Warren, distinguished historian of the Supreme Court of the United States, writing in 1945, said: "It is a singular fact that the greatest event in American history—the

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: With a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations*, 10 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1850-1856), IX, 420.



Declaration of Independence—has been the subject of more incorrect popular belief, more bad memory on the part of participants, and more false history than any other occurrence in our national life.”<sup>2</sup> Warren cleared up some of the misconceptions concerning the date of the adoption and signing of the Declaration, the ringing of the Liberty Bell, the early celebration myth, and the poor memory of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and other participants in that historic event.<sup>3</sup>

It is my purpose in this essay to discuss the celebration of Independence Day from 1776 to 1876 in North Carolina and incidentally in the South. Today little attention is paid to July Fourth by the people of North Carolina, but during the first century of our national existence it was almost universally observed. A study of the orations and toasts delivered at those celebrations will throw light on public opinion and attitudes on the major problems, state, regional, and national, of the day and help to clear up some of the “false history” referred to by Charles Warren.

The American states received official news of the Declaration of Independence from the Continental Congress in July, 1776, and joyously proclaimed it to the people. Some legislatures ordered the Declaration to be printed in the state gazettes and to be proclaimed in each county by the sheriff. Others held public meetings in the capital cities where the Declaration was read and celebrated by a dinner, a toast to each of the thirteen states, illuminations, and ceremony in which an effigy of George III was either burned or buried.<sup>4</sup>

In Georgia public officials, gentlemen, and the militia drank a toast “to the prosperity and perpetuity of the United Free and Independent States of America.” And the President of the Council pronounced a funeral oration over King George in which he said:

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<sup>2</sup> Charles Warren, “Fourth of July Myths,” *The William and Mary Quarterly: A Magazine of Early American History, Institutions and Culture*, Third Series, II (July, 1945), 237.

<sup>3</sup> Warren, “Fourth of July Myths,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 237-272.

<sup>4</sup> Charles D. Deshler, “How the Declaration Was Received in the Old Thirteen,” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXXXV (July, 1892), 165-187.



For as much as George the Third, of Great Britain, hath most flagrantly violated his Coronation Oath, and trampled upon the Constitution of our Country, and the sacred rights of mankind: We, therefore, commit his political existence to the ground—corruption to corruption—tyranny to the grave—and oppression to eternal infamy; in sure and certain hope that he will never obtain a resurrection to rule again over the United States of America. But, my friends and fellow citizens, let us not be sorry, as men without hope, for tyrants that thus depart—rather let us remember that America is free and independent; and that she is, and will be, with the blessing of the Almighty, Great among the nations of the earth.<sup>5</sup>

The North Carolina Council of Safety received news of the Declaration on July 22, 1776, and ordered “the committees of the respective Towns and Counties in this Colony on receiving the Declaration, do cause the same to be proclaimed in the most public manner, in Order that the good people of this Colony may be fully informed thereof.”<sup>6</sup> On July 25, the Council adopted a resolution requiring the people to take a loyalty oath in which they were to declare that they “do absolutely believe” in independence, recognize no English authority, and promise to obey the Continental Congress.

At a meeting of the citizens of the town of Halifax on August 1, the Declaration was officially proclaimed to the state. On that day, “an immense concourse of people” and soldiers having gathered, Cornelius Harnett “read the Declaration to the mute and impassioned multitude with the solemnity of an appeal to Heaven.” When he had finished, “the enthusiasm of the immense crowd broke into one swell of rejoicing and prayer.” The soldiers seized Harnett and “bore him on their shoulders through the streets, applauding him as their champion, and swearing allegiance to the instrument he had read.”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., *History of Savannah, Georgia* (Syracuse: D. Mason and Company, 1890), 234-235.

<sup>6</sup> William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh: P. M. Hale and Josephus Daniels, 1886-1890), X, 682-684.

<sup>7</sup> The description of the celebration at Halifax is taken from Jo. Seawell Jones, *A Defence of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina from the Aspersions of Mr. Jefferson* (Raleigh: Turner and Hughes; Boston: Charles Bowen, 1834), 268-269. Jones says he received the account of this ceremony “from a pious elderly lady, who was present on the occasion.”



Celebrations of the Fourth in 1777 were few in number, but were widely scattered throughout the country. The day was observed by an unofficial celebration at Philadelphia, which included a dinner for members of Congress, state officials, and the officers of the army. A number of toasts were drunk to the Fourth, to liberty, and to the memory of fallen troops. Throughout the city bells were rung; ships in the harbor fired thirteen cannon each; there was a parade, followed by fireworks. And music was furnished by a Hessian band that had been captured at Trenton.<sup>8</sup> A similar celebration was held in Boston.

The most elaborate celebration held anywhere in the country took place at Charleston, South Carolina. A newspaper reported it as follows:

Friday last being the first anniversary of the glorious formation of the American empire . . . the same was commemorated by every demonstration of joy. Ringing of bells ushered in the day. At sunrise, American colors were displayed from all the forts and batteries, and vessels in the harbor. The Charleston regiment of militia, commanded by the Honorable Colonel Charles Pinckney, and the Charleston artillery company, commanded by Captain Thomas Grimball, were assembled upon the parade, and reviewed by his excellency the President. . . . At one o'clock in the several forts, beginning with Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, discharged seventy-six pieces of cannon, alluding to the glorious year 1776, and the militia and artillery three general volleys. His Excellency the President then gave a most elegant entertainment in the council chamber, at which were present all the members of the Legislature then in town, all the public officers civil and military, the clergy, and many strangers of note to the amount of more than double the number that ever observed the birthday of the present misguided and unfortunate King of Great Britain. After dinner the following toasts were drank, viz: '1. The free, and independent, and sovereign States of America. 2. The great council of America—may wisdom preside in all its deliberations. 3. General Washington. 4. The American army and navy—may they be victorious and invincible. 5. The nations in friendship or alliance with America. 6. The American ambassadors at foreign courts. 7. The Fourth of July, 1776. 8. The memory of the officers and soldiers who have bravely fallen in defense of Ameri-

<sup>8</sup> Warren, "Fourth of July Myths," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 254.



ca. 9. South Carolina. 10. May only those Americans enjoy freedom who are ready to die for its defence. 11. Liberty triumphant. 12. Confusion, shame, and disgrace to our enemies—may the foes to America (slaves to tyranny) humble and fall before her. 13. May the rising States of America reach the summit of human power and grandeur, and enjoy every blessing.' Each toast was succeeded by a salute of thirteen guns, which were fired by Captain Grimball's company from their two field-pieces, with admirable regularity. The day having been spent in festivity, and the most conspicuous harmony, the evening was concluded with illuminations, etc., far exceeding any that had ever been exhibited before.<sup>9</sup>

The 1777 celebrations were unofficial gatherings, but on June 24, 1778, Congress gave official recognition to the day, and appointed a committee which arranged for a celebration, including a sermon. Under federal sponsorship the celebration became firmly established by 1783. The first celebration in North Carolina under federal authorization was held at Newbern in 1778. John Adams, who observed the festivities of the day, wrote Governor Richard Caswell on July 10 describing the celebration. "On Saturday last [said he] the ever-memorable Fourth of July, the Rising United States of America entered the Third year of their Independence, in spite of numerous fleets and armies; in spite of tomahawks and scalping knife; in spite of the numerous wicked and diabolical engines of cruelty and revenge, played off against us by the magnanimous and heroic, humane and merciful George the Third, the father of his people, and his wicked and abandoned soldiery. On this day, the bright morning star of this western world arose in the east and warned us to emerge from the slavish tyranny and servile dependence on a venal and corrupt court, and to assume to ourselves a name among nations, a name terrible to tyrants, and wrote in indelible characters by the Almighty as a refuge from persecution. This day was observed here with every possible mark and demonstration of joy and reverence; triple salutes were fired from the batteries in town, and on board the ship Cornell, and the privateer brig Bellona, belonging to this port, the gentlemen

<sup>9</sup> *The Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser* (Boston: John Gill), No. LXII, July 31, 1777.



of the town met, where many toasts suitable to the importance of the day were drunk, and the evening happily concluded.”<sup>10</sup> Captain R. Cogdell, also an observer, added some details in a letter which he wrote the governor. Said he: “In celebration of this day great numbers of Guns have been fired, at Stanley’s wharf, and Mr. Ellis’ ship three different firings from each from early in the morning midday and evening, and Liquor given to the populace. Stanley and Ellis seem to vie with each other, in a contest who should do the most honor to the day, but Mr. Ellis had the most artillery.”<sup>11</sup>

The recognition of American independence by England in the Treaty of Paris of 1783 gave additional meaning to the Fourth of July. The action of Congress “declaring the cessation of arms as well by sea as land” reached North Carolina on April 30, 1783. “A great wave of rejoicing and gratitude thrilled through the Legislature,” and on May 16 “it recommended a Statewide observance of the Fourth of July,” and called upon Governor Andrew Martin to issue a proclamation to that effect.<sup>12</sup> Whereupon, Governor Martin on June 18, 1783, issued a proclamation, declaring that in accordance with the legislature’s resolution that he appoint “the Fourth of July next, being the anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence, as a Day of Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God,” he strictly commanded “all Good Citizens of this State to set apart the said Day from bodily labour, and employ the same in devout and religious exercises. And I do require all Ministers of the Gospel of every Denomination to convene their congregations at the same time, and deliver to them Discourses suitable to the important Occasion, recommending in general the Practice of Virtue & true Religion, as the great foundation of private Blessings as well as National Happiness & prosperity.”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina*, 16 vols. (Winston and Goldsboro: M. I. & J. C. Stewart and Nash Brothers, 1895-1907), XIII, 456.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina*, XIII, 187.

<sup>12</sup> Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina*, XIX, 223, 287.

<sup>13</sup> The proclamation is not found in the *State Records*, but is printed in full in Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 7 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, and North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1922-1947), IV, 1919-1920.



The Moravians were the only group in the state to act on the governor's proclamation. They assembled at Salem at ten o'clock on the Fourth and celebrated with wind instruments, a Te Deum, a sermon, and a prayer. At two o'clock there was a dinner after which songs were sung; later in the afternoon the congregation marched in a procession, and in the evening the houses were illuminated and bells were rung. The Bethabara congregation "favored making it as impressive as our circumstances allow" and ordered all members do no work on the day. They assembled at ten o'clock, read the proclamation, and had prayers. The Friedland group "solemnly and happily celebrated" the day.<sup>14</sup> According to Adelaide L. Fries, late lamented member and former president of the Historical Society of North Carolina, this was "the first celebration of the Fourth of July by state Legislative enactment in the United States."<sup>15</sup> But the Moravians were the only group in the state to obey the governor's proclamation. In the same year Boston became the first municipality to order an official celebration.<sup>16</sup> Boston also claimed the distinction of having the first orator of the day in 1783, but this claim was disputed by David Ramsey, South Carolina's distinguished historian of the Revolution, who said he "delivered the first oration that was spoken in the United States, to celebrate this great event" in Charleston in 1778.<sup>17</sup>

Prior to the adoption of the Constitution the celebration of July Fourth had been non-partisan but, according to Charles Warren, that event transformed the day in the northern states into a political holiday, celebrated chiefly by the Federalists. The orators of the day were Federalists; Jefferson was seldom toasted, and his part in the drafting of the

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<sup>14</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, IV, 1834, 1835, 1863, 1868, 1885.

<sup>15</sup> Adelaide L. Fries, "An Early Fourth of July Celebration," *Journal of American History*, 29 vols. (Greenfield, Ind., New York, 1907-1935), IX (September, 1915), 469-474. Warren, "Fourth of July Myths," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 258, states that the legislature of Massachusetts had requested the governor of that state "to direct that a suitable preparation be made for the celebration" of July 4, 1781.

<sup>16</sup> Warren, "Fourth of July Myths," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 258.

<sup>17</sup> David Ramsey, *An Oration Delivered on the Anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1794, in Saint Michael's Church, to the Inhabitants of Charleston, South Carolina* (London: W. Winterbotham, 1795), 1-2.



Declaration was minimized. Such was not the case in the South where Federalists and Republicans jointly celebrated the day. There are few references to celebrations in North Carolina from 1785 to 1790, but after the state ratified the Constitution the people once again began to celebrate Independence Day. The Edenton *State Gazette*, July 2, 1790, published an ode, titled "The American Union Completed," which proclaimed:

'Tis done'. 'tis finish'd! guardian Union binds,  
In voluntary bands, a nation's minds:

.....  
Now the *new* world shall mighty scenes unfold  
Shall rise the imperial rival of the *old*.

.....  
O happy land! O ever sacred dome!  
Where PEACE and INDEPENDENCE own their home:  
COMMERCE and TILLAGE, hail the Queen of *Marts*,  
Th' Asylum of the world, the residence of ARTS.

The toast at the 1790 celebration generally emphasized the bonds of union. For instance, among the fourteen toasts drunk at Newbern was one to "the Federal Union, may it be Perpetual."<sup>18</sup> Others of similar nature were "Energy to Government and a Federal Head"; and "May our Sister State, Rhode Island, be convinced of her error without the necessity of coercion."

As the rivalry between Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans became more bitter the representatives of each used the Fourth of July celebrations as a means of publicizing their party's position. A Federalist toast to "The Hon. John Jay—may that worthy citizen in the execution of the mission committed to his charge, secure to his fellow-citizens the invaluable blessings of peace, and in every other act, excell their most sanguine expectations" was balanced by a Republican toast, "An honorable negotiation or a decided and vigorous opposition to the measures of the British Court." The Republican toast, "The Republic of France—may her sons persevere in their glorious efforts for Liberty, until they obtain com-

<sup>18</sup> Edenton *State Gazette of North Carolina*, July 16, 1790.



plete victory and permanent peace," was matched by a Federalist one, "The State of North Carolina—may the virtuous union of her citizens baffle the boasted SKILL of the French and their emissaries." If a Federalist, with the Whiskey Rebellion in mind, toasted "The forces of the Union! May their bayonets push home the argument when remonstrance fails," one Republican was ready with "May the spirit of wisdom dictate our laws, and impartial justice enforce them," and another with "May the snowy mantle of American Freedom, never be stained with the black corruption of monarchical sway."<sup>19</sup>

Both Federalists and Republicans endorsed the sentiments expressed in many toasts. They jointly drank to "The progress of useful knowledge! May the arts and sciences be cultivated with success, and their great end be directed to the improvement of social happiness." And both cheered the toast on the Revolution: "The wisdom that planned, the spirit that upheld, and the bravery that achieved the American Revolution." Both fervently hoped that American citizens "May . . . justly prize the blessing we enjoy." Both were interested in prosperity, so they drank to the various economic interests in the following: "The farmers and manufacturers of America"; "May the sails of American Commerce be filled with the winds of prosperity"; "The agricultural, manufacturing and commercial interests of the United States; may they be cherished with wisdom, . . . protected with valor, [and] support and cherish each other." Both, too, were hopeful that liberty would endure and be expanded. Hence they drank to many versions of a toast to liberty. "May the tree of Liberty never wither, but be immovable as the Appalachians"; may it "take root in the center of the earth, and its branches spread from pole to pole"; and "may its roots be cherished in this its native land, until its branches extend themselves over the remotest corners of the earth." Both Federalists and Republicans claimed to be gentlemen, hence they were chivalrous

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<sup>19</sup> These toasts with several variants and many others may be found in the *Halifax North Carolina Journal*, July 9, 1794, and July 9, 1798; *Fayetteville North Carolina Minerva and Advertiser*, July 9, 1796; and the *Wilmington Chronicle and North Carolina Weekly Advertiser*, July 17, 1795.



and considerate of the ladies. They might require the ladies to leave the dinner before the men began to drink, but they invariably toasted the fair sex. Typical of their sentiments are the following: "The American *Fair!* May the perfections of their minds excell the beauties of their persons"; "May they bestow their smiles on none but the friends of their country"; and, more seriously, "May they impress on the rising generation the value of the prize their fathers fought and bled for."<sup>20</sup>

The victory of the Jeffersonian Democratic Republican party in the elections of 1800 changed somewhat the mood and spirit of the Fourth of July celebrations. Quite naturally the orations, and especially the toasts, put more emphasis on Jeffersonian ideas and principles and less on Federalism. In 1799, for the first time since the 1770's, the Declaration of Independence was read in North Carolina celebrations. Gradually the practice developed, and from 1805 until 1860 it was regularly read at all celebrations. Numerous odes were written on the Declaration and read on the Fourth. One by Alexander Lucas, editor of the Raleigh *Minerva*, written at the request of the citizens of Raleigh, was sung with much gusto. Describing the utopia which would follow the general acceptance of the principles of the Declaration, Lucas declared:

Discord no more shall roam abroad,  
The fire and sword no more destroy,  
But friendship smile o'er all mankind,  
And all their sorrows end in joy.<sup>21</sup>

Republicans emphasized Jefferson's authorship of the Declaration. In one of the many such toasts, Joseph Gales, editor of the Raleigh *Register*, toasted Jefferson "as the sage and patriotic author of the Declaration of Independence." William Boylan, a Federalist editor of the Raleigh *Minerva*, corrected Gales; he contended that John Adams and other members of the Committee that wrote the Declaration should have equal recognition with Jefferson. The controversy, com-

<sup>20</sup> Fayetteville *North Carolina Minerva and Advertiser*, July 9, 1799.

<sup>21</sup> The Ode is printed in full in the Raleigh *Star* of July 5, 1811.



plicated by rivalry over state printing, finally ended in a fight between the two editors in which Gales was severely beaten.<sup>22</sup>

The orators, generally Republican, the leaders who offered the regular toasts, and most of those who gave voluntary toasts reflected Jefferson's views on party unity. Among the numerous toasts that expressed this sentiment are the following: "Union. Let the bickerings of party be heard no more. . . . We are all Americans, and belong to the great family of the Republic"; "Goodwill—may the fervor of political zeal never disturb the harmony of social intercourse"; "Parties. There is not talismanic virtue in names. Let us appreciate men for their deeds"; and "National Unanimity—may the hateful demon of discord be banished from our land and the name of American absorb all other distinctions."<sup>23</sup> During the Jeffersonian period North Carolinians also toasted "Freedom of the Press," and "Trial by Jury," and emphasized Jeffersonian principles and philosophy by reading the Bill of Rights as well as the Declaration of Independence on July Fourth.<sup>24</sup>

As the controversy with England over neutral rights became more and more bitter it largely absorbed the attention of the Fourth of July celebrants. A Raleigh meeting drew up a long resolution on the *Leopard* affair and transmitted it and an address to President Jefferson. One of the toasts drunk on that occasion was: "The memory of the seamen who fell a sacrifice to British outrage—May the atrocity of this act produce the adoption of such measures as shall secure us from future violence, and establish our maritime rights on a firm foundation."<sup>25</sup> But such measures were not immediately adopted, and the next year the Raleigh citizens toasted, "*Neutral Rights*. The surrender of an inch only countenances a claim for an ell; may a hair's breadth never be yielded, till the conqueror is led to make his sword the yard stick." But France, too, was violating neutral rights, so North Carolinians

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<sup>22</sup> Raleigh *Register*, July 16, December 3, 10, 1804.

<sup>23</sup> Raleigh *Register*, July 17, 1812; Raleigh *Minerva*, July 7, 1808; Raleigh *Star*, July 26, 1810, July 17, 1812.

<sup>24</sup> Halifax *North Carolina Journal*, July 8, 1805; Raleigh *Register*, July 24, 1812.

<sup>25</sup> Halifax *North Carolina Journal*, July 8, 1805.



toasted "*The French Tiger and British Shark*. Paring to the nails of one, and a file to the teeth of the other."<sup>26</sup>

When war came Wilmington citizens cheered a toast to "The 4th of July 1776. The sword of America again drawn from its scabbard in the spirit of that day—May its strokes be directed with such energy as speedily to force the enemy to a just and reasonable peace."<sup>27</sup> Hoping that Canada would be won by war a Raleigh citizen cried, "Canada—May her Star be speedily added to our Constellation." But another declared, "Our maritime Rights . . . are the objects of the War, and they will not be abandoned."<sup>28</sup> When the tide of battle turned against American forces the Wilmington citizens could still say: "Eternal war with all its privations and concomitant horrors, in preference to a peace that does not recognize and acknowledge our every right as a sovereign and independent Nation."<sup>29</sup> Enraged by England's use of Indian troops and the burning of the public buildings in Washington, a Raleigh crowd cheered the toast, "May the war in which we are engaged be carried on with ability and vigor, tempered with humanity; and may our enemy become sensible that a resort to wanton conflagrations, and the employment of the Scalping Knife, disgrace a civilized nation."<sup>30</sup> North Carolinians were anxious for peace and praised President James Madison's "Mission to Russia: It proves to the world, that whilst we are fighting for our Rights, we are willing to avail ourselves of the first occasion of negotiating an honorable peace."<sup>31</sup>

Patriotic though they were North Carolinians could find little about which to boast in the Peace of Ghent. The best they could do in 1815 was to recognize "Our late Ministers at Ghent." In 1816 they toasted "Our Navy—bold, enterprising and successful," "The Army of the United States—they fought bravely," and "Peace to the World"; but it was 1817 before they declared, in "The Last War—We plucked the laurels from the Crown of the conquerors of Napoleon."

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<sup>26</sup> *Raleigh Star*, July 5, 1811.

<sup>27</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 17, 1812.

<sup>28</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 10, 1812; July 9, 1813.

<sup>29</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 17, 1812.

<sup>30</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 9, 1813.

<sup>31</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 9, 1813.



Finally, in 1820, they recognized "General Andrew Jackson—the immortal Hero of New Orleans," and condemned "The Hartford Convention—Commenced in iniquity, carried on in malignity, and ended in disgrace."<sup>32</sup>

The form of July Fourth celebrations gradually evolved and by 1820 had assumed a fixed pattern that changed very little until the coming of the Civil War. In the early days the upper classes—gentlemen, government officials, the military, the Society of the Cincinnati, the Association of '76, and professional men including lawyers, doctors, and preachers—in a word what the press regularly called "men of Respectability," were the chief participants with the populace merely lookers-on. Most celebrations were held in the larger cities and county seats with only an occasional one at a country church, a cross roads store, or a tavern in the rural areas.

The day would begin with the ringing of bells at dawn followed by cannon or musketry salutes at sunrise. During the early morning various military organizations would parade the streets and go through their evolutions for the benefit of the populace. The people would then march in regular procession to a church, court house, or some other chosen place for the exercises. A newspaper account of a Raleigh celebration reports "the following was the order of the procession:

The Marshall of the Day on horseback and in uniform, Herald, Band, Infantry, Cavalry, Male students and teachers of Academy, Female students, Ladies, Police, Government Officials, The Reverend Clergy, Orators of the Day, The Governor, and Files of Infantry and Cavalry."<sup>33</sup> In most cases there was also a designated position in the procession for Visitors.

The public exercises consisted of prayers, an oration, the reading of the Declaration of Independence, the singing of patriotic airs, and occasionally the rendition of instrumental music. When these were concluded the select group of ladies

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<sup>32</sup> Raleigh *Minerva*, July 7, 1815; July 12, 1816; July 11, 1817; Salisbury *Western Carolinian*, July 18, 1820; Raleigh *Star*, July 7, 1820.

<sup>33</sup> Raleigh *Minerva*, July 7, 1808; see also Raleigh *Star*, July 5, 1810.



and gentlemen would adjourn to a tavern, hotel, or sometimes a private home where they were served an "elegant and sumptuous dinner." After dinner the ladies would retire and the gentlemen would drink thirteen regular toasts, one for each state, and numerous voluntary ones in fine wines and imported liquors. One group in Georgia drank eighty-seven toasts. In the afternoon the ladies would entertain at an "elegant tea party" at which there might also be vocal and instrumental music and dancing. The day would be concluded by a "splendid ball . . . given to the Ladies" by the gentlemen.<sup>34</sup>

With the coming of the Jacksonian epoch there was a diminution of formalism and ceremony, but an increase in hilarity and boisterousness in the celebrations. With the decline of class distinctions the people participated to a much greater extent. In fact, all business and labor came to a stop, and everybody celebrated. Ladies and gentlemen were still present and popular leaders were in charge, but all groups were officially recognized. The working men and "Mechanics Societies" were given positions of importance.<sup>35</sup> In a single procession in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1831 "tailors, hatters, blacksmiths, carpenters, stone-cutters, tanners and leather dressers, cordwainers, coppersmiths and other workers of metal, printers, ropemakers, gunsmiths, and finally the Norfolk Marine Society, and The School Teachers," in that order, had their designated position.<sup>36</sup> And the streets of the county seats "were filled to overflowing with the generous yeomanry of . . . the country" districts.<sup>37</sup>

The crowds, composed of men, women, and children, yea "all the little niggers in town," yelled and shrieked and screamed like mad.<sup>38</sup> These crowds, however, were assembled with a purpose that was serious, almost holy. They "listened attentively to lengthy prayers" distinguished for "fervent

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<sup>34</sup> *Edenton State Gazette*, July 16, 1790; *Raleigh Minerva*, July 7, 1808; *Raleigh Star*, July 5, 1810.

<sup>35</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 28, 1836.

<sup>36</sup> *Washington United States Telegraph*, July 8, 1831.

<sup>37</sup> *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 10, 1846.

<sup>38</sup> *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 15, 1837; *Raleigh Register*, July 13, 1853.



piety and patriotism," and greeted the Declaration and the oration with enthusiastic applause.<sup>39</sup> Instead of a dinner for a select few, barbecues were prepared for everybody. At one barbecue "long tables groaned beneath the fat of the land, [and] notwithstanding a well-directed and prolonged attack by all there . . . the reenforcements constantly furnished . . . drove the armed hosts, with reluctant step, from their entrenchments."<sup>40</sup> Of food there was enough and to spare. After everyone had eaten, the "call for Voluntary toasts was answered with promptitude and alacrity." But, instead of drinking to the toasts in Maderia and imported liquors as the early assemblies had done, these "motley crews" drank domestic wines and liquors, or even lemonade.<sup>41</sup> And instead of indulging in "elegant teas" and "splendid balls" they closed their festivities by engaging in square dances or watching a "successful and beautiful assention of a Balloon in the evening."<sup>42</sup> Beginning with July 4, 1836, the newspapers reported a new type of excitement, the "occasional popping of squibs," better known today as firecrackers.<sup>43</sup>

The Moravians, first to celebrate officially the Fourth in North Carolina, became less enthusiastic in their observance of the day as the celebrations became more boisterous. Their exercises had at first consisted largely of sermons, prayers, and a "singstunde with instrumental accompaniment." But on July 16, 1811, the Salem Board "noted with regret that shooting as a sign of rejoicing, which we had tried to prevent, was carried on by several of the younger Brethren" on July 4. The next year the Board noted with regret that a letter of one of the conferences warning against worldly manifestations of joy on July 4 was disregarded by the young men who stuck cockades in their hats. In 1814 the secretary recorded in the minutes: "Disapproval is expressed concerning the behavior of the younger people on the fourth of this month, who made a noise by shooting in the Square and out of the

<sup>39</sup> *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 15, 1837.

<sup>40</sup> *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 10, 1846.

<sup>41</sup> *Hillsboro Recorder*, July 8, 1841.

<sup>42</sup> *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 15, 1837; *Raleigh Star*, July 7, 1836.

<sup>43</sup> *Tarboro Free Press*, July 9, 1836.



Brothers House. In addition they have repeatedly occupied themselves with marching, soldier fashion, with drum and fife, near the town in the evening." This action, said the Board, "must be considered disorder and must be suppressed." The Board ordered parents to warn their children, masters their apprentices, and Choir officers the "Single Brethren." Evidently the warning bore fruit for in 1815 the Fourth was "observed in a solemn manner"; in 1817 "the anniversary . . . was more still and quiet in our town than it has been in many years"; in 1818 there was "little celebration"; and in 1819 and 1820 the celebration consisted of only "a singstunde with instrumental music" and a sermon by the distinguished Lewis David von Schweinitz.<sup>44</sup> One concession, however, had been made to the youth. Beginning in 1815, and continued thereafter, the sermon for the Fourth was delivered in English rather than German.

Two new movements, the Sunday school and the temperance crusade, attempted to capitalize on the popularity of the Fourth during the Middle Period. The Guilford County Sunday School Union, an auxiliary of the American Sunday School Union, had charge of the exercises in Greensboro in 1834.<sup>45</sup> And in Raleigh in 1851 over four hundred Sunday school children from the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other Missionary churches gathered in the Presbyterian Church. They listened to the reading of the Declaration, heard an oration, sang songs, and in the evening attended a session devoted to speech making.<sup>46</sup>

The temperance movement was better organized and had a more definite program than the Sunday schools; hence it exerted greater influence on the Fourth. The Washington Temperance Society of Mecklenburg County was joined by a large body of the citizens of Charlotte in its celebration in 1842. They listened to the reading of the Declaration of Independence, heard two prayers, and drank more than fifty toasts, twenty-five to temperance, all "in *pure cold water*."

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<sup>44</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, VII, 3150, 3180, 3237, 3259, 3368, 3402, 3439.

<sup>45</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 15, 1834.

<sup>46</sup> *Raleigh Star*, July 9, 1851.



The male members carried a banner, made of white silk by the women members, inscribed: "To guard against a practice which is injurious to our health, standing and families, we as gentlemen pledge ourselves not to drink any spirituous or malt liquors, wine or cider." They sang "Cold Water," one stanza of which reads:

Here's to the Cup of Cold Water—  
The pure, sweet cup of cold water;  
For nature gives to all that lives  
But a drink of the clear cold water.<sup>47</sup>

Every toast offered at the Wilmington celebration of 1847, conducted by the Wilmington Temperance Society, made reference to temperance. A typical one reads: "The day we celebrate—may its next advent find every member not present, faithful to his 'pledge,' and our number doubled."<sup>48</sup> That same year the "Concord Division No. 1 of Sons of Temperance" joined in a local celebration. A newspaper correspondent reported that, despite the fact that only cold water and ice lemonade were used in drinking toasts, "The racy pun, the sparkling jest, and witty repartee circulated most merrily."<sup>49</sup> And at each celebration in Raleigh from 1845 through 1851 Sons of Temperance, Raleigh Teetotalers, and other temperance groups joined Sunday school children, numbering from three hundred to four hundred, and the citizens of the town in the Fourth of July exercises.

Even the official July Fourth celebrations in Washington experienced the leveling influence of the rise of the common man during the Middle Period. In addition to "the vapid orations, stupid toasts and execrable speeches; hot meats and cold wines; the customary laudation of the nation, and the quantum of headaches that follow the usual indulgence," a visitor in Washington reported the new "squibs and popguns"; the "commingling of all the central functionaries with citizens of every class" in the White House; and a band of "Sunday

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<sup>47</sup> *Charlotte Catawba Journal*, July 14, 1842.

<sup>48</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, July 16, 1847.

<sup>49</sup> *Raleigh Standard*, July 14, 1847.



school children marched through the walks of the capitol grounds."<sup>50</sup>

What might be considered a typical Fourth of the antebellum period took place at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1843. The citizens of the town were awakened at dawn by the bells of St. Michael's in whose pews on Sundays sat the aristocracy of the Cotton Kingdom. But on this holiday the bells of St. Michael's called to worship all classes of citizens. As the clangor of the bells died away cannon on the battery boomed a salute across the sleepy harbor. Gradually the sidewalks filled with people, men, women and children, black and white. The Charleston Light Dragoons paraded down the avenue to the water front; the Sixteenth and Seventeenth regiments of infantry and a battalion of artillery followed. Near the reviewing stand, occupied by the officials, were assembled men in tall hats and women in hoop skirts. When the troops were drawn up at attention the United States cutter *Van Buren*, riding at anchor in the harbor, fired a salute; the artillery battery replied; and the infantry raised its muskets and fired a round to complete this part of the ritual.

The crowd then dispersed, but after a short interim new processions were formed. The Society of the Cincinnati and the Association of '76, their members few in number and now feeble old men, moved slowly to the First Baptist Church where they heard prayers and an oration by a member of the '76. Meanwhile the Washington Society had marched to St. Mary's where it heard prayers, an oration, and the Declaration of Independence. A third procession made up of temperance societies marched through the streets to the New Theatre where, after prayers and an anthem, Albert Rhett addressed "a numerous, brilliant and gratified audience of both sexes." After "a brief allusion to the grateful and hallowed occasion," Rhett took "the boldest and highest ground in favor of total abstinence."

In the afternoon thirteen hundred Sunday school children, preceded by ministers, teachers, and a "band of music,"

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<sup>50</sup> Elizabeth Fries Ellet, *Court Circles of the Republic, or The Beauties and Celebrities of the Nation* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Publishing Company, 1872), 308.



marched to the Presbyterian Church. There the exercises consisted of a prayer, a religious parody on the Declaration of Independence, an original poem, and an oration on the blessings of liberty and the higher blessings of Sunday schools, all delivered by boys. Appropriate anthems were sung by a girls' choir. The exercises were followed by a picnic of box lunches and games. The day was concluded by fire works at Tivoli Garden during the evening.<sup>51</sup> A North Carolina celebration similar to this one would have included also a dinner or barbecue, regular and voluntary toasts, and probably a dance in the evening.

The orator and his oration played a significant role in the celebrations. The orator was selected by a committee in charge of arrangements, and throughout the country some of the most distinguished statesmen, preachers, lawyers, and editors were pressed into service. But in North Carolina the orators, while selected from the above named professions, were relatively unknown. Joseph Gales, Jesse R. Bynum, Jesse Speight, and James Branch addressed July Fourth crowds, but the better known Nathaniel Macon, Archibald D. Murphey, William Gaston, Willie P. Mangum, William A. Graham, and Judge Thomas Ruffin seem not to have done so.

The early orators had a chance at originality of thought and expression, and some of them delivered thought provoking as well as stirring addresses. David Ramsey, the South Carolina historian who in 1778 "delivered the first oration that was spoken in the United States, to celebrate this great event," was again the orator in Charleston in 1794. He not only traced the colonial and revolutionary history of the United States, as most speakers did, but he reminded his hearers that they, as American citizens, enjoyed "advantages, rights, and privileges, superior to most, if not all, of the human race. . . . We ([said he] have hit upon the happy medium between despotism and anarchy." According to Ramsey, we have freedom and equality of opportunity; we are all equal under the law; we have free press, free speech,

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<sup>51</sup> *Charleston Courier*, July 5, 1843; see also Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1940), 96-97.



and no state church. Tolerance and equality leads to peace between factions. And, we can look forward to continuing peace, progress, and prosperity. "To what height of national greatness may we not aspire?" he asked. There was no limit, replied he, if the United States would educate all its people and maintain peace with all nations.<sup>52</sup> Ramsey painted an idyllic picture of peace, liberty, and equality, yet he passionately believed in the future growth and progress of the United States. His vision was that of the American dream.

By mid-nineteenth century, however, the phraseology of July Fourth orations had become so hackneyed and time worn that one orator, the Reverend Mr. Moore of Virginia, spent considerable time in explaining his difficulty in preparing anything either fresh or acceptable to his audience. Said he: "The situation of a Fourth of July orator now is like that of a man at the third table of a public dinner, who has left to him little more than scraps and empty dishes. All the rhetoric and logic of the occasion have been used up, and there is really not a respectable metaphor left. The American Eagle—a very respectable bird in its way—has been so plucked and handled that it has become as tame as a barnyard fowl. The British Lion has been so belabored and becudgeled by an indignant eloquence that he roars as gently as a suckling dove. The Stars and Stripes have been so vehemently flourished above admiring crowds of patriotic citizens that there is hardly a rhetorical shred left of them, and even that is somewhat the worse for handling. Even classic antiquity—Hercules and the serpent, Julius Caesar, Demosthenes, Greece and Rome—have so long been compelled to perform annual muster that they have really become exempt from military service. Even patriotism is not in season, because it is not near enough the election. The very Union would almost be dissolved by eulogizing it at such a melting temperature as this. Even 'the Ladies' have been deemed too exciting a topic for the orator on this heated occasion and hence has been monopolized by the committee on toasts, where its exciting character may be tempered

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<sup>52</sup> Ramsey, *An Oration Delivered on the Anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1794*, 1-20.



by ice water and other cooling compounds. So it is obvious that the path of a Fourth of July orator . . . is like that spoken of in a popular song not unknown in this community, 'A hard road to Travel'.<sup>53</sup>

Nevertheless a few North Carolina orators found some new ideas to emphasize. The Reverend Joshua Lawrence, speaking in Tarboro in 1830, warned against a state supported church. Said he: "I tell you that in my candid opinion, that the independence and liberty of our country is in more danger at this time from priestcraft, than it has ever been since the revolution, from all the nations of the earth, or any past or present source whatever; and I wish to remind you, that united we stand, divided we fall, a prey to the tyranny of kings or priests. Yea, if you suffer the priests by law to ride on your back, you will soon, I assure you, have to carry a king behind him."<sup>54</sup> T. Loring, speaking at Wilmington in 1833, chose to emphasize the preservation of the Union against the threat of nullification and secession. He declared that "the most effectual safeguard of our liberties will be found in public education."<sup>55</sup> An orator at Tarboro in 1844 chose to speak on "The Importance of Female Education." Pleading for equal rights for women he argued that liberty and freedom could be maintained only by an educated citizenry.<sup>56</sup> In the crisis of 1850, a Tarboro orator exhibited intellectual courage as well as love of the Union. "Surrounded by an audience, whose sentiments on the topics it was his duty to discuss he knew to be as opposite as possible, he yet by founding his sentiments on those facts which all Unionists knew to be true and all secessionists felt to be true, impressed upon each and all the strict equality in importance of Southern Rights and Union, and made all feel that though the one was nearly essential to our glory and prosperity, it could not stand unless the other was respected."<sup>57</sup> In like manner an orator at Ra-

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<sup>53</sup> Washington *National Intelligencer*, July 15, 1854.

<sup>54</sup> Reverend Joshua Lawrence, *A Patriotic Discourse, Delivered by the Rev. Joshua Lawrence, at the Old Church in Tarborough, N. C., on Sunday the Fourth of July, 1830* (n.p. or d.), 29.

<sup>55</sup> *Wilmington People's Press and Advertiser*, July 17, 1833.

<sup>56</sup> *Tarboro Free Press*, July 9, 1844.

<sup>57</sup> *Tarboro Free Press*, July 12, 1851.



leigh on the same day chose the Union as his theme, and "portrayed in a most impressive and masterly manner its value and importance to the maintenance of our liberties, and the safety, peace and prosperity of the whole country."<sup>58</sup>

Dr. J. N. Danforth, in an address on "Thoughts on the Fourth of July, 1847," reached a new high in originality of thought and courage of expression. He decried illiteracy and ignorance, the misery and cruelty of the state prison system, and the destitution of the poverty stricken, and demanded that the state and the nation give every possible aid to the eradication of these evils. He likewise called upon the people to encourage progress in science, to improve the means of communication of ideas as well as of things, and to extend equal political rights to all people. But his special plea was for pacifism. "Let us not deceive ourselves," said he, "with the phantom of military glory, after which so many are grasping only to be disappointed. Military glory depends for its acquisition on war, and war is one of the most bitter and blasting conditions of humanity. It is the daughter of pride and the mother of all kinds of abominations and disasters. It is one of the greatest curses to which humanity was ever abandoned. It breeds idleness, intemperance, infidelity, and all manner of licentiousness. It robs wives of their husbands, and children of their fathers. As it authorizes murder on a large scale, so it affords the opportunity and shield for all sorts of petty murders and assassinations. It involves an enormous expenditure of money, and encourages all kinds of wastefulness, creating bloated fortunes for some, and ruining others. It converts peaceful fields into the arenas of horrid strife, making of them shambles for the shedding of human blood, and instead of the quiet, cheerful, golden harvest of nature, substitutes the gloomy harvest of death, where, instead of the grateful song of the reaper, may be heard the bitter oath and execration; instead of the tranquil toil of the husband-man, yielding fruit, may be seen the fierce tumult of armed men, resulting in nothing but weeping widows, childless parents, and mourning brothers and sisters. . . . War

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<sup>58</sup> Raleigh *Star*, July 9, 1851.



introduces a train of evils which a whole generation is scarcely sufficient to repair, polluting the morals, [and] prostrating the barriers of society."<sup>59</sup> Danforth further ridiculed the ideas of honor, glory, chivalry, and the *beau ideal* in warfare. It must have taken a good deal of moral and intellectual courage for a man to deliver such a philippic against war at the very time the United States was engaged in the popular war with Mexico. In recent times a Danforth would have been thrown into prison for saying much less.

By and large the Fourth of July orations reveal a common pattern of thought and feeling. The orator generally recited American colonial history and found the hand of God directing in every crisis and leading the colonists along the road to independence; he emphasized the love of liberty of the early Americans; he lauded the colonists for their long suffering endurance of tyranny; he damned George III and the British government for their flagrant disregard of the rights of man; he glorified the heroism of American men and women in the bitter struggle for independence; he expressed reverence for the leaders of the Revolution, especially George Washington; and he praised the system of government established in the United States as the most perfect under heaven. He then urged his hearers to attack current problems in a spirit similar to that of the founding fathers. He pointed with pride to the wonderful progress of the country and expressed hope and faith in the future progress and greatness of the United States. Throughout the discourse he indulged in Biblical quotations, classical allusions, and high sounding phrases that made his speech a masterpiece "of oratory according to the canons of the day." But despite its bombast and platitudes the Fourth of July oration "epitomized the whole pattern of American political thought and feeling. . . . [It] was . . . an invitation to patriotism . . . and [an] inspiration for loyalty to the nation."<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Reverend J. N. Danforth, "Thoughts on the Fourth of July, 1847," *The Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review*, XIII (July, 1847), 502-505.

<sup>60</sup> Merle Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), 140-141.



While not as important as the orator, newspaper editors played a significant role in the Fourth celebrations. They were often called upon to deliver an address, but more important they published plans for the day, tried to whip up enthusiasm on the part of the people, wrote an annual editorial on the Fourth, always printed an account of the day's festivities often including the address in full and occasionally reprinting the entire Declaration of Independence.

In the 1830's northern newspapers reported a decline in interest in the festivities in that section. They declared that in many towns and cities the day passed without any observance, and they noted general apathy on the part of the people. North Carolina editors, almost without exception, expressed satisfaction that such was not the case in the Old North State and in the South generally. "Notwithstanding the apathy complained of in some parts of the Union," said the editor of the *Raleigh Register*, on July 6, 1839, "our national Jubilee was celebrated in this city with becoming honors." Ten years later he declared, "there are but few places in the Union, where, in proportion to means and population, the day is celebrated with more lively enthusiasm" than in North Carolina.<sup>61</sup> "Unusual demonstrations," "much enthusiasm," "unusually animated gathering," and "unusually spirited" were descriptive phrases he used during the 1850's. The editor of the *Raleigh Southern Weekly Post* corroborated the *Register's* views. He said, "while in other sections of our country the day is permitted to pass without any special demonstration, we are rejoiced to see that in North Carolina the spirit of patriotism burns as brightly as it did in the days of the Revolution."<sup>62</sup> In Tarboro also the people continued to celebrate the day with old time vigor. In 1852 they did so with "more than usual enthusiasm."<sup>63</sup>

South Carolina editors found that the people of that state, too, were unflagging in their "devotion to the principles of the revolution." Year after year rolls on but they are "determined to keep burning for ever the vestal fire of liberty,

<sup>61</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 7, 1849.

<sup>62</sup> *Raleigh Southern Weekly Post*, July 7, 1842.

<sup>63</sup> *Tarboro Southerner*, July 10, 1852.



kindled by our fathers in the temple of union," and they rejoice in the success of the "glorious experiment of popular self-government." South Carolinians had had their "reverses and trials" but nothing had transpired to shake their "confidence in the stability and permanence" of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the value of the Union. On the "contrary, the experience of the past only brightens the hope of the future, that our career will continue to realize its full promise of individual happiness and national glory."<sup>64</sup>

However, a Wilmington, North Carolina, editor in 1851 recognized "a gradual abatement of the fervor which signalized the earlier celebrations. The heart of the nation is less powerfully moved. The chord of public feeling responds less strongly to the note of festivity."<sup>65</sup> Among the reasons which he offered for the decline was the repetitious nature of the celebrations which, attended year after year, tended to develop an attitude of boredom. Furthermore, a new generation, born and nurtured in peace and prosperity, did not and could not respond to the Fourth as did their forefathers who had fought and bled for their independence.

Another Wilmington editor in the late 1850's admitted a declining interest in the Fourth throughout the entire South. He attributed the change to growing sectional divergence and charged northern abolitionists with responsibility. The harmony which the Fourth should engender, said he in 1856, was being submerged by the "wild torrent of fanaticism" which was sweeping over the North." "Thousands of preachers and orators at the North [said he] will avail themselves of the opportunity [on the Fourth] to instil hatred to the South and her institutions. . . . We cannot, therefore, look forward to the influence of the day with the same hopeful feelings that used to animate us on such occasions. . . . We cannot but think that the state of affairs is such as to induce a deeper and more thoughtful tone than usually characterizes the occasion."<sup>66</sup> The next year he declared that the liberty of the South was threatened by the North. Will we, he asked, be

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<sup>64</sup> *Charleston Courier*, July 4, 1843.

<sup>65</sup> *Wilmington Tri Weekly Commercial*, July 5, 1851.

<sup>66</sup> *Wilmington Daily Journal*, July 3, 1856.



able to celebrate the centennial of the Fourth which is only nineteen years off? He concluded that Southern orators could not content themselves "simply with glorifying over the great even in honor of which the day is celebrated." We may congratulate ourselves that we can still meet around a common altar, but "the more ominous question will obtrude itself on the mind — How long will this be so?"<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately his speculations were true; in less than five years his own city was to abandon the celebration of the birthday of the republic.

[*To be concluded*]

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<sup>67</sup> *Wilmington Daily Journal*, July 3, 1857.









JAMES E. McGIRT  
North Carolina Negro Poet



## JAMES EPHRAIM MCGIRT: POET OF "HOPE DEFERRED"

By JOHN W. PARKER

James Ephraim McGirt's (1874-1930) forthright pronouncement that "I would not have written one line had nature not forced me" together with the constantly-recurring conviction that he was destined to remain on the outer slopes rather than to ascend the heights of Parnassus, probably points up the fact that he continued to turn out creative verse for one reason: he simply could not help himself. Once the urge to write struck him, it straightway became an obsession; it loomed as the measure of a worthwhile existence. He saw, or thought he saw, beyond the immediate difficulties that combined to obscure his view—financial insecurity, limited training, a dearth of contacts with men of like interests, and of course, his movement in a disadvantageous "out-group" in a land of plenty. His contribution to American letters, by no means pronounced, is perhaps more individual than racial. A dreamer whose dreams never come true, this literary enthusiast nevertheless deserves to be remembered not so much because of the radiance and charm of his personality or the excellence of his literary output, but because of his devotion to a worthy ideal and his struggle to reach it in the face of overwhelming odds.

McGirt's roots were deeply regional. Born the son of Madison and Ellen (Townsend) McGirt, he first sat up and took notice out in the hinterlands of Robeson County near Lumberton, North Carolina, a region that to this day has remained almost wholly rural in outlook as in atmosphere and economy. His father had grown up in these fertile cornlands and had become a part of them as had the several generations of McGirts that had preceded him. With his mother, however, the mettle was reversed, for while she was brought up on a farm near Rowland, North Carolina, she became a woman of fine bearing and of strong personality, a punctilious religionist



who was wont to call into her home casual passers-by for a moral lecture and to quote for them at great length from the Bible. It was she who invisioned for the poet-to-be a life far removed from the hill regions of Robeson County. Perhaps more than anything else, it was her insistence upon "living apart" even from the neighbors next door that accounts for the fact that no one of her four children was ever married. A second cousin, Mrs. Zilphia McNair Waugh, who came in 1930 to live with the then-depleted McGirt family tells of how at the age of 82, "Aunt" Ellen talked mysteriously to the neighbors about "going away" and how on the following Sunday, in response to what she construed to be a fire alarm, she rushed out of the church into the path of a moving vehicle and sustained injuries from which she never recovered.<sup>1</sup>

The warmth and encouragement of a stable Christian home facilitated McGirt's struggle to outdistance the discouragement that was almost invariably part and parcel of his daily lot. A strong in-group feeling was always present, perhaps too much so. For his early training he enrolled in a private school at Lumberton, North Carolina, where for many years the principal was David Allen. It was here that romances were established with three youthful schoolmates, Alice Peppers, Edith Merritt, and Anna Allen, daughter of the principal. The memory of each of them he immortalized in a love poem written many years later. Presently, however, the McGirts moved on. This time they settled in a rural community not a great distance from Rowland, North Carolina, where again they devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits.<sup>2</sup>

Traditionally, the Lumberton-Rowland region, more or less symbolic of the South as a whole, has fostered a bi-racial organization with its corresponding social codes and conventional mores which have resulted in the maintenance of social distance between the races. The business of growing up in this rural community back in the eighties and the nineties hardly makes a fascinating story. For young McGirt the days

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<sup>1</sup> Information secured in interview on August 24, 1952, with Mrs. Zilphia McNair Waugh, 605 Ramsey Street, Fayetteville, North Carolina.

<sup>2</sup> Information secured in interview on August 24, 1952, with Mrs. Mary Gavin (McGirt's first cousin), P. O. Box 38, Lumberton, North Carolina.



came and went; they were wont to afford more work than play, more rain than sunshine, but somehow at the end of the day there was always time for serious reflection upon what the tomorrows might bring. Quite unconsciously, during these formative years, the poet-to-be was acquainting himself with a mode of life subsequently to be reflected in his published writings. Today, however, James E. McGirt is a forgotten man even by the scattered McGirt families that still cluster in the remote sections of Robeson County. His name is mere fiction; farmers and veneer-plant workers alike speak in vague and uncertain terms about this poet of the long ago.

As a youth McGirt moved with his parents from Rowland to Greensboro, North Carolina. Here working as laundress and as drayman they combined their efforts to establish a home on Island Street.<sup>3</sup>

Writing poetry during his spare moments, McGirt continued his education in the Greensboro public schools and earned money by doing an assortment of odd jobs. "Bud," as he was known about the campus, entered Bennett College in 1892 and after a three-year period of study was awarded the bachelor's degree in 1895.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, the impulse for literary expression, an inclination that had lingered since childhood, became increasingly insistent and McGirt was content to follow no other. In some respects the years immediately following the turn of the century were favorable to pioneering in American Negro literature. By 1906, Paul Laurence Dunbar, writing both in dialect and in standard English, had captured the popular imagination of the American people; Charles W. Chestnutt was the best writer of prose fiction the race had produced; and William Stanley Braithwaite whom McGirt had chanced to meet in Washington, D. C., around 1900 was turning out scholarly verse that was free from racial exclusiveness. Moreover, the dialect tradition was enjoying a heyday, and a critic of the calibre of William Dean Howells was loud in his praise

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<sup>3</sup> Information secured in interview on March 6, 1952, with Miss Geneva J. Holmes, 1308 Lindsay Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.

<sup>4</sup> Letter (in author's possession), dated February 19, 1952, from Dr. Willa B. Player, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina.



of Dunbar's dialect poems, but remained indifferent to his pieces in standard English. Indeed, it was a brave new period in American Negro literature when one heard an occasional Negro voice in lonesome wood.

In 1899, McGirt's initial volume of poems, *Avenging the Maine*, made its appearance. For the most part short and lyric in quality, the poems that comprise this slender book touch upon a number of topics. A good many of them are concerned with the poet's love of land and of country things during the flow of season. "The Evening," for example, points up the joy and mirth that settles upon "children in the harvest field" at the close of the day; and the four-line lyric, "Our Picnic," portrays a social and an emotional situation in which rustic life is glorified for a day perhaps by contrast with the drudgery that normally attaches to it. It falls short, however, in the matter of structure; everywhere the style unlike the mood is heavy and the rhymes uncertain. And the piece, "A View of Childhood," amounts to the definition of a situation in which the simple pleasures of rural life pass all but unnoticed by a "playful lad" but gather luster when viewed in retrospect. Certainly his initial love poem, "Edith," reveals the author's penchant for moralizing and for eighteenth century artificiality. It is an extravaganza written in response to his love affair with Edith Merritt at the Allen Private School in Lumberton where they were wont to meet "in the park under a mossy tree."

Smarting under the pressure exerted by his forced movement in a "disadvantaged out-group," it is small wonder that the Negro-white aspect of the American racial problem should have become the basis for much of McGirt's literary striving. In the poem "Slavery," for example, he holds up to ridicule the moral and spiritual enslavement of Negro women, otherwise as "pure as the dewdrops," and the central figure in "Don't Laugh, Boys" is an old Negro man whose shattered body and blurred outlook bespeak the tragedy of slavery in America. Pathetic irony finds its way into "Memory of Lincoln and the Yankees," a poem which by implication pits the "dear old friends we darkies cherish" against the whites



below the Mason-Dixon line, much to the disparagement of the latter group. "Classes" is a clever satire on the conventional mores that combine to obscure the perspective of the race. In it McGirt implies the paradox described in Countee Cullen's moving lines:

Yet do I marvel at this curious thing—  
To make a poet black and bid him sing.

And as though it had not been done to death already, McGirt employed the dialect medium in some of his poems; but, for the most part, it was dialect characterized by a strange and irregular blending of dialect words with those of standard English. In the preface to *Avenging the Maine*, he explains that "since most illiterate persons live with those who are cultured, they speak correctly one half of their words."<sup>5</sup> He insists that he has written just as the masses impressed him. The line "Dat's no Sin Yer going ter get mad" from the poem "No Use in Signs" suggests something of the character and the quality of his dialect expression. As sensitive and dignified a man as he was, it is hard to believe that McGirt had any serious interest in dialect as a literary medium. William Dean Howells's praise for Dunbar's pieces in dialect as opposed to those in standard English may have inspired McGirt to bid for similar recognition.

Perhaps as a natural consequence of the influence that attended his early years, especially the religious example set by his mother, a fairly sizable group of McGirt's poems possesses a distinct didactic flavor. Not infrequently the tone is that of a sermon directed at the wayward sinner who has fallen victim to the pleasures of the moment. A case in point is the long narrative poem, "A Drunken A. B.," which recounts the progress of degradation on the part of a brilliant college-bred youth in response to an unhappy love affair. Similarly, in the lyric outburst, "Satan," the author deploras this ever-present evil force in the whole range of human endeavor:

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<sup>5</sup> James E. McGirt, *Avenging the Maine* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1900, Second Edition), preface, 1. Volume located in The University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.



He lurks around poverty,  
He lurks in gold;  
He's always on duty  
Seeking a soul.

And an accounting for laxity in social vision and in social action is implied in "Nothing to Do":

Jails are crowded,  
In Sunday Schools few;  
We still complain,  
There's nothing to do.

Heathen are dying,  
Their blood falls on you;  
How can you people,  
Find nothing to do?

Obviously, *Avenging the Maine* is a collection of poems of uneven quality. By and large, the poems it contains are crude in rhyme and in verse form, limited in vocabulary, and defective in poetic diction. They exhibit all too few of the subtler qualities that distinguish poetry from prose. McGirt's awareness of these shortcomings found expression in the preface to the volume. "These poems were written under very unfavorable circumstances. . . . Often at my work bench when I thought greater speed was needed to finish my daily task, these poems would flash into my mind and I would be restless to sketch them upon paper that I might retain them until the day's work was done. Sometimes I could find it convenient to do so; sometimes I could not, and when I would fail to sketch them, at night the muse would not return."<sup>6</sup> There is this, however, to say about the mixed feeling that was accorded his initial literary production: it brought him concern as to the futility of his literary striving, but not dismay. Running throughout this, as through his succeeding publications, is a distinct Darwinian note which may account in part for his obvious lack of humor.

Meanwhile in 1900, McGirt brought out the second en-

<sup>6</sup> James E. McGirt, *Avenging the Maine* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1899, First Edition), preface, 1. Volume located in The University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.



larged edition of *Avenging the Maine*. Even with the presence of seventeen new poems, the second edition is scarcely an improvement over the first. One notes no greater depth of feeling, no wider range of interests, and no more firm mastery of the art of poetry. Disillusionment and pessimism persist in poems like "Blame Not the Poet" and "Why Should I Deplore?" Of the poems that appear for the first time, "Two Spirits" and "God Bless Our Country" are perhaps the best.

Even though the Register of Copyrights<sup>7</sup> in Washington, D. C. has been able to track down only one copyright for *Avenging the Maine* under the date of October 21, 1899, there appeared in 1901 the third revised and "enlarged edition," McGirt's third book of poems in as many years. It was released in Philadelphia by George F. Lasher, Printer and Binder, although the preface was dated from Greensboro, North Carolina. Actually, this was neither larger nor an improved edition; far from it. As a matter of fact, it contained one poem less than the volume of 1900. It is difficult to see how the third printing of essentially the same book adds anything whatsoever to the young poet's literary reputation. One probable explanation for the quality of the work found in *Avenging the Maine* (1901), however, is the fact that during the same year McGirt's fourth volume of poems, *Some Simple Songs and a Few More Ambitious Attempts*, was released in Philadelphia. The collection contained exactly twenty-one poems, only six of which had not appeared previously in one of the three editions of *Avenging the Maine*. In the preface the poet took stock of the quality of his poetic output. "In my first volume of poems," he observed, "I made some apology for my work and I feel I should do the same for this little volume . . . I feel that *Some Simple Songs* is a great improvement over *Avenging the Maine*, and if my next volume is as much better than *Some Simple Songs*, it will need no apology."<sup>8</sup> The collection discloses increased facility in the

<sup>7</sup> Letter (in author's possession), dated April 17, 1952, from Richard A. MacCarteney, Chief, Reference Division, Copyrights Office, Washington, D. C.

<sup>8</sup> James E. McGirt, *Some Simple Songs and a Few More Ambitious Attempts* (Philadelphia: George F. Lasher, Printer and Binder, 1901), preface, 1. Available in The University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.



matter of poetic art. There is, for example, the extravaganza "Queen Victoria" done in Popean couplets; it reflects the type of overly-elaborate praise that is often characteristic of eighteenth century English literature. Implicit in "The Century Prayer" is the author's growth of perspective, for it amounts to a fervent and a dignified prayer for the reign of peace throughout the world; everywhere, it is reminiscent of Kipling's "Recessional."

Other poems in the collection are clearly autobiographical in character. "Success" turns out to be a sober declaration of intention to bid, come what may, for literary immortality. He ponders:

Yet to despair I can but droop and die,  
'Tis better for me to try the lashing deep.  
I much prefer beneath the surge to lie,  
Then death to find me on this bank asleep.

But dejection settles upon him. Temporarily at least, he experiences a loss of faith. "Tell Me, O Fate," written in the vein of "My Song" breathes a note of impending demoralization:

Years have I labored, toiled and fought  
But yet no prize I see.  
Tell Me, O Fate, if this is all  
That shall ever be.

With respect to the poems that comprise *Some Simple Songs*, however, Professors Newman I. White and Walter C. Jackson, formerly of Trinity College and the Woman's College of The University of North Carolina respectively, conclude that "the best of them are mediocre."<sup>9</sup>

Something of McGirt's pride and of the financial strain and the frustration that accompanied his literary efforts during the early years of the century are implied in a letter he wrote on May 12, 1903, to Thomas Nelson Page from Hampton, Virginia:

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<sup>9</sup> Newman I. White and Walter C. Jackson, Editors, *An Anthology of Verse by American Negroes* (Durham: Trinity College Press, 1924), 230.



May 12, 1903

Mr. Page:

Were you a man who did not know my people, I would not write you this letter for fear you would not understand me. But somehow I feel as though you can interpret my feelings and consider them.

Now for fear you do not remember who I am, I will say that I am the would-be-poet (colored) that called to see you last winter. I wish to say that on the account of a mother and a disabled father to look after, my mind is not as clear for poetry as I would like.

I have been striving for some time to get a little money ahead in order that I could give more time to my poetry. But, Sir, for the love of my sickly father and mother, I must have some assistance.

Excuse what I have said about assistance. No, I shall not beg. But let me ask that if you see any way to aid me, I shall gladly accept. Should you need anyone to take care of your house this summer, please give me the position. If you need a man to do anything around the house, please give me the place. Give me a trial. I think I can please you.

If you can give me anything to do, I hope you will consider me; and if God will give me the strength, I will add a line to American poetry for which you shall have the praise—for I must say that he who comes to my rescue at this time shall be the saving of my literary proclivities, if I have any, for it seems as though fate will conquer me at last.

I hope you will see more in these lines than I have stated. Pride will not let me say more.<sup>10</sup>

I remain yours,  
James E. McGirt  
203 Lincoln Street  
Hampton, Virginia

Gradually, however, McGirt came to understand that his talents could never be brought to full fruition in the South, and by August, 1903, he had taken up permanent residence in Philadelphia. Here he hoped to gain a fresh start in the business of creative writing. Disappointed with the mixed reception of *Some Simple Songs*, he turned temporarily from the writing of poetry to a position as editor and publisher of *McGirt's Magazine*, an illustrated monthly devoted to art,

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<sup>10</sup> McGirt to Thomas Nelson Page, May 12, 1903. Rare Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina.



science, literature, and to the general interest. "I publish this magazine," he wrote, "in order that we may have a paper that will be read by the white race as well as the colored that they may know great men of our race and what they are doing and saying."<sup>11</sup> The publication sold for ten cents a copy or one dollar a year and, like the *Crisis* that made its appearance seven years later, it was an organ for the expression of all sorts of ideas calculated to enhance the position of the Negro people in American life. Success stories and pictures of Negro leaders abounded; throughout one discovered a strong undercurrent of exhibitionism and propaganda—minority techniques to which the American Negro has resorted recurrently.

The business grew and by 1905 McGirt found it necessary to secure larger quarters. "For two years," he pointed out, "I have had complete control of the magazine, and I have been so well pleased with it that I have placed both the savings of a lifetime in it, as well as a reputation that has taken me more than twelve years of hard labor and honest dealing to build up. This year I have merged the *McGirt Magazine* and its entire property into what is known as McGirt's Publishing Company in order that persons who invest with us may be absolutely safe, and at the same time clear at least 21¼ per cent on every dollar."<sup>12</sup>

Shares in the business sold for a minimum of one dollar each, and the sales multiplied. *McGirt's Magazine* was nevertheless weak in content as in organization and balance. No issues of it are available beyond that of December, 1907.<sup>13</sup>

McGirt wrote music also and gave a portion of his time to lecture-reading tours. Those were the days of the honorary Ph.D. degree and beginning in 1905, the caption beneath the poet's name read: James E. McGirt, Ph.D. Nevertheless, he remained an unhappy man, for despite his growing success in business, he longed for the day when he would move as an established poet. True to the prediction made in 1901, his new

<sup>11</sup> James E. McGirt, *McGirt's Magazine*, I (September, 1903), 1.

<sup>12</sup> McGirt, *McGirt's Magazine*, I (September, 1903), 28.

<sup>13</sup> Issues of *McGirt's Magazine* for September and December, 1903, November, 1907, may be found in the Moorland Collection, Howard University Library, Washington, D. C.



book of poems, *For Your Sweet Sake* (1905) did reflect improvement over *Some Simple Songs*. While a majority of the forty-four poems had been published elsewhere, and while the volume as a whole discloses the stamp of the novice, it remains the best collection of poems he has turned out. Nowhere else in the whole range of his poetic output does one find the buoyancy, the intensity, and the genuine lyric quality as that reflected in "Born Like the Pines." In one of the three stanzas he insists that he was:

Born like the pines to sing,  
The harp and the song in m' breast,  
Though far and near,  
There's none to hear  
I'll sing at the wind's request.

A good many of the poems in this collection stem from McGirt's own unhappy experience in love. "If Love Were Wooing" and "Anna, Won't You Marry Me?," for example, point up the poet's romantic interests in Alice Pepper and in Anna Allen respectively, one time schoolmates of his at the Allen Private School in Lumberton, North Carolina. They had somehow commanded an increasingly large place in his imagination as the years had passed. It so happens that the title of his concluding volume of poems, *For Your Sweet Sake* (1905), was inspired by his high regard for Irene Gallaway, the one woman whom he loved almost to the point of desperation, but never ventured to marry. At length, she married another and settled in Greensboro as a teacher of history at the Dudley High School. Coupled with an all-consuming love affair, forever confused by his mother's intervention, was the growing conviction that he would never be a poet of consequence. A defeatist note runs through the poem, "Defeated," and occasionally one senses here as elsewhere an undercurrent of self accusation akin to Dunbar's.

The question of the existence of *A Mystery and Other Poems*, a book of verse reputed to have been written by McGirt and published in Philadelphia in 1906, remains a matter of conjecture. The lone reference to it is found in *The Library*



of *Southern Literature*.<sup>14</sup> *For Your Sweet Sake* (1906) contains no preface which might conceivably illuminate the matter, and while *McGirt's Magazine* for November, 1907, calls attention to both *The Triumphs of Ephraim* (1907) and *For Your Sweet Sake* (1906), it fails to mention *A Mystery and Other Poems*. Likewise, it is significant that neither Dorothy B. Porter's *North American Negro Poets: A Bibliographical Checklist of Their Writings, 1760-1944*, nor a special search conducted by the Copyrights Office in Washington, D. C.,<sup>15</sup> reveals any such title. It is likely that *A Mystery and Other Poems* was never written nor published, and that McGirt's poem, "A Mystery" found in *For Your Sweet Sake* (1906), was sometimes erroneously listed as a book. The fact that in each case the year of publication is identical further supports this position. And, interestingly enough, there is no record that McGirt ever mentioned *A Mystery and Other Poems* as a publication he had authored.

*The Triumphs of Ephraim*<sup>16</sup> (1907), a book of short stories released by the McGirt Publishing Company in Philadelphia, may mean that in desperation McGirt turned to yet another literary medium—the short story. This group of stories, everywhere indicative of a limited locale, stems from the problems arising from the Negro's juxtaposition with the white majority in America—color prejudice, exploitation, the operation of restrictive covenants and of the frustration—aggression phenomenon. By and large they are problem stories the author has to tell. Those like "Hail the King and Queen" and "From the Clutches of the Devil" point up the friction that results from the presence of the color line among Negroes themselves, while "In Love as in War" reaches deep down in North Carolina soil. As sketches go, some of these despite their consistent weakness in characterization and in plot, make good reading. Obviously, they reflect the author's

<sup>14</sup> Lucian L. Knight, Editor, *The Library of Southern Literature* (Atlanta: The Martin and Hoyt Company, 1910), XV, 277.

<sup>15</sup> Richard A. MacCarteney, Chief, Division of Copyrights Office, Washington, D. C., reported his investigation of the matter in a letter dated April 17, 1952, which is in author's possession.

<sup>16</sup> In Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, 104 West 136th Street, New York 30, New York.



penchant for the "happy-ending" story which, as he conceives it, exists not so much for "sheer delight" as for attesting to the virtue of the black man's struggle for first-rate citizenship in America. Throughout, however, McGirt's stories lack warmth and freshness and vigor; nor do they always focus attention upon aspects of life that stir our emotions deeply.

By 1910 McGirt's sojourn in Philadelphia had come to an end and he returned to Greensboro to attend the funeral of his brother, and to provide for his parents. As regards the quality of his literary output and the task that lay ahead of him, an anonymous writer for the *North Carolina Review* (Raleigh) commented in 1910:

McGirt has been in a sense "lucky" in the sense of opportunity. He found friends who had both encouragement and money to offer him. He went to Philadelphia and he "made good." He has written poetry and short stories. It is real poetry, and they are real short stories.

Chestnutt, who promised much has a successor who promises even more . . . .

The North has lauded McGirt. It has sung his genius, bought his poems, and hailed him as what he was not — an exponent of his race. Intellectually, he is, on the other hand, an exception. What the North does not see — and what the South can appreciate — is that, barring his gift, he is typical of his race.

Poet McGirt's present mission is to write of the Southern Negro for Northern magazines. We do not doubt, after a casual interview, that he will do so wisely.<sup>17</sup>

But McGirt did not follow this injunction. Except for desultory writing and occasional lecture-reading tours, his literary career had run its course. Having withdrawn himself from the literary scene, he proceeded to purchase a ten-room house on fashionable Ashe Street in Greensboro, and with the aid of his sister, Mary Magdalene, to convert the little-known Star Hair Grower Manufacturing Company into a lucrative business concern. In Greensboro as in Philadelphia his con-

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<sup>17</sup> "North Carolina Negro Poet," *The North Carolina Review*, Supplement of *Raleigh News and Observer*, April 3, 1910, p. 7. Available in The University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.



cern provided employment, as he once remarked, "for scores of Negro men and women." For nearly a decade he manufactured hair grower and a complete line of toilet articles and notions for markets throughout the United States. Some of his products went to Canada and to markets abroad.<sup>18</sup>

By 1918 McGirt's property holdings in Greensboro and in adjacent towns were considerable and he gave up his work with the Hair Grower Manufacturing Company to become a realtor, a position which subsequently he had to relinquish because of continuing ill health, business incompetence, and dissipation.

On the occasion of the author's passing in Greensboro in 1930, the *Greensboro Daily News* for June 14, 1930, commented: "James E. McGirt, one of the best-known Negro citizens of Greensboro, died early Friday morning at the L. Richardson Memorial Hospital. He was a poet, a writer of songs, and the editor of *McGirt's Magazine*, and had been engaged in business for many years."<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately there is no marker for his grave in the Maplewood Cemetery in Greensboro.

Despite the brilliant afterglow of his success in business, James Ephraim McGirt's interest in creative literature persisted; he remained a poet at heart, but forever a poet of "hope deferred."

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*For Your Sweet Sake* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1906).

<sup>18</sup> Information obtained in interview on August 28, 1952, with Sterling Waugh, 605 Ramsey Street, Fayetteville, North Carolina.

<sup>19</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, XLII (June 14, 1930), 4.



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## COWPENS: PRELUDE TO YORKTOWN

By HUGH F. RANKIN

As the year 1780 drew to a close, the rebellious colonies which had dared challenge the military might of Great Britain were hanging on the ropes. The capricious gods of war, always fickle in conferring their favors, seemed to have once again switched allegiance. The hard-earned victories and near-victories by the Americans had now faded into pleasant memories. The triumph at King's Mountain was the only bright spot in an otherwise gloomy picture.

In the North, the gifted and gregarious Benedict Arnold had almost succeeded in transferring control of West Point and the Hudson River into the hands of the British, and had thrown the patriots into a frenzy of outraged dignity.

The southern states were in even more desperate straits. From the early part of 1779 the British had concentrated their chief efforts in this region because the South was considered to be the easier to reduce and, from the nature of its products, the more valuable to the mother country.<sup>1</sup> It was in this locale that the American generals had appeared so inept. General Benjamin Lincoln had surrendered somewhat ingloriously at Charleston and General Horatio Gates, the hero of Saratoga, had indeed exchanged "the laurels of the North for the willows of the South"<sup>2</sup> at Camden. Lord Cornwallis stood poised in South Carolina to strike at the rich state of Virginia. North Carolina stood between, but North Carolina was considered as only "the road to Virginia."<sup>3</sup> Only a few ragged remnants of Gates' defeated army stood between the British general and his goal.

The southern army was in a state of crisis. General Gates was attempting to reorganize his shattered army at Hills-

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Stedman, *The History of the Origin, Progress and Termination of the American War*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for the Author, 1794), II, 316.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*, edited by Robert E. Lee (New York: University Publishing Company, 1870), 208. Hereafter cited as Lee, *Memoirs*.

<sup>3</sup> *The Annual Register for 1780*, 54.



boro in North Carolina, the place to which he had fled after the rout of his forces by Cornwallis at Camden. Members of the Continental Congress who, in the not too distant past, had sent Gates to the South with cheers and assertions that he would "Burgoyne" Cornwallis for sure, were now clamoring for his recall. The general indignation was reflected in the angry statement of one army officer, "He will be blasted in this World, and humanly judging, he ought to be in the next . . . had he behaved like a soldier himself, Cornwallis would have been ruined, and to use a common term, Cornwalladed. . . ." <sup>4</sup> Alexander Hamilton openly accused Gates of cowardice and emphatically stated his choice for Gates' successor:

was there ever such an instance of a general running away as Gates had done, from his whole army? And was there ever so precipitous a flight? One hundred and eighty miles in three days and a half? It does admirable credit to the activity of a man at his time of life. But it disgraces the general and the soldier. . . . But what will be done by Congress? Will he be changed or not? If he is changed, for God's sake, overcome prejudice and send GREENE. You know my opinion of him. I stake my reputation on the events, give him but fair play. <sup>5</sup>

Rumblings from the South added to congressional irritation as rumors indicated that Gates had lost the confidence of the people and was at odds with General William Smallwood, his second in command. <sup>6</sup> The cry for the removal of the unfortunate general became louder and more persistent.

Major General Nathanael Greene had been General Washington's original choice for the southern command, but he had been by-passed by Congress in favor of Gates. <sup>7</sup> In this

<sup>4</sup> Richard Varick to John Lamb, Sept. 11, 1780. Isaac Leake, *Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb, An Officer of the Revolution* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1850), 255.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Hamilton to William Duane, September 6, 1780. John C. Hamilton (ed.), *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, 7 vols. (New York: Charles S. Francis and Company, 1851), II, 124.

<sup>6</sup> Ezekial Cornel to William Greene, October 17, 1780. Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, 8 vols. (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1931), V, 421-422. Hereafter cited as Burnett, *Letters*.

<sup>7</sup> Washington to Greene, n.d., quoted in George Washington Greene, *The Life of Nathanael Greene, Major-General in the Army of the Revolution*, 3 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1890), II, 367.



instance Congress refused to assume the responsibility of appointing the new commander, directing Washington to select a successor to Gates.<sup>8</sup> Greene was in disfavor with many members of Congress, but he was the choice of the delegation from the southern states, who urged Washington to designate him as the new commander.<sup>9</sup>

Greene, who had just finished presiding over the board of general officers which had tried and convicted Major André,<sup>10</sup> had his eyes on the West Point command so recently held by Arnold,<sup>11</sup> but Washington would only consent to a temporary appointment.<sup>12</sup> Despite the uncertainty of the tenure, Greene felt that he was situated for the winter; but before he could become settled, a dispatch arrived from headquarters informing him that he was the choice for the southern command, and urging him to set out without delay.<sup>13</sup>

Greene displayed a reluctance to make his departure, but under constant prodding from Washington, he left for the South on October 23, accompanied by his aides and Baron Steuben, who had been ordered to the South, for "there is an army to be created, the mass of which is at present without any formation at all."<sup>14</sup> Greene was no stranger to the desperate situation of the southern army. Nine days were

<sup>8</sup> Worthington C. Ford and others (eds.), *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 39 vols., Library of Congress edition (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1937), XVIII, 906.

<sup>9</sup> John Matthews to Washington, October 6, 1780. Burnett, *Letters*, V, 408.

<sup>10</sup> One British observer said of him: "General Greene was originally a Quaker, a stern republican, and such was the rancor displayed throughout the whole transaction, by him and the Marquis De La Fayette that they almost literally be said to have thirsted for the blood of the unfortunate victim whom fate had put in their power." R. Lamb, *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences During the Late American War, From Its Commencement to the Year 1783* (Dublin: Wilkinson and Courtney, 1809), 330.

<sup>11</sup> Greene to Washington, October 5, 1780. Jared Sparks (ed.), *Correspondence of the American Revolution: Being Letters of Eminent Men to General Washington, From the Time of His Taking Command of the Army to the End of His Presidency*, 4 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1853), III, 106.

<sup>12</sup> Washington to Greene, October 6, 1780. John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of Washington From the Original Manuscript Sources, 1754-1799* 39 vols., Bicentennial edition (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931-1941), III, 370-371.

<sup>13</sup> Washington to Greene, October 14, 1780. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XX, 181-182.

<sup>14</sup> Washington to Steuben, October 22, 1780. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XX, 240-241.



spent in Philadelphia—nine days of begging and pleading for supplies. He addressed the Congress on the business of the southern department, but it was soon apparent that prospects of aid were “dismal” as that body could furnish no money, and the Board of War was devoid of clothing and “necessaries.”<sup>15</sup> Some six weeks later he described his stay in the capital city to Alexander Hamilton:

At Philadelphia . . . I endeavored to impress those in power [with] the necessity of sending clothing and supplies of every kind, immediately to this army. But poverty was urged as a plea, in bar to every application. They all promised fair, but I fear will do little: ability is wanting with some, and inclination with others. Public credit is so totally lost, that private people will not give their aid, though they see themselves involved in common ruin.<sup>16</sup>

After leaving Philadelphia the new southern commander visited Annapolis and Richmond with the hope of instilling some degree of enthusiasm in the governments of Maryland and Virginia, but as one of his aides noted, “their ability is but small, their funds are empty, and their credit low.”<sup>17</sup> Leaving Baron Steuben in Virginia to expedite the movement of supplies and assume the responsibilities of the state, Greene hastened southward.<sup>18</sup>

He expected to find the southern army at Hillsboro. There was no sign of them. He found that Gates had marched toward Salisbury where, according to the North Carolina Board of War, there was an adequate supply of provisions.<sup>19</sup> At Salisbury he discovered that General Gates had marched for Charlotte, as that village had presented better prospects

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<sup>15</sup> Greene to Washington, October 31, 1780. Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, III, 137-139.

<sup>16</sup> Greene to Hamilton, January 10, 1781. Hamilton, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, I, 204.

<sup>17</sup> Lewis Morris, Jr., to Jacob Morris, November 20, 1780. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1875* (New York: The Society, 1876), VII, 473.

<sup>18</sup> Greene to Steuben, November 20, 1780. Friedrich Kapp, *The Life of Frederick William Von Steuben, Major General in the Revolutionary Army* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1859), 347-349.

<sup>19</sup> O. H. Williams to William Smallwood, November 8, 1780. *Calendar of the General Otho Williams Papers in the Maryland Historical Society*. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Records Survey Project, 1940), 27.



as a site for a winter quarters.<sup>20</sup> Hurrying to Charlotte, Greene found the army busily constructing huts against the chill of approaching winter.

In spite of the rumored ill feeling between the two, the new commander was received by his predecessor with the utmost cordiality and respect.<sup>21</sup> The general orders of December 3, 1780, carried the news of the transition in command. Later in the day, Greene addressed the troops and paid the retiring general the compliment of confirming all of his standing orders.<sup>22</sup>

Inspecting his army, Greene was appalled by his findings. His force was "but the shadow of an army in the midst of distress."<sup>23</sup> The army with which he was expected to drive the enemy from the South was nothing more than a ragged, undisciplined mob, using the exigencies of war as an excuse for plundering. The militia, usually considered and used as infantry, insisted upon coming out on horseback. Foraging for their mounts only added to the privations of the already depleted countryside. When the militia were not looting the holdings of the inhabitants, they were pillaging each other. Officers were openly criticised by their subordinates for their conduct of the war, for as Greene remarked, "With the militia everybody is a general."<sup>24</sup>

The problem of supplies was even more critical. On the day that General Greene assumed the command, Brigadier General Daniel Morgan had reported back into camp from a foraging expedition which had penetrated South Carolina

<sup>20</sup> Otho Williams, "Narrative of the Campaign of 1780," William Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene, Major General of the Armies of the United States, in the War of the Revolution*, 2 vols., (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1822), I, 510.

<sup>21</sup> George Washington Greene claimed the hostility between the two generals was the result of the suffering caused both Greene and Washington as a consequence of Gates' ambition. There had also been evidence that Gates had been rude to Mrs. Greene in the past. Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, III, 373. However, at every stop on the way south, Greene had defended Gates' action at Camden. Edward Carrington to Gates, November 27, 1780. Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina*, 16 vols. (Winston, Goldsboro, 1895-1905), XI, 761-762.

<sup>22</sup> Williams, "Narrative of the Campaign of 1780," Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, I, 495.

<sup>23</sup> Greene to Abner Nash, December 6, 1780. "Original Letters of General Greene," *Portfolio*, 3d series, I (1813), 203.

<sup>24</sup> Greene to Henry Knox, December 7, 1780. "Original Letters of General Greene," *Portfolio*, 3d series, I (1813), 290-291.



almost to the limits of Camden. He reported that the cattle had been driven off, and that there was so little grain that it would hardly be worth the trouble of the troops to collect it.<sup>25</sup> That night Greene engaged in an all-night discussion with Colonel Thomas Polk, Gates' commissary-general, in an investigation of the military supplies and resources of the neighborhood.<sup>26</sup> It was found that there was a scant three days supply of provisions on hand and that ammunition was dangerously low. The country around Charlotte had been laid waste by the foraging parties of both armies and the inhabitants were concealing those cattle that had escaped the British army.<sup>27</sup>

Foraging parties had discovered that there were abandoned plantations to the south, with fields of corn still untouched.<sup>28</sup> The methodical Yankee mind of Nathanael Greene rebelled at the idea of moving into an unknown situation. Summoning Colonel Thaddeus Kosciusko, his engineer, he instructed him to locate a camp site on the Pee Dee River, near those plantations with particular reference to food, water, transportation facilities, and avenues of retreat.<sup>29</sup>

While awaiting Kosciusko's return, Greene became acquainted with his army and attempted to instill a degree of discipline into his ragged mob. Numerous letters were dispatched to persons of influence and authority begging for aid. His army, in spite of, or perhaps because of, Gates' attempt at reorganization, was in a ferment of inefficiency.

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<sup>25</sup> Williams, "Narrative of the Campaign of 1780," Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, I, 502.

<sup>26</sup> Polk later made the statement that Greene had, on the following morning, better understood the situation of the country than had Gates in the entire period of his command. Winslow C. Watson (ed.), *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York: Dana and Company, 1856), 269.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Stedman, Cornwallis' commissary general states that the British army slaughtered 100 head of cattle per day while they were in Charlotte. In one day thirty-seven "cows in calf" were butchered. Stedman, *History of the . . . American War*, II, 216-217n.

<sup>28</sup> North Carolina Board of War to Abner Nash, December 25, 1780. Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XIV, 481.

<sup>29</sup> Greene to Kosciusko, December 8, 1780. Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, III, 83-84. Kosciusko had applied for a command of light infantry troops in the South as early as August, 1780. No command being vacant, Washington had offered him the post of engineer in the southern department which he had accepted. Washington to Kosciusko, August 3, 1780. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XIV, 316.



Greene determined to mold his ragamuffins into a semblance of a fighting force. Despite the shortage of men, one troop of Virginia cavalry was sent home, Greene warning Governor Thomas Jefferson not to send them back until they were properly clothed and equipped.<sup>30</sup>

Ominous news came from the north. It was now definite that the British were going to make the South their main theatre of war in the approaching spring. Greene immediately called a council of war with Generals William Smallwood and Daniel Morgan, with the idea of taking the initiative and making a sudden surprise attack upon Cornwallis, then in the midst of preparations for invasion at Winnsboro, South Carolina. This burst of optimism was opposed by both generals as impracticable.<sup>31</sup>

Kosciusko returned from his exploration of the Pee Dee with a favorable report, and the army was straightway placed under marching orders. Before they could move the rains came. As the rain continued to fall, Greene made his first major decision as commander of the southern army—he split his army. To command the detached segment of his army he selected Daniel Morgan, who commanded a legionary force which had been created for him by Gates.<sup>32</sup> The stratagem was that Greene was to move the main portion of the army to the Pee Dee, while Morgan's detachment was to move to the southwest and take a position near the Broad

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<sup>30</sup> Greene to Jefferson, December 14, 1780. William P. Palmer and others (eds.), *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1781*, 11 vols. (Richmond: The State, 1876-1893), I, 398.

<sup>31</sup> Greene to Thomas Sumter, December 13, 1780. *Year Book: City of Charleston, S. C., 1899* (Charleston: Lucas and Richardson, 1899), 71-72.

<sup>32</sup> Congress had ordered Morgan south as early as June 16, 1780. Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVII, 519. The temperamental rifleman had refused to serve under Gates, believing that he had not been given due credit by Gates for his part in the victory at Saratoga. Morgan had sulked in his home in Virginia until after the Camden disaster. He had then thrown prejudice aside and hurried south to offer his services. Gates had welcomed the prodigal with open arms, and out of the remains of his army had created for Morgan a special corps, composed of four companies of infantry and one company of riflemen under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John Eager Howard of Maryland. The remains of two regiments of cavalry had been united under Lieutenant Colonel William Washington. George Bancroft, *History of the United States Since the Discovery of the Continent*, 10 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1896), V, 477. Gates had been instrumental in securing Morgan's promotion to Brigadier General, October 13, 1780. Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVIII, 921.









DANIEL MORGAN (1736-1802)

In the uniform of his Virginia rifle company which he led to Boston and Quebec in 1775.



River.<sup>33</sup> In his instructions Morgan was told that his mission was to give protection to that section of South Carolina and "spirit up the people." The enemy was to be annoyed wherever possible, and provisions and forage were to be collected and moved out of the path of the British Army. In the event of a move against Greene, Morgan was to harass the flank on the rear of the enemy. As he was moving into an area marked by the strife of civil war, he was to restrain his men from plundering and a receipt should be given for all supplies taken from the inhabitants.<sup>34</sup> This move effectively blocked the British from drawing supplies from the upper part of the state, and Greene hoped that Morgan would be able to establish a number of small magazines which would provide a haven if the American army were forced to retreat from the Pee Dee.<sup>35</sup> If Morgan were attacked, there was a large area in which to conduct a strategic withdrawal, and if Cornwallis attacked in force, Charleston would be open to attack by Greene. If Cornwallis attempted a conquest of North Carolina between the two forces, the militia of Mecklenburg and Rowan counties, which Cornwallis later termed "one of the most rebellious tracts in America,"<sup>36</sup> could possibly slow his progress, while Greene and Morgan hammered at his flanks. In the event of the failure of this scheme, and should Cornwallis successfully run the gauntlet, Greene and Morgan could confine him to a narrow corridor with Greene and the main army of the Americans keeping between the British and the seacoast and supplies separating them from their loyal adherents in the lowlands. With all factors taken into consideration, this decision to split his army was the greatest, and had the most far reaching results of any made

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<sup>33</sup> This operation may possibly have been the result of counsel by Brigadier General William Davidson, who had advanced, before Greene's arrival, a similar plan to detach Morgan's corps to the west. Davidson to Alexander Martin, November 27, 1780. Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina*, XIV, 759.

<sup>34</sup> Greene to Morgan, December 16, 1780. Theodorus Bailey Myers (ed.), *Cowpens Papers, Being Correspondence of General Morgan and the Prominent Actors* (Charleston: The News and Courier Book Presses, 1881), 9-10.

<sup>35</sup> Greene to Washington, December 28, 1780. Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, III, 189-191.

<sup>36</sup> Cornwallis to Lord George Germain, March 17, 1781. Charles Ross (ed.), *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis* (London: John Murray, 1859), I, 503.



by Greene during the entire period of his command of the southern army. By this decision Nathanael Greene shaped his own destiny—and initiated a series of chain reactions which terminated in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

The basic unit of Morgan's detachment was to be his legionary force. It was composed of about 400 of the Maryland Line and two companies of Virginians, under the command of John Eager Howard, with a cavalry support of 100 dragoons led by Lieutenant Colonel William A. Washington.<sup>37</sup> This force was to be augmented by militia units from North Carolina under the command of Brigadier General William Lee Davidson and other groups from South Carolina and Georgia.<sup>38</sup>

On Wednesday, December 20, Greene left Charlotte and marched his army to the banks of the Pee Dee and there established a "camp of repose" on the high ground across the river from the tiny village of Chatham.<sup>39</sup> On the following day Morgan moved out. By sunset he had reached Biggin's Ferry on the Catawba River, fifteen miles away.<sup>40</sup> The passage of the river was completed on December 22, and the next four days were spent marching across rough and torturous terrain. On Christmas day he had crossed the Broad River and had established his camp on the north bank of the Pacolet. The march from Charlotte had totalled fifty-seven miles.<sup>41</sup> Here Morgan rested.

These troop movements had not gone unnoticed by the British. Morgan's presence on their flank presented a grave problem. Lord Cornwallis' original blueprint of invasion had

<sup>37</sup> William Augustine Washington was the son of Bailey Washington of Stafford, Virginia, and a kinsman of George Washington. He had served in the South as a leader of cavalry under both Lincoln and Gates. He served with distinction under Greene until the battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8, 1781. In this engagement he was captured and remained a prisoner of the British until the end of the war. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 10.

<sup>38</sup> Greene to Morgan, December 16, 1780. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 9-10.

<sup>39</sup> Chatham became the present day town of Cheraw, South Carolina. As late as 1867 evidences of Greene's camp could still be distinguished. Alexander Gregg, *History of the Old Cheraws* (New York: Richardson and Co., 1867), 352.

<sup>40</sup> Robert Kirkwood, *The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line*, edited by Joseph Brown Turner (Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1910), 13. Hereafter cited as Kirkwood, *Journal*.

<sup>41</sup> Kirkwood, *Journal*, 13.









BANASTRE TARLETON (1754-1833)  
Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1782.



been to drive through North Carolina in three columns. Major James Craig was sent up the coast with a detachment of 400 men to secure Wilmington as a means of insuring the control of the Cape Fear as a supply route. The left flank, towards the mountains, was to be under the command of Major Patrick Ferguson, who was to collect loyalists as he marched. The main column under Cornwallis was to drive up the center in the avenue formed by these flanking parties.<sup>42</sup>

After the victory over Gates at Camden, the British army moved north to Charlotte, "an agreeable village, but in a d---d rebellious country."<sup>43</sup> The news that had come out of the west that Ferguson had been killed and his army routed at King's Mountain on October 7, wrecked all the carefully laid plans. Charlotte became untenable, and the British fell back to Winnsboro to regroup. A dispatch to Sir Henry Clinton requested that the troops of Major General Alexander Leslie, then in Portsmouth, Virginia, be transferred to South Carolina as reinforcements.<sup>44</sup> This request had been granted and the transports conveying Leslie and his men had dropped anchor in Charleston harbor on December 14. Cornwallis busied himself with last minute details as Leslie marched inland from the sea.

Among Cornwallis' subordinate officers was an arrogant young lieutenant colonel—Banastre Tarleton, a favorite of the British general.<sup>45</sup> The Whig inhabitants of South Carolina

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<sup>42</sup> Cornwallis to Lord George Germain, March 17, 1781. Ross (ed.), *The Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, I, 503.

<sup>43</sup> *New Jersey Gazette*, January 31, 1781, quoting an aide to Cornwallis. Frank Moore (ed.), *The Diary of the American Revolution: From Newspapers and Original Documents*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles T. Evans, 1863), II, 352.

<sup>44</sup> Lord Rawdon to Clinton, October 29, 1781. Benjamin Franklin Stevens (ed.), *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy Growing Out of the Campaign in Virginia, 1781*, 2 vols. (London: John Lawe, 1910), I, 63-64.

<sup>45</sup> Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833) had purchased a cornetcy of dragoons and, at the outbreak of hostilities, had obtained leave to come to America. He had previously served under Howe and Clinton, and had commanded the advance guard which had captured General Charles Lee in New Jersey, December, 1776. He surrendered with Cornwallis at Yorktown. Upon his return to England he was elected to the Parliament as a member from Liverpool. In 1812 he was promoted to general and created a baronet. As a member of Parliament he considered himself a military expert, which he demonstrated by criticizing the campaigns of the Duke of Wellington on the floor of the House of Commons. R. H. Vetch, "Sir Banastre Tarleton," *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Sidney Lee and Leslie Stephens (London: Smith Elder and Company, 1885-1900), LV, 364-369.



reserved their special hatred for this ruthless young officer. His raids through the countryside had earned him the epithets of "the Red Raider" and "Bloody Tarleton." His useless slaughter of the troops of Colonel Abraham Buford as they were begging for quarter<sup>46</sup> had made the term, "Tarleton's Quarters," synonymous with bloodshed and cruelty. The brutality of his corps in defeating General Huger's troops in the engagement at Biggin's Bridge, April 12, 1780, had so enraged Major Patrick Ferguson that he had to be forcibly restrained from shooting several of Tarleton's dragoons on the spot.<sup>47</sup> Tarleton is reported to have expressed the opinion, "that severity alone could effect the establishment of regal authority in America," and his actions certainly implied that he could have been the author of such a statement.<sup>48</sup> His corps, the British Legion, was one of the most disliked in the British army.<sup>49</sup>

On December 26 a Loyalist refugee reported from Charlotte that Greene had marched towards the Pee Dee and that Morgan had crossed the Catawba.<sup>50</sup> The news was confirmed on December 30.<sup>51</sup> This movement presented a threat to the British post at Ninety Six, the westernmost British fort in South Carolina. Ninety Six was situated in an area

<sup>46</sup> In the Waxhaws, May 24, 1780, as they were fleeing after the capitulation of Charleston.

<sup>47</sup> Sir John Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 13 vols. (London: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1911), III, 309.

<sup>48</sup> Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the American Revolution, Illustrative of the Talents and Virtues of the Heroes of the Revolution, Who Acted the Most Conspicuous Parts Therein*, 3 vols. (Brooklyn: "The Union" Press, 1865), II, 269.

<sup>49</sup> This unit was originally raised in Philadelphia by Sir William Cathcart in 1778, and was composed of loyalists. They were first known as the Caledonian Volunteers, but this organizational title was later changed to the British Legion. The corps included both infantry and cavalry. They wore a uniform of green with light green facings. This organization surrendered at Yorktown with 24 officers and 209 enlisted men. John W. Wright, "Some Notes on the Continental Army," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d series, XI (July, 1931), 201. One troop of regulars from the 17th Light Dragoons was attached to the Legion, "who seemed to hold the irregulars in contempt, since they refused to wear the green uniforms of the Legion, but stuck to their own scarlet." Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, III, 309n.

<sup>50</sup> Cornwallis to Tarleton, December 26, 1780. Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London: T. Cadell, 1787), 243. Hereafter cited as Tarleton, *Campaigns*.

<sup>51</sup> Cornwallis to Tarleton, December 30, 1780. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 243-244.



predominantly Tory in sentiment, and the garrison was needed for their protection. Morgan must either be eliminated or driven from the district before the campaign into North Carolina could be launched. On January first Cornwallis ordered Tarleton, with the British Legion reinforced by the First Battalion of the 71st Regiment, to cross the Broad River and push Morgan "to the utmost," and urged haste as "no time is to be lost."<sup>52</sup>

Morgan still rested on the Pacolet. Greene had directed militia leaders to join Morgan with their troops as soon as possible. The response had been slow. General Davidson was experiencing difficulty in raising his North Carolina militia because of Indian uprisings on the frontier, but he had written confidently that he would soon join Morgan with a thousand men.<sup>53</sup> On December 28, Davidson had arrived with only 120 men, but he immediately returned to North Carolina for at least 500 men who he claimed were being embodied at Salisbury. Colonel Andrew Pickens came into camp with sixty South Carolina militia.<sup>54</sup> Small groups also drifted in, many of whom had banded together to plunder the Tories and had come into Morgan's camp for protection.<sup>55</sup> On December 27, Morgan received a false report that the British were on his trail. He had speedily placed strong pickets on the perimeter and had established a defensive encampment. Officers were instructed to conduct roll

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<sup>52</sup> Cornwallis to Tarleton, January 2, 1781. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 244-245.

<sup>53</sup> Davidson to Morgan, December 14, 1780. James Graham, *The Life of General Daniel Morgan, of the Virginia Line of the Army of the United States, with Portions of his Correspondence: Compiled from Authentic Sources* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1858), 263-264. Hereafter cited as Graham, *Morgan*.

<sup>54</sup> Andrew Pickens was risking death in the event of capture by the British. He had formerly been captured and paroled by them. He had observed the conditions of his parole until his home was plundered by a band of Tory raiders. These men had placed a noose around the neck of Pickens' son and had threatened to hang the lad unless the hiding place of valuables was divulged. Pickens had considered this a violation of his parole and had sent his family across the mountains for safekeeping, then had notified the British of his actions and rejoined the patriot forces. Edward McGrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1781* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1902), 18-22.

<sup>55</sup> James F. Collins, *Autobiography of a Revolutionary Soldier*, edited by John M. Roberts (Clinton [Louisiana]: Feliciana Democrat, Print., 1869), 56. Hereafter cited as Collins, *Autobiography*.



calls every two hours and all absentees were to be reported immediately.<sup>56</sup>

On the same day a patrol reported that a body of about 350 Tories, under the leadership of a Colonel Waters, had advanced into the district to the vicinity of "Fair Forest," about twenty miles from Morgan, where they "were plundering and insulting the good people of the neighborhood."<sup>57</sup> Morgan resolved to destroy this group before they had the opportunity to make a junction with the British army. Within two days 200 mounted militia had been added to William Washington's dragoons and were sent to dispose of the invaders. As Washington's detachment advanced the Tories retreated twenty miles back to a place known as Hammond's Store.<sup>58</sup> There with Cornwallis on their right flank and their left protected by Ninety Six, they felt reasonably safe. After a pursuit of forty miles, Washington reached the vicinity of Hammond's around noon of December 30. Colonel Waters had drawn up his Tories in a battle line across the crest of a slope. To reach the position, Washington's troops would have to descend a long incline and then charge up a hill. As they approached the site, they captured several of the Tory pickets, who revealed the disposition of the enemy troops. Arriving opposite the enemy position, Washington deployed his forces. The mounted militia, with their rifles, were placed on the flanks to provide a covering fire, while the dragoons were located in the center. At the command, the militia fired, and the cavalry, shouting and drawing their sabres, charged across the ravine. The terrified Tories fled precipitately through the trees without firing a shot, only to be ridden down by the horses or struck down by a dragoon's sword.<sup>59</sup> One hundred and fifty were killed and forty taken prisoner. Washington did not lose a man. Booty collected after the skirmish included forty horses and some bag-

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<sup>56</sup> William Seymour, *A Journal of the Southern Expedition, 1780-1781* (Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1896), 12. Hereafter cited as Seymour, *Journal*.

<sup>57</sup> Morgan to Greene, December 31, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 267.

<sup>58</sup> Hammond's Store was near the present day site of Abbeville, South Carolina.

<sup>59</sup> William C. Edwards (ed.), "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion: A Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art*, III (October, 1843), 87.



gage.<sup>60</sup> A small detachment was dispatched to pursue the fleeing Tories and, if practicable, to surprise the loyalist stronghold at Williams' plantation, about fifteen miles from Ninety Six. This stratagem was frustrated when the post was notified of the defeat by the fleeing refugees and the garrison joined the flight and scurried to the protection afforded by the fort at Ninety Six. The fortifications at the plantation were destroyed as were the supplies that could not be carried away. As the victorious group was returning they met a force of 200 men sent by Morgan to cover their return.<sup>61</sup> This foray led to cries of dismay from the loyalists of the district and influenced Cornwallis' decision that Morgan must be destroyed before any campaign could be originated.

In the short interval of Washington's absence, Morgan's little army had been increasing rapidly, but it soon developed that the sudden growth was restricting operations. The multiplying number of men and mounts were draining the area of its resources. Provisions and forage were becoming increasingly scarce. Morgan was also becoming aware of his isolated position. A communication was dispatched to Greene suggesting that the army on the Pee Dee create a diversion while Morgan's troops swung down into Georgia to harass and attack British posts in that sector.<sup>62</sup> While awaiting approval of this scheme, Morgan constantly shifted his troops in an attempt to make the most of the limited supplies. An effort was made to instill discipline into the new recruits by forcing them to witness the execution of malefactors. One of the Tories taken prisoner by Washington was court-martialed, convicted and hanged on the charge of desertion to the enemy and acting as a guide for Indians raiding the outposts of the American army.<sup>63</sup> Several days later a deserter from Washington's corps was captured, found guilty, and shot, all in the same day.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> John Rutledge to the Delegates of South Carolina in Congress, January 10, 1781. John W. Barnwell (ed.), "Letters of John Rutledge," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XVIII (February, 1917), 65.

<sup>61</sup> Morgan to Greene, January 4, 1781. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 16.

<sup>62</sup> Morgan to Greene, January 4, 1781. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 16.

<sup>63</sup> Seymour, *Journal*, 12.

<sup>64</sup> Seymour, *Journal*, 13.



A message arrived from Greene, but it had been dispatched before the receipt of Morgan's request for approval of the Georgia expedition. General Morgan was advised of the recent arrival of Leslie's troops and was warned that the British would likely attempt to give him a "stroke." Greene suggested that persons who would be unsuspected by the enemy be stationed twenty or thirty miles from camp to observe and report on the movements of the British army, for "The Militia, you know, are always unsuspecting and therefore are the more easily surprized. Don't depend too much on them." Then, as if recalling Gates' scattered army after the battle of Camden, he cautioned Morgan to select and inform his officers of a rendezvous in the event that he were attacked and defeated.<sup>65</sup>

Another communication from Greene soon arrived in response to Morgan's proposal for a southern expedition. The message was disappointing as the suggestion was vetoed. Greene explained that the British controlled nothing of value in Georgia except their forts, to which they would retire and pay little or no attention to him. Such a move would result only in removing the services of Morgan's detachment from the southern army, which would then be vulnerable to attack by the British. It was suggested that small details be dispatched to cut the supply lines to Ninety Six and Augusta. An attack upon Ninety Six, Augusta, or even Savannah was approved if such an offensive action could be conducted with the element of surprise. As another antidote to the restlessness of Morgan, Greene recommended that small units be detached with the mission of destroying the draught horses of the enemy and waylaying British recruiting parties. A hundred expert riflemen under Colonel William Campbell had been ordered to report to the camp on the Pacolet. The action at Hammond's Store had emphasized the value of Washington's dragoons. Morgan was requested "to have Col. Washington's horse kept in as good order as possible and let the Militia do the foraging duty. We may want

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<sup>65</sup> Greene to Morgan, January 3, 1781. Greene Letter Book, 1781, New York Public Library, New York, New York, 19-20.



a body of heavy cavalry, and if they are broke down we shall have nothing to depend upon."<sup>66</sup>

Word was received that Tarleton was near Ninety Six and that his movements indicated a thrust at Morgan. This was followed by a warning from Greene who expressed a note of confidence in Morgan's ability to deal with the situation as he said, "Col. Tarleton is said to be on his way to pay you a visit. I doubt not he will have a decent reception and a proper dismissal."<sup>67</sup>

Spies and deserters delivered alarming reports. Tarleton had been joined by reinforcements, had crossed the Tiger River and was pressing the pursuit. Morgan's army continued to increase as militia units supplemented his basic group, but they only accentuated the critical supply problem. The straggling militia destroyed the cohesiveness and efficiency of the detachment, and they were plundering the inhabitants when the opportunity presented itself. As the enemy approached and he surveyed his position, Morgan became uneasy and dissatisfied. He requested General Greene to recall his troops, leaving the militia in the district under the command of General Davidson and Colonel Pickens. It was his opinion that if only the militia were left in the area, Cornwallis would consider them of such little importance that Tarleton would be recalled. The militia would be just as effective in keeping the disaffected in their places as his detachment could. His troops were trained for combat, not police action.<sup>68</sup> Greene's answer, although it did not arrive until after the ensuing engagement, still insisted that Morgan and his troops remain in the district.<sup>69</sup>

The day after Morgan had dispatched this last request, the details left to guard the fords on the Pacolet came into camp. Tarleton had crossed the river and was even then close on their heels. It was now obvious that Morgan, with his straggling militia, could retreat no farther. He was, however, determined to choose the battle site. Early on the morning of

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<sup>66</sup> Greene to Morgan, January 8, 1781. Greene Letter Book, 1781, 51-52.

<sup>67</sup> Greene to Morgan, January 13, 1781. Greene Letter Book, 1781, 63-64.

<sup>68</sup> Morgan to Greene, January 13, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 286.

<sup>69</sup> Greene to Morgan, January 19, 1781. Greene Letter Book, 1781, 92-94.



January 16, forcing many of his men to leave their food cooking, he marched his men toward the Broad River.<sup>70</sup>

Tarleton had been ordered in pursuit of Morgan on January first. The tidings of Hammond's Store and William's Plantation had implied an American thrust at Ninety Six. Upon Tarleton's arrival at that place, he had found the post unmolested and was under no immediate danger of assault. He had taken the opportunity to rest his troops and had issued orders "to bring up my baggage, but no women." He reported the situation to his commander and requested that he be allowed to attack and destroy Morgan. He suggested to Cornwallis that the main army move towards King's Mountain as a block to Morgan's retreat if he refused to fight and was driven back across the Broad River.<sup>71</sup> As Tarleton awaited approval of this plan of operation, Lieutenant Colonel Allen, commandant at Ninety Six, offered to reinforce him with troops from his garrison. Tarleton refused.<sup>72</sup>

Dispatches from his commanding officer contained encouragement and approval of the plan of his subordinate. Cornwallis endorsed Tarleton's strategy and commented, "You have exactly done what I wished you to do, and understood my intentions perfectly." He also informed Tarleton that his baggage was being escorted by the 7th Regiment, which was to reinforce the garrison at Ninety Six.<sup>73</sup> With this expression of confidence in his ability by his superior, Tarleton initiated a series of rapid marches in pursuit of Morgan. His movements for the first few days were limited, to allow the time necessary for Leslie to make a junction with Cornwallis. Reports indicated that the militia were flocking to Morgan. To counterbalance this additional strength of his opponent, Tarleton requested and received permission to attach the 7th Regiment and their three-pounder to his command.<sup>74</sup> On the fourteenth Cornwallis wrote, "Leslie is at

<sup>70</sup> Stedman, *History of the . . . American War*, II, 320.

<sup>71</sup> Tarleton to Cornwallis, January 4, 1781. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 246.

<sup>72</sup> Roderick Mackenzie, *Strictures on Lt. Col. Tarleton's "History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781, in the Southern Provinces of North America,"* (London: Printed for the author, 1787), 92. Hereafter cited as Mackenzie, *Strictures*. Mackenzie was a lieutenant in the 71st Regiment and was wounded at Cowpens.

<sup>73</sup> Cornwallis to Tarleton, January 5, 1781. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 246-247.

<sup>74</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 212.



last out of the swamps,"<sup>75</sup> and the tempo of the pursuit quickened. Morgan was now only six miles away. Tarleton planned to use log houses, previously constructed by Major Patrick Ferguson, as a base from which to observe Morgan and wait for him to make a decisive move. Before he could establish himself in this position, patrols reported that the Americans had decamped in such haste that half cooked food was still simmering over dying fires. Morgan's vacated position offered promising possibilities for provisions and forage and Tarleton accordingly marched his troops to this location.<sup>76</sup>

Small detachments were ordered to follow closely upon Morgan's line of march. A party of Tories brought in an American militia colonel who had been captured when he wandered too far from his troops. From interrogation of this prisoner and the reports of patrols, it was determined that the enemy was marching in the direction of the Broad River and Thicketty Mountain. There was also evidence that additional reinforcements of militia were on the march to join Morgan.<sup>77</sup> To insure the success of his operation, Tarleton felt that he must strike before these new troops united with his opponent. He planned an immediate action.

The following morning, January 17, the troops were awakened at three o'clock in the morning and marched toward Morgan's last reported position, with the baggage and its guard to take its position at daybreak. Tarleton planned either to surprise Morgan or force him to fight before he had the opportunity to deploy his troops properly. Approaching the American camp, two videttes were captured<sup>78</sup> and they revealed that Morgan had halted and had decided to make a stand at a place called the Cowpens.<sup>79</sup> Tarleton was jubilant

<sup>75</sup> Cornwallis to Tarleton, January 14, 1781. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 248.

<sup>76</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 213-214.

<sup>77</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 214.

<sup>78</sup> Mackenzie, *Strictures*, 97. Videttes were mounted pickets.

<sup>79</sup> Stock raisers comprised a large portion of the population of upper South Carolina. Pens were erected for the purposes of marking and salting the cattle, although at this time any grazing area was normally designated as a cowpen. The site selected for the battle had first been located on a Cherokee trading path and was known locally as "Hannah's Cowpens" from its owner. See Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, I, 377; Benjamin F. Perry, *Revolutionary Incidents*, No. 11, Benjamin F. Perry papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; J. B. C. Landrum, *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina* (Greenville: Shannon and Co., 1897), 19.



as the prisoners and his guides described the site. Open woods offered unlimited opportunity for cavalry maneuvers. Morgan would be forced to leave his flanks exposed as there were no physical irregularities into which to tie the extremities of his battle line. The Broad River ran parallel to his rear line, eliminating any possibility of flight. Without delay Tarleton moved up within sight of the American forces and began to deploy his troops, confident that the day was as good as won.<sup>80</sup>

A plausible supposition is that Morgan planned to cross the Broad River and fight in the vicinity of Thicketty Mountain, where the terrain could be better adapted to his style of combat. When he had arrived on the banks of the Broad, he had found that stream swollen and deep because of the recent rains.<sup>81</sup> To attempt a passage would possibly have allowed Tarleton to come up while his troops were still engaged in fording the river, an event which could only result in disaster for his little army.

Military men have long made a practice of criticising Morgan's choice of a battle site and Tarleton himself stated:

The ground which General Morgan had chosen for the engagement . . . was disadvantageous to the Americans, and convenient for the British. An open wood was certainly as good a place for action as Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton could desire; America does not produce many more suitable to the nature of the troops under his command.<sup>82</sup>

The position selected for the American stand was at the summit of a long, gently sloping ridge, covered with an open woods facilitating cavalry operations. The Broad River at the rear discouraged all thoughts of retreat and Morgan's exposed flanks invited encirclement. It was a situation designed to grant victory to the army with the best cavalry, and Tarleton's British Legion was generally acknowledged to be one of the

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<sup>80</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 215.

<sup>81</sup> Robert Smith to James Iredell, January 31, 1781. Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1837), I, 483.

<sup>82</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 221. Henry Lee made the oft disputed statement that Morgan's decision to fight grew out of an "irritation of temper." Lee, *Memoirs*, 226.



best cavalry units in America. Morgan, in later years, defended his choice with the statement:

I would not have had a swamp in view of my militia on any consideration; they would have made for it, and nothing could have detained them from it. And as to covering my wings, I knew my adversary and was perfectly sure I should have nothing but downright fighting. As to retreat, it was the very thing that I wished to cut off all hope of. I would have thanked Tarleton had he surrounded me with his cavalry. It would have been better than placing my own men in the rear to shoot down those who broke from the ranks. When men are forced to fight, they will sell their lives dearly; and I knew the dread of Tarleton's cavalry would give due weight to the protection of my bayonets, and keep my troops from breaking up as Buford's regiment did. Had I crossed the river, one-half of the militia would immediately have abandoned me.<sup>83</sup>

Morgan's army had arrived at the Cowpens near sunset of January 16, and he had addressed the troops and revealed his determination to stand and fight. The men cheered. Throughout the course of the day's march he had been cursed heartily by many of the troops who had felt that the retreat had been a display of cowardice.<sup>84</sup> Two colonels, Brandon and Roebuck, rode in and reported that they had counted Tarleton's forces as they crossed the Pacolet and that the enemy numbered approximately 1,150 men. As soon as the men were settled, preparations for battle were initiated. Orders were issued that the militia have twenty-four rounds of ammunition ready for use before they slept.<sup>85</sup> The sign and countersign for the night, "Fire" and "Sword" were designed to stimulate slackening spirits.<sup>86</sup> The first action taken by Morgan to strengthen his forces was the addition of forty-five volunteers to Washington's corps as a measure to more nearly equal, numerically, Tarleton's cavalry. Patrols and

<sup>83</sup> Morgan quoted in Johnson, *Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, I, 376.

<sup>84</sup> Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 88.

<sup>85</sup> Colonel Samuel Hammond in Joseph Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South: Including Biographical Sketches, Incidents and Anecdotes. Few of Which Have Been Published, Particularly of Residents in the Upper Country* (Charleston: Walker and James, 1851), 527.

<sup>86</sup> A. L. Pickens, *Skyagunsta, the Border Wizard Owl: General Andrew Pickens* (Greenville: Observer Printing Co., 1934), 68.



scouts were sent out with orders to observe the enemy's movements. Baggage was sent back to the Broad River and messengers dispatched to the bodies of militia reported to be coming in, urging them to accelerate their pace.<sup>87</sup> Pickens brought in a body of new recruits. Other groups hurried in, calling for ammunition, and wanting to know the state of affairs. One officer commented, "They were all in good spirits, related circumstances of Tarleton's cruelty, and expressed the strongest desire to check his progress."<sup>88</sup> After a council of war with the officers Morgan went among the campfires and mingled with his men, aiding his recently created cavalry to become acquainted with their newly acquired sabres. He passed from group to group, laughing with the men and "telling them that the old wagoner would crack his whip over Ben [Tarleton] in the morning as sure as they lived."<sup>89</sup> To the militia he said, "Just hold up your heads, boys, three fires, and you are free, and then when you return to your homes, how the old folks will bless you, and the girls kiss you, for your gallant conduct."<sup>90</sup>

The next morning, January 17, a scout reported that Tarleton was only five miles away and was marching light and fast.<sup>91</sup> Morgan's shout of "Boys, get up, Benny is coming," awakened the men.<sup>92</sup> The day dawned bright and bitter cold, but the troops were already being placed in position. They were all in good spirits and apparently looking forward to the approaching battle.<sup>93</sup>

The battle ground was slightly undulating with a thick growth of red oak, hickory and pine. Because of the grazing cattle, there was little undergrowth.<sup>94</sup> At the crest of the long slope Morgan placed his main line of defense, composed of

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<sup>87</sup> Graham, *Morgan*, 291-292.

<sup>88</sup> John Eager Howard quoted in Lee, *Memoirs*, 226n.

<sup>89</sup> Edwards, "Memoir of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 89. Morgan was often referred to as the "old wagoner" because of his earlier occupation. He had hauled supplies for Braddock's troops in the French and Indian War. Graham, *Morgan*, 22-28.

<sup>90</sup> Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 89.

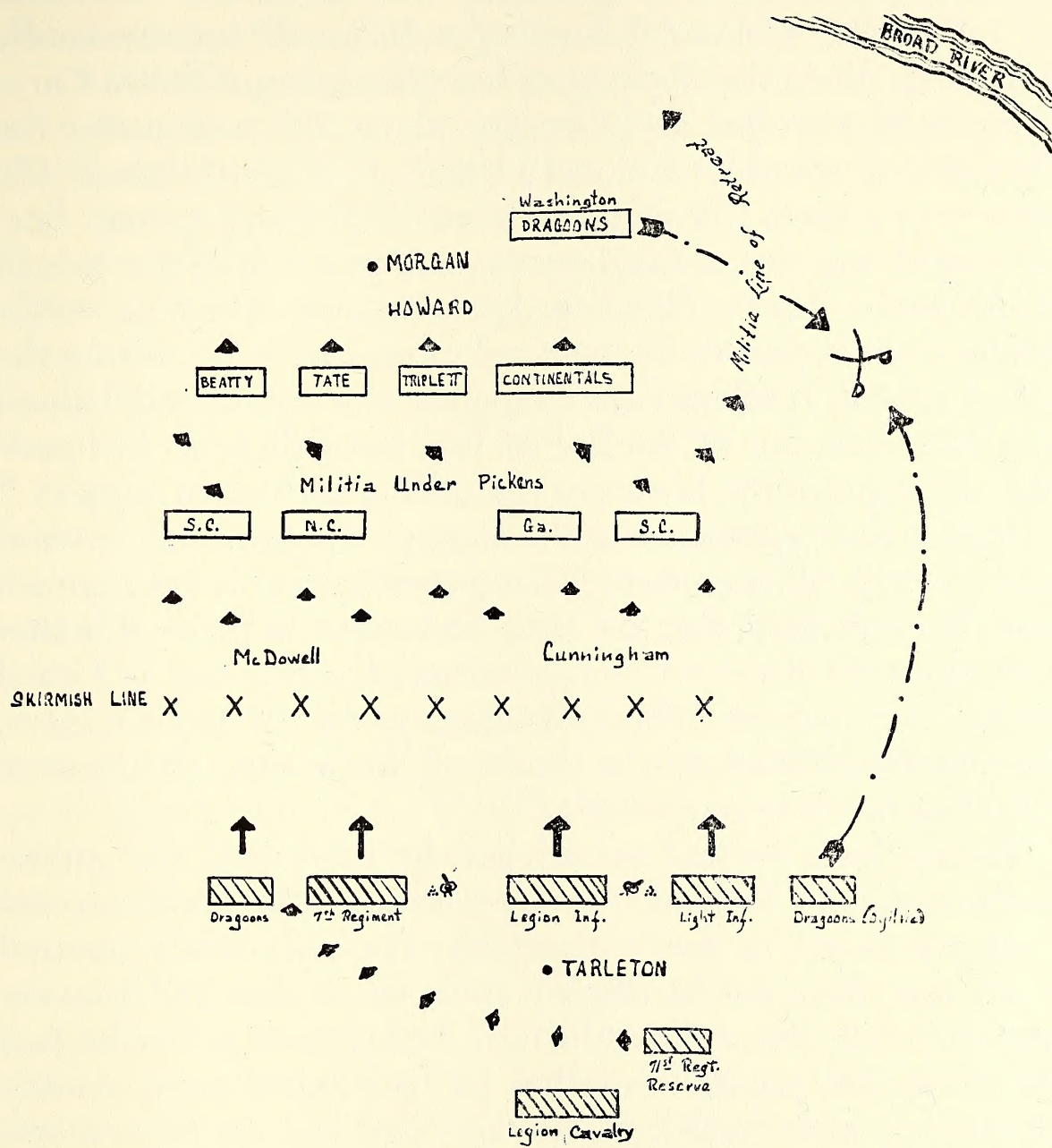
<sup>91</sup> Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 468.

<sup>92</sup> "Memoir of Thomas McJunkin of Union," *The Magnolia: Or Southern Appalachian*, II (January, 1843), 38.

<sup>93</sup> Seymour, *Journal*, 13.

<sup>94</sup> Colonel Samuel Hammond in Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences*, 527.





*Battle of the Cowpens*  
January 17, 1781



the Maryland Line, a skeleton company of Delaware Continentals, and two companies of Virginia militia under Major Triplett and Captain Tate.<sup>95</sup> Beatty's Georgians covered the right flank. This line of 437 men was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John Eager Howard. Approximately 150 yards down the slope were the volunteers of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, about 270 men under the "brave and valuable" Colonel Pickens. A skirmish line of 150 men was posted 150 yards in front of Pickens' second line. The right segment of this line was composed of Major Joseph McDowell's North Carolina back-country riflemen, while Major Cunningham's Georgia volunteers were posted on the left. Colonel Washington's dragoons were stationed behind the main line, out of the line of fire, but still in such a position as to guard the horses of the militia and act in support.<sup>96</sup>

Before the appearance of the enemy, Morgan went forward and spoke to the men then placing themselves on the skirmish line. He indicated that the time had come to prove whether they were entitled to their reputation as brave men and good shots. "Let me see," said Morgan, as he turned to leave, "which are entitled to the credit of brave men, the boys of Carolina or those of Georgia."<sup>97</sup>

Riding back to the second line he addressed the militia commanded by Pickens. His speech rang with optimism and was calculated to fire enthusiasm. He confidently assured them that they would display their usual zeal and bravery and maintain the reputation they had gained when he had led them. He pointed out that he had experienced success in dealing with British troops and that his experience was superior to theirs. He exhorted them to remain firm and steady, to fire with careful aim, and if they would but pour in two volleys at killing distance, he would take it upon himself to insure the victory.<sup>98</sup> Morgan's opinion of militia was actually similar to that held by Greene, but he did recognize their value as shock troops.

<sup>95</sup> These Virginia troops were above the average militia for they were, for the most part, continental soldiers who had been discharged and were now serving as paid substitutes for wealthier men. Lee, *Memoirs*, 254-255.

<sup>96</sup> Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 468.

<sup>97</sup> Graham, *Morgan*, 297.

<sup>98</sup> Lee, *Memoirs*, 227.



As Morgan rode back to the main line, Pickens told his militia, "Ease your joints." He then told them that they could shelter themselves behind trees, but they were not to fire until the enemy was within thirty yards of their position. He cautioned them to fire low and aim at the officers.<sup>99</sup>

After leaving the militia Morgan addressed the main line of seasoned veterans. He spoke briefly and quietly, reminding them that he had always placed confidence in their skill and courage, and he assured them that victory was certain if they did their part. They were also warned not to become alarmed at a sudden retreat by the militia as that eventuality was included in his plan of action. At the conclusion of this short talk, he assumed his post and quietly sat his horse, awaiting the appearance of the enemy.<sup>100</sup>

The British troops came into view at approximately eight o'clock. Tarleton, prematurely imagining the laurels of victory upon his brow, immediately deployed his fatigued command about 300 yards in front of the American skirmish line. No time was allotted by Tarleton for a reconnaissance or a conference with his subordinates. The rank and file were ordered to discard all gear and accoutrements except their arms and ammunition. The Light Infantry, the Legion Infantry, and the 7th Regiment formed the line of battle. To protect their flanks and threaten those of the Americans, fifty dragoons under the command of a captain were placed on each extremity. The 71st Regiment, with the remaining dragoons was held in reserve 180 yards to the rear. The two cannon were placed in the center of the battle line.<sup>101</sup> The Americans, with no artillery to annoy the enemy could only watch with awe the precision with which the British swung into position.<sup>102</sup> As the attacking troops were extended they were subjected to sporadic rifle fire from small groups which had been sent out from the skirmish line. The nervous recruits of the 7th Regiment returned a scattered fire, but their uneasiness was soon calmed by British officers.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Pickens, *Skygunsta, The Border Wizard Owl*, 70-71.

<sup>100</sup> Lee, *Memoirs*, 227-228.

<sup>101</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 216.

<sup>102</sup> Thomas Anderson, "Journal of Lieutenant Thomas Anderson of the Delaware Regiment," *Historical Magazine*, 2d series, I (April, 1867), 209.

<sup>103</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 216.



The impetuous Tarleton, impatient with the sluggish deployment of his weary troops, issued the order to advance before the formation was complete. As the artillery roared the infantry gave three "huzzas" and swung into a slow trot toward the American lines.<sup>104</sup>

Morgan, as he galloped among his men, heard the cheers and shouted, "They give us the British halloo, boys, give them the Indian halloo, by God."<sup>105</sup>

The British advance was met with "a heavy and galling fire" as they drew near the skirmish line of McDowell and Cunningham.<sup>106</sup> The green and scarlet line halted, then pushed on. The skirmish line faded back through the trees, firing as often as they could reload their rifles. One section of this first line fell back and merged with Pickens' militia. The remainder circled around and reformed in the rear of the third line. The British halted, regrouped, dressed their line, and continued their advance.<sup>107</sup>

Pickens ordered his command to fire by regiments, providing a covering fire for those reloading their pieces. The British assault wavered under this steady fire, but discipline overcame fear and the attack still moved forward. As the British approached within forty yards of Pickens' line, they fired a volley, few of the shots finding a mark.<sup>108</sup> Then, with empty muskets, and with a shout, the British rushed forward with the bayonet.<sup>109</sup> The courage of the untrained militia waned at the sight of the cold steel and they began to fall

<sup>104</sup> Anderson, "Journal of Lieutenant Thomas Anderson. . . .," *Historical Magazine*, 2d series, I, 209.

<sup>105</sup> Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 101.

<sup>106</sup> Morgan to Greene, January 17, 1781. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 25.

<sup>107</sup> Anderson, "Journal of Lieutenant Thomas Anderson. . . .," *Historical Magazine*, 2d series, I, 209.

<sup>108</sup> In 1835 a visitor to the battlefield found evidence that many shots had lodged in the trees, some as high as thirty or forty feet. Benjamin F. Perry Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

<sup>109</sup> At the beginning of the war the Americans had little faith in the bayonet, while the British regarded it as a special weapon for their regulars and it was their custom to charge with the bayonet whenever practicable. Steuben, apostle of shock tactics, urged that the light infantry keep bayonets continually fixed. The assault upon Redoubt No. 9 at Yorktown by the American Light Infantry was made with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. Wright, "Notes on the Continental Army," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d series, XI, 89-90. The British sergeant turned historian, R. Lamb, made the statement that the frequent rains in North America often prevented the use of the musket and made the bayonet a very important weapon. R. Lamb, *Memoir of His Own Life* (Dublin: J. Jone, 1811), 202.



back. Pickens managed to control the movement of many of his men and conducted an orderly retreat although "with haste." He led this group to the rear of the Continentals and reformed them on the right flank. The remainder, panic-stricken, fled precipitately to the spot where they had left their horses.<sup>110</sup>

The commander of the dragoons protecting Tarleton's right flank, a Captain Ogilvie, detected the fleeing militia and his troops were ordered to charge them.<sup>111</sup> As the British rode among the frightened Americans, they became scattered and disorganized. Washington, after a hurried conference with Howard, charged the British dragoons with such force that many were thrown from their horses and were unable to remount under the flashing sabres of the Americans. Those who had been able to retain their seat turned and fled with such haste that one witness later declared that "they appeared to be as hard to stop as a drove of wild Choctaw steers, going to the Pennsylvania market."<sup>112</sup>

Meanwhile, the British infantry had gained confidence with the flight of the militia. Their step quickened as they neared the final American line. The advance slowed as they were met with a steady and well-directed fire, and "it seemed like one sheet of flame from right to left."<sup>113</sup> Tarleton, having missed an excellent opportunity by failing to throw in his cavalry reserve in the pursuit of the militia, now ordered his infantry reserve into action, but still refused to commit his dragoons.<sup>114</sup> The British line, longer than that of the Americans, gradually began to turn the left flank of the defenders. Howard, fearing encirclement, ordered Wallace's Virginia Company to change its front. The order was mistaken and the group began to fall back. The other unit commanders, assuming that a general retreat had been ordered, also be-

<sup>110</sup> Lee, *Memoirs*, 228.

<sup>111</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 217.

<sup>112</sup> Collins, *Autobiography*, 57.

<sup>113</sup> Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 101.

<sup>114</sup> Major McArthur, commanding Tarleton's reserve, had urged an all-out cavalry charge as the Americans retreated. At his subsequent capture he complained bitterly that the best troops in the service had been put under "that boy" to be sacrificed. John Eager Howard quoted in Henry Lee, *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas: with Remarks Historical and Critical on Johnson's Life of Greene* (Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1824), 96n.



gan a gradual withdrawal with their troops. Morgan, although the retirement was orderly, rode among the troops pleading for just one more volley and shouting, "Old Morgan was never beaten."<sup>115</sup> Morgan expressed apprehension to Howard, who answered by indicating the orderly line and observing that men who retreated in that good order were never beaten. This logic of his subordinate was convincing and Morgan ordered Howard to continue the retrograde movement until the infantry was under the protection of Washington's cavalry, while he rode back to fix a spot at which he wished the Americans to face about and pour a sudden volley into the face of their pursuers. Howard busied himself with straightening out his line and communicating this stratagem to his officers.<sup>116</sup> It was then that Washington had ridden up and told Howard that if the infantry could hold, he was going to charge Ogilvie's dragoons who were then riding down the fleeing militia in the rear.<sup>117</sup> Even as Howard assented, the British, thinking an American rout imminent, broke their formation and, shouting as they came, pressed forward.<sup>118</sup> The Americans, having retreated approximately fifty yards, reached the spot designated by Morgan, suddenly faced about and fired a volley, at a range of about ten yards, into the faces of their astonished foe. Those troops which had been, moments before, an example of British discipline and bravery, now became a milling mass of confused individuals. Howard was quick to seize the initiative. He shouted the command "charge bayonets," and "augmented their astonishment."<sup>119</sup> The day was won for the Americans. The British were thrown into an "unaccountable panick,"<sup>120</sup> and discarding their muskets and cartouche boxes, "did the prettiest

<sup>115</sup> Collins, *Autobiography*, 57.

<sup>116</sup> John Eager Howard quoted in Lee, *Campaigns of 1781 in the Carolinas*, 97-98n.

<sup>117</sup> William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution, So Far as It Is Related to the States of North and South-Carolina and Georgia*, 2 vols. (New York: David Longworth, 1802), II, 255. Hereafter cited as Moultrie, *Memoirs*. William Washington is supposed to have given Moultrie his account of the battle of the Cowpens.

<sup>118</sup> Anderson, "Journal of Lieutenant Thomas Anderson . . .," *Historical Magazine*, 2d series, I, 209.

<sup>119</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 217. Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 468.

<sup>120</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 216.



sort of running away."<sup>121</sup> This sudden flight of the infantry which coincided with Ogilvie's retreat before Washington's dragoons transformed Tarleton's crack troops into a panic-stricken mob.

The Americans pushed forward in vigorous pursuit. There was a cry of "Tarleton's quarters," but Howard counteracted this with the command of "Give them quarter." Riding among the routed troops, he called upon them to lay down their arms and they would receive good quarters. More than 500 took advantage of this promise and laid down their arms.<sup>122</sup> Only the artillerymen fought on, defending their cannon until they were either all killed or wounded.<sup>123</sup> Howard personally saved the life of one of these men, in addition to a frightened British captain who admitted that the British troops had been instructed to give no quarter and was afraid that the Americans "would use him ill."<sup>124</sup>

About 250 British dragoons, held in reserve, had just received orders to go into action when the critical maneuver of the Americans had thrown back the infantry, whose headlong retreat, in turn, threw the cavalry into confusion. Tarleton gave orders to reform the mounted troops approximately 400 yards to the rear while he went forward to rally the infantry and protect the artillery.<sup>125</sup>

The panic generated by the fleeing foot soldiers was communicated to the cavalry. The mounted troops fled through the forest, riding down such officers as dared to try to oppose their flight. Tarleton, screaming curses, attempted to rally his dragoons for a charge on the Americans, who were rushing in pursuit of the defeated enemy with a complete disregard for military formation. Tarleton's horse was killed be-

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<sup>121</sup> Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 101. Although the strategy which won the battle of Cowpens developed out of a mistaken order, the maneuver of feigning retreat and then suddenly turning upon the disorganized pursuers is quite old. William the Conqueror used it to advantage in defeating Harold at the Battle of Hastings in 1066. It was also a favorite maneuver of Genghis Khan.

<sup>122</sup> Moultrie, *Memoirs*, II, 255-256.

<sup>123</sup> Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, January 18, 1781. Ross, *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, I, 82. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 217.

<sup>124</sup> John Eager Howard quoted in *The Magazine of American History*, VII (October, 1881), 279.

<sup>125</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 216-217.



neath him. He caught another. Only fourteen officers and fifty men responded to his orders to reform.<sup>126</sup>

This struggle was fierce, but short and decisive. Washington personally led his men into action. His zeal almost cost him his life as he repeatedly found himself far ahead of his troops. Twice he was saved from injury, once by a stroke from his sergeant's sword and later by a lucky shot from the pistol of his bugler. Tradition states that Washington and Tarleton were engaged in personal combat and that Washington's horse had been killed by a pistol shot from Tarleton, who is reported to have received a gash on his head from a sword wielded by Washington. The British commander, finally realizing the defeat was inevitable, wheeled and fled, closely pursued by the American cavalry.<sup>127</sup> Respite was gained as Washington followed the wrong road for a short distance.<sup>128</sup> The chase continued to the Pacolet River. There the Americans were informed by a Mrs. Goudelock that Tarleton had passed some time before, although at that moment he was actually engaged in crossing the river only a few hundred yards distant. Tarleton had pressed the woman's husband into service as a guide and she feared for his safety in the event of violence. Her deception was successful. Washington turned back.<sup>129</sup> The British baggage train had been sent approximately fifteen miles from the scene of battle, guarded by a detachment from each unit and commanded by Lieutenant Fraser of the 71st Regiment. Fraser

<sup>126</sup> Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 218.

<sup>127</sup> Lee, *Memoirs*, 229. This flight later proved embarrassing to Tarleton, according to the following anecdote. When Cornwallis marched into Virginia from Wilmington he rested his troops in Halifax, North Carolina. In the home of Mrs. J. B. Ashe, in whose house General Leslie was quartered, Tarleton made the remark that he would be happy to see Colonel Washington as he understood he was ugly and diminutive in person. Mrs. Ashe angrily replied, "If you had looked behind you, Colonel Tarleton, at the battle of Cowpens, you would have enjoyed that pleasure." John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina, from 1584 to 1851. Compiled from Original Records, Official Documents, and Traditional Statements* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Granbe and Co., 1851), 186.

<sup>128</sup> Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 469.

<sup>129</sup> Perry, *Revolutionary Incidents*, No. 7, Benjamin F. Perry Papers, Southern Historical Collection. One report stated that as Tarleton and his fugitives reached Hamilton's Ford the men hesitated to enter the swollen Broad River, even though they had just received word that Washington was close on their heels. Tarleton eventually drove them into the water by whipping them with the flat of his sabre. Edwards, "Memoirs of Major Thomas Young," *The Orion*, III, 102.



had early received news of the defeat from "some friendly Americans," and immediately destroyed or burned that part of the baggage which could not be carried off. The men were loaded into a wagon or mounted on spare horses and hastily made their way to the encampment of Cornwallis. This was the only body of infantry which escaped, all others being killed or taken prisoner.<sup>130</sup>

Cornwallis first learned of the disaster of Cowpens from this group and a detachment of dragoons who arrived at his camp on the evening of January 17. Tarleton and his fugitives did not arrive until the following morning.<sup>131</sup> An American prisoner of war who witnessed Tarleton's report of the battle to his superior reported that Cornwallis was leaning forward on his sword as Tarleton spoke. In his fury the British general pressed forward so hard that the weapon broke beneath his weight, and he swore loudly that he would recover the prisoners, no matter what the cost.<sup>132</sup>

General Leslie was now less than a day's march from making a junction with Cornwallis and further action by the British force was delayed until the arrival of these additional troops. While awaiting the scattered remnants of his dragoons to regroup, Tarleton displayed a sudden interest in the welfare of his troops which he had neglected in their somewhat injudicious employment at Cowpens. He dispatched, under the protection of a flag, a surgeon to care for, and a sum of money to be used for, his captured soldiers.<sup>133</sup>

When the refugees from Cowpens had been reassembled and strengthened with additional troops from other units, they were dispatched, under the command of Tarleton, upon Morgan's trail in an effort to rescue the prisoners. The chase continued for two days before it was determined that the Americans were out of reach.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Mackenzie, *Strictures*, 102-103. David Ramsey, *History of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (London: John Stockdale, 1793), II, 235. Tarleton, to save his wounded pride, and possibly to restore a minute portion of his vanquished glory, later declared that he had attacked the wagons, dispersed the enemy guard, and had burned the wagons and baggage to prevent them from falling into American hands. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 217.

<sup>131</sup> Mackenzie, *Strictures*, 102-103.

<sup>132</sup> "Memoir of Joseph McJunkin of Union," *The Magnolia*, II, 39.

<sup>133</sup> Tarleton to Morgan, January 19, 1781. Myers, *Cowpens Papers*, 29.

<sup>134</sup> A. R. Newsome (ed.), "A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (July, 1932), 284-285.



The defeat at the Cowpens had been a severe and unexpected blow to British expectations, and was even more significant in its consequences than King's Mountain, for Tarleton's drubbing deprived Lord Cornwallis of the light troops which had been destined to play a major role in the invasion. Britain could not afford to lose face a second time in the South as "defensive measures would be certain ruin to the affairs of Britain in the Southern Colonies."<sup>135</sup> The British general made the decision to pursue Morgan with his entire command, force him to fight, and wipe out the humiliation of Cowpens. It was thus that the decision was made to launch the campaign which was to culminate in the termination of major hostilities on American soil.

Back at the Cowpens Morgan had surveyed the field of battle. He had just won an overwhelming victory over a force with which he would have been happy to fight a drawn contest. With a motley force of between 900 and 1,000 men, of whom only about 800 were actually engaged and a large number were untried militia, he had defeated a superior army of approximately 1,150 well-trained British soldiers. His casualties were amazingly light. Only twelve had been killed and sixty wounded. In contrast, British losses were staggering. Ten officers were included among the 110 killed. There had been 702 captured, 200 of them wounded. The American militia had become scattered in rounding up those of Tarleton's group who had escaped the carnage. Twenty-nine British officers were counted among the prisoners. Much valuable equipment had been taken, including two field pieces,<sup>136</sup> two standards,<sup>137</sup> 800 muskets, one travelling forge,

<sup>135</sup> Cornwallis to Germain, March 17, 1781. Ross, *The Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, I, 503.

<sup>136</sup> These cannon had an interesting background. They had been taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga by Morgan, and had been retaken from General Thomas Sumter by Tarleton in the engagement at Blackstock's, November 20, 1781. "Extracts from William's Notebook," *Calendar of the General Otho Williams Papers*, 36. These two field pieces were also probably among the four cannon captured from Greene at the battle of Guilford Court House by Cornwallis.

<sup>137</sup> These were the colors of the 71st Regiment and the British Legion. According to British army custom, these two units were required to henceforth wear their tunics without facings. The 71st Regiment, a Scottish Regiment, also lost their bagpipes. O. H. Williams to Dr. James McHenry, January 23, 1781, *Calendar of the General Otho Williams Papers*, 36-37.



thirty-five wagons, 100 horses and "all their music." Among the booty were seventy Negroes, who had been brought along as servants for the British officers.<sup>138</sup> This surprising triumph had been achieved in less than an hour.

It was apparent to the victorious Morgan that although he had won the field, he could not retain possession. Cornwallis would soon be marching with his entire army in an attempt to recover the prisoners and remove some of the tarnish from British military glory. A defeat would spoil the fruits of victory, and the decision was to move at once to the northward. Lieutenant Colonel Washington had not returned from his pursuit of Tarleton, but Morgan, after paroling the captured British officers and dispatching the news of his victory to Greene, marched north to the Catawba with his prisoners on the morning of January 18. Instructions were left for Washington to follow as soon as he returned to the field.<sup>139</sup>

Colonel Pickens was left behind with the local militia to bury the dead and collect the wounded of both commands. Approximately a day was spent in this operation. The wounded were placed in captured British tents and left with a guard, under a flag of truce. The militia took full advantage of their opportunities and plundered both the dead and the wounded.<sup>140</sup> At the completion of this task, Pickens dismissed the militia and hurried after Morgan. The race to the Dan had begun.

The battle of the Cowpens, a small engagement when considered as to the numbers engaged, was far-reaching in its results. The first reaction of Sir Henry Clinton, commandant of British forces in North America, was, "I confess I dread

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<sup>138</sup> Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 310-311. Tarleton also claimed that the money entrusted to him for the purchase of horses and intelligence had been "lost by the unfortunate affair of the Cowpens." He also reported that similar accounts for 1781 had been lost during a forced march in North Carolina. Tarleton to the Secretary of the Board of Auditors, May 25, 1789, *Year Book: City of Charleston, S. C., 1882* (Charleston: Lucas and Richardson, 1883), 371.

<sup>139</sup> Morgan to Greene, January 19, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 469. Washington's cavalry rounded up nearly 100 additional prisoners while on their return to the battlefield. Graham, *Morgan*, 308.

<sup>140</sup> Collins, *Autobiography*, 58.



the Consequences.”<sup>141</sup> For Cornwallis, it was the first link in a chain of circumstances which led to Yorktown and ultimate defeat. British critics of Tarleton have stated that the defeat at Yorktown can be traced to the loss of the light troops at Cowpens.<sup>142</sup>

The attention of the Continental Congress was directed towards the South at the seldom received report of a southern victory. One member of the Congress wrote to Greene:

the intelligence received was a most healing cordial to our drooping spirits . . . it was so very unexpected. It seems to have had a very sensible effect on some folks, for this is convincing proof that something is to be done, in that department.<sup>143</sup>

Another member felt that Maryland's acceptance of the Articles of Confederation had been a result of the news of the triumph at Cowpens.<sup>144</sup>

A grateful Congress voted a gold medal to Morgan, silver medals to Howard and Washington, and a sword to Pickens. Both officers and men of Morgan's army were extended "the thanks of the United States in Congress Assembled."<sup>145</sup> The Virginia House of Delegates voted to award Morgan a horse "with furniture," in addition to a sword.<sup>146</sup> John Rutledge of South Carolina, penniless and a governor without a state, could only send his "warmest and most cordial thanks."<sup>147</sup>

Opinion in England was, as usual, divided along political lines. The *Gentleman's Magazine* attempted to minimize the blow by declaring, "there is no great reason to believe our

<sup>141</sup> Clinton to Cornwallis, March 5, 1781. Clark, *State Records of North Carolina*, XVII, 989.

<sup>142</sup> Stedman, *History of the . . . American War*, II, 327. Mackenzie, *Strictures*, 89. *Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature for the Year 1781*, 56.

<sup>143</sup> John Matthews to Greene, February 10, 1781. Burnett, *Letters*, V, 568.

<sup>144</sup> Ezekiel Cornell to Governor Greene of Rhode Island, February 9, 1781. Burnett, *Letters*, V, 566n. Actually, Maryland's decision rested on the fact that she was unable to defend the Chesapeake against British sea power. The clinching argument had come when the state had applied to the French Minister for naval aid and he had, in turn, urged Maryland to ratify the articles. Edmund Cody Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), 500.

<sup>145</sup> Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIX, 246-247.

<sup>146</sup> Graham, *Morgan*, 320.

<sup>147</sup> Rutledge to Morgan, January 25, 1781. Graham, *Morgan*, 332-333. Rutledge also enclosed a commission as brigadier general of the South Carolina militia for Andrew Pickens.



loss so great as the enemy would insinuate.”<sup>148</sup> Horace Walpole, whose writings portray the extreme Whig point of view, write:

America is once more not quite ready to be conquered, although every now and then we fancy it is. Tarleton is defeated, Lord Cornwallis is checked and Arnold not sure of having betrayed his friends to much purpose.<sup>149</sup>

General George Washington, ever cautious, warned against overconfidence and premature victory celebrations. He feared that the southern states would regard the victory as decisive in its consequences and would tend to relax in their military exertions.<sup>150</sup> But his pessimism failed to dim the jubilation of the people. An aide to General Greene wrote with prophetic insight, “This is but the prelude to the aera of 1781 the close of which I hope will prove memorable in the annals of history as the happy period of peace, liberty, and independence in America.”<sup>151</sup> William Gordon, even then collecting materials for his projected history of the Revolution, evaluated the victory thus, “Morgan’s success will be more important in its distant consequences, than on the day of victory.”<sup>152</sup>

Probably the significance of the battle was best expressed in a letter from Nathanael Greene to Henry Knox written during the siege of Yorktown. Greene said, “We have been beating the bush, and the General has come to catch the bird.”<sup>153</sup> Cowpens was the first stroke, and “the bird” that Washington caught had been flushed.

<sup>148</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, LI (March, 1781), 186.

<sup>149</sup> Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, March 30, 1781, Mrs. Paget Toynbee (ed.), *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Oxford*, 16 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1914), XI, 419.

<sup>150</sup> Washington to the President of Congress, February 17, 1781. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XXI, 238.

<sup>151</sup> Lewis Morris, Jr., to Jacob Morris, January 24, 1781. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1875*, VII, 477. This letter was reprinted in the *New Jersey Gazette*, February 21, 1781, as its account of the battle. Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, II, 375-376.

<sup>152</sup> William Gordon to Washington, February 28, 1781. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929-1930* (Boston: The Society, 1931), LXIII, 452.

<sup>153</sup> Greene to Henry Knox, September 29, 1781, Noah Brooks, *Henry Knox, Soldier of the Revolution* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900), 157.



## COLD WAR AGAINST THE YANKEES IN THE ANTE-BELLUM LITERATURE OF SOUTHERN WOMEN

By ROBERT LEROY HILLDRUP

More women of the Old South than is generally realized used their literary talents in behalf of their section during the cold war of propaganda that preceded the outbreak of hostilities at Fort Sumter. They not only defended the culture and institutions of their section but they also attacked life in the North.

Puritanism was one of the elements in northern life which was exceedingly distasteful to many southerners. Anne Newport Royall, a vigorous crusader for most of the virtues of eighteenth century enlightenment, found it a cloak of respectability for a conspiracy of "pious bigots" who were determined to gain power for themselves by pretending to be better than other people. She identified the Presbyterian revivalists then sweeping the country with New England Puritans, called them "blueskins," and stated that they were fleecing poor, ignorant folk of their hard-earned cash by selling them religious tracts of dubious authenticity. She further charged that they possessed no Christian charity and were attempting to establish within the United States an economic and an ecclesiastical tyranny. She asserted they used higher law doctrines and abolitionism merely as devices to deceive more people into believing that they were morally superior when, actually, they were less interested in the welfare of their fellowmen than most people, for they placed profits above everything else, including honesty.<sup>1</sup>

The only difference in the terms of employment that she could discover between the slave owners of Mississippi and the "blueskin" employers of New England was "that the slaves of the latter work for their masters, find themselves and pay their own taxes," while the slaves of the former work

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<sup>1</sup> Anne Royall, *The Tennessean: A Novel Founded on Facts* (New Haven, 1827), 4; and *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour or Second Series of the Black Book* (Washington, 1831), III, 80-91, 150-151, 159, *passim*.



for *their* masters, who find them in victuals and clothes and pay their taxes.”<sup>2</sup> Southern slaves were, she continued, a hundred times better off than northern paupers. She apparently believed each state should decide for itself whether it would be slave or free, but she was opposed to federal laws that excluded slaves from the territories, including those remaining in the Old Northwest.<sup>3</sup>

In keeping with her position on the issue, Royall expressed contempt for Henry Ward Beecher, the high priest of the “blueskins,” whom she canonized with withering sarcasm “St. Beecher of Boston.”<sup>4</sup>

She stated her charges against the North in *The Tennessean: A Novel Founded on Facts*, published in 1827, prior to the era of the most bitter sectional literature. Nevertheless, it seems to have been popular.<sup>5</sup> She then reiterated her views in *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour or Second Series of the Black Book* (1831); and she kept her interpretations of current affairs before the public by publishing a small, independent newspaper in Washington, D. C., entitled *Paul Pry*, from December 3, 1831, to November 19, 1836, and then *The Huntress* from December 2, 1836, to July 24, 1854, approximately three months before her death.<sup>6</sup>

Delaware-born Mary J. Windle<sup>7</sup> also disliked northern Puritans. She depicted the self-righteousness and unjust sternness of their English forebears and of Oliver Cromwell in a historical novelette of genuine literary merit, “The Lady of the Rock.”<sup>8</sup> She found that they cried out against slavery as abolitionists, but were so engrossed in the pursuit of

<sup>2</sup> Royall, *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour*, III, 87, 93.

<sup>3</sup> Royall, *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour*, III, 80, 165, 193.

<sup>4</sup> Heber Blankenhorn, “The Grandma of the Muckrakers,” *American Mercury*, XII (September, 1927), 92.

<sup>5</sup> It is in the Taylor Collection of Bestsellers, The Alderman Library, The University of Virginia. Because of Royall's attacks the “blueskins” resurrected a medieval common law under which she was convicted in Maryland as a common scold, the only person in the history of the republic who can claim this distinction. Blankenhorn, “The Grandma of the Muckrakers,” 92.

<sup>6</sup> From a newspaper clipping in the front of Royall's *Mrs. Royall's Southern Tour*, III, in the Mercantile Library of Philadelphia.

<sup>7</sup> John S. Hart, *The Female Prose Writers of America* (Philadelphia, 1852), 423-429.

<sup>8</sup> Mary J. Windle, “The Lady of the Rock,” *Life at the White Sulphur Springs; or, Pictures of a Pleasant Summer* (Philadelphia, 1857), 93-225.



wealth that they neglected the paupers of their own cities.<sup>9</sup> Too, as consolidationists they favored national banks, but only for private gain at the expense of the public welfare.<sup>10</sup> Besides, she averred that New Yorkers worshipped the "molt-en calf," and that preachers there were more interested in handsome bequests than in sinful souls, while Philadelphia was a city of brotherly love—like that of the first brothers.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps she was most effective in depicting northerners as artificial and ill-bred in manners and dress and as lacking in oratorical and conversational graces, a mental stereotype which still persists. She harped on this theme repeatedly as a society reporter in some of the leading southern newspapers, including *The Charleston Mercury* and *The Richmond Enquirer*.<sup>12</sup> It was reaffirmed in two of her books: *Life at the White Sulphur Springs; or, Pictures of a Pleasant Summer* (1857), and *Life in Washington, and Life Here and There* (1859). It was also a topic of discussion in novels by other southern women.

A few quotations will illustrate Windle's bold technique. On one occasion she wrote: "Pretty faces are more general in the North, but in grace, beauty and expression, the South has the superiority. In elegance of dress, the southern girl is able to beat the Parisian 'elegantes' of the North with their own weapons, when they consider it worthwhile. The New York belles, in spite of the time and money they waste upon their toilet, are the worst dressed ladies in America." She then reported that when this true observation reached the eyes of the northern women staying at the White Sulphur Springs they immediately displayed their ill-manners by descending upon her in a body, tongue-lashing her and villifying the South until she was forced to flee to her room in

<sup>9</sup> The relation between Puritanism and certain New England writers, abolitionists and transcendentalists—Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes and Stowe—was found to be close by Barris Mills, "Attitudes of Some Nineteenth-Century American Writers Towards Puritanism," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1942), 165, 170, 231, 268, 270, 317-319.

<sup>10</sup> Mary J. Windle, *Life in Washington, and Life Here and There* (Philadelphia, 1859), 91.

<sup>11</sup> Windle, *Life in Washington*, 104, 136.

<sup>12</sup> Windle, *Life in Washington*, preface; Windle, "Pen and Ink Sketches at the Virginia Springs," *The Richmond Enquirer*, September 16, 1856.



tears. What seemed to hurt her most was the attitude of complacent superiority that the northern women assumed and their dastardly charge that her criticism was "all jealousy."<sup>13</sup>

She nevertheless persisted in expressing her views. Moreover, she declared that southern males "had an *air distingue*, inimitable by the northerners with all their Frenchifications."<sup>14</sup> And, as for northern orators, the speech of one was "a grotesque compound" composed of "convulsive flights and exaggeration." Others, including Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, descended to levels of gross indecency when they spoke in Congress. In contrast southern leaders were courteous gentlemen and judicious statesmen. Speaker Orr, a South Carolinian, presided with dignity and impartiality over the House of Representatives and Alexander H. Stephens enthralled the chamber with his eloquence.<sup>15</sup>

Several southern writers found in commercialism an explanation of some of the undesirable qualities of northerners. Maria J. McIntosh was one of those who favorably contrasted the influence upon character of southern plantation life with northern commercialism. In one of her popular novels, *The Lofty and the Lowly* (1852), a stooge of Yankee speculators named Uriah Goldwire took advantage of unsuspecting southerners of little business sense and high ethical standards. He and his northern friends used the banks to force southern debtors into bankruptcy, and then bought their property at a mere fraction of its true value. Since Maria McIntosh was a native of Georgia who had lost her fortune during the panic of 1837 because of speculations, she undoubtedly wrote with a conviction that was rooted in personal experience. In her novels commercialism led to inhospitality, devious financial schemes, insincerity, dishonesty, a brisk aggressiveness, frugality, and industry.

McIntosh, who resided in the North many years, found that the commercial spirit even penetrated the most exclusive circles of northern society. It caused hardheartedness

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<sup>13</sup> Windle, *Life at the White Sulphur Springs*, 41-42.

<sup>14</sup> Windle, *Life at the White Sulphur Springs*, 164.

<sup>15</sup> Windle, *Life in Washington*, 19, 26, 30-32, 42, 58-61, 295-300.



toward bereaved kinsmen among the wealthy merchants of Boston to such a degree as to cause indignant protests from generous plantation kinfolk and slaves in Georgia. It was the real cause of the painfully embarrassing remarks made by New York ladies about the dresses of southern belles who brought their wardrobe with them to Saratoga instead of giving northerners a profit by purchasing the latest Parisian creations from New York stores. It caused northern dowagers to seek financially successful marriage contracts for their daughters with such zeal as to set a style of manners in northern society that was obnoxiously aggressive, blatantly unchivalrous, and grossly indelicate.

Maria McIntosh was one of the most prolific and popular writers of the mid-century. Her theme song, the superiority of the South, was found even in some of the popular stories for children which she wrote under the title of *Aunt Kitty's Tales*.<sup>16</sup>

Mary Virginia Hawes Terhune, whose pseudonym was Marion Harland, also deplored the adverse effect of northern commercialism upon character. Deprecating marriages for money she wrote in a novel entitled *Moss-Side* "Girls are sold as publicly and unblushingly as was ever an Eastern slave, to gratify the passion of their parents for wealth and distinction."<sup>17</sup> When discussing the character of northerners elsewhere she used such expressions as "shrewd Yankee" and "Yankee cunning,"<sup>18</sup> thereby contributing to the idea that they were crafty in trade.

She did not attribute to commercialism the sole responsibility for the cold materialism, uncouth manners, and unromantic qualities in northern society. She held feminism partly responsible. In *Moss-Side*, women had equal rights already if they behaved themselves and entered into matrimony only when it was prompted by mutual love; government by men was preferred to "a female autocracy;"<sup>19</sup> and where feminists

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<sup>16</sup> Maria McIntosh, *Aunt Kitty's Tales* (New York: G. S. Appleton); McIntosh, *Northern and Southern Life* (1852); Hart, *The Female Prose Writers of America*, 63-75.

<sup>17</sup> Marion Harland, *Moss-Side* (New York, Carleton edition, 1876), 43.

<sup>18</sup> Harland, *Moss-Side*, 31, 77.

<sup>19</sup> Harland, *Moss-Side*, 303.



gained control in the North their children became unruly and ill-mannered because they were neglected; their husbands were timid because they were brow-beaten; and divorces increased because of the resulting unhappiness.<sup>20</sup>

Mary Howard Schoolcraft, an ardent southerner from South Carolina, connected the growing disrespect for the sacredness of marriage in the North with abolitionism. If abolitionists had their way every white woman would marry Negro brutes and the purest African-blooded "Mumbo Jumbo" would some day be elected to the presidency of the United States. But, fortunately, any "refined Anglo-Saxon lady would sooner be burnt at the stake than married to one of these black descendants of Ham." Northern abolition preachers were loosening the ties of marriage as well as of slavery, although both were divinely ordained. They were encouraging crime and Mormonism. Divorces were unusually high among the abolitionists of Kansas. The Negroes would gladly enter into such a scheme because they did not regard matrimonial relations seriously. Naturally chivalry could not survive in such a milieu.

Only the South stood firmly against this unholy thing. There womanhood was respected. There divorces were frowned upon. Indeed, they were not permitted at all under the laws of one southern state—South Carolina. Rape was still classed with murder there, and death was the penalty for both crimes. Chivalry still flourished. Hence there was no talk of woman's rights or woman's influence in the South, for her wish was a command.<sup>21</sup>

Emma Dorothy Nevitte Southworth of Maryland furnished still another interpretation of northern matrimonial problems. She saw in the wild scramble among fashionable northern urbanites for titled European sons-in-law an incipient American aristocracy. In the South, contrariwise, social democracy still prevailed, she declared, for in Maryland men "met as peers on equal terms, the only precedence being that

<sup>20</sup> Harland, *Moss-Side*, 310-342.

<sup>21</sup> Mrs. Henry R. Schoolcraft (Mary Howard Schoolcraft), *The Black Gauntlet: A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1860), vii-viii, 46, 159, 213, 226-227, 239.



given by courtesy.”<sup>22</sup> The extent of this democratic quality in southern life was demonstrated in *Ishmael*, a supposedly true story of the rise of a poor boy of eastern Maryland to a position of social and political prominence despite the belief that he was of illegitimate birth.

*Ishmael*, like a number of the other novels of Southworth, was published serially in newspapers. It is said to have been the most popular story ever printed in the *New York Ledger*. Emma Southworth was probably the most popular American novelist of the mid-century.

Sue Petigru Bowen, a South Carolinian, also wrote unfavorably upon northern morals and manners. She contributed to the notion in the South that northern city-bred men were weaklings and philanderers, describing in *Lily, A Novel* (New York, 1855) a typical New York society man as being “small and thin, slightly knock-kneed, and very carefully dressed.” He “lived on dancing and a little opium” and he flirted furiously with southern belles. As a result they often came home “pursued by rumors” but “seldom by the causes of those rumors.”<sup>23</sup>

She claimed, moreover, that northerners lacked the qualities of good hostesses and gracious guests, citing a New York matron who caricatured one of her guests for the amusement of the others. The remonstrances of a southern lady only “flashed a momentary shame into their callous souls.”<sup>24</sup> In her writings the northerners displayed these same poor manners when they came as guests to Charleston by ridiculing the dress, the gentle leisurely ways, and the dancing of their hostesses or of southerners in general.<sup>25</sup>

The hard lot of the laborers in the North was a theme often repeated by the women writers of the Old South. It was used by Royall, Windle and McIntosh, as has been shown, and by Eliza Neville in “Lines on Reading Mrs. Trol-

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<sup>22</sup> Emma Dorothy Nevitte Southworth, *Ishmael* (New York: Meridian), 154. In the foreword of this edition it is stated that *Ishmael* was originally published in the *New York Ledger* under the title of “Self-Made, or, Out of the Depths,” and was the most popular story ever printed in that paper. James D. Hart, *The Popular Book* (New York, 1950), 96-97.

<sup>23</sup> Sue Petigru Bowen, *Lily, A Novel*, 83-84, 115, 116.

<sup>24</sup> Bowen, *Lily, A Novel*, 233.

<sup>25</sup> Bowen, *Lily, A Novel*, 88.



lope's *Factory Boy*,"<sup>26</sup> and by Mrs. Woodson in *A Southern Home*.<sup>27</sup> Mary Schoolcraft cited the *Charleston Mercury* as authority for a statement that 100,000 poor folk in New York City alone would be glad to exchange places with southern slaves; and she quoted a resolution adopted by the laborers of Pemberton Mills to the effect that Negro slavery was vastly preferable to the low wages and tyranny of their company, which made within a year a net profit of \$150,000.-00.<sup>28</sup> As a result of such conditions, ignorance, malnutrition, disease, pauperism and even starvation allegedly pervaded northern industrial centers.

Mistreatment of orphans by northerners was another topic popular with many southern writers. Augusta Jane Evans Wilson described this evil in a northern community in *Beulah* (1859). Margaret Couch Anthony Cabell brought the scene to her own home town, Lynchburg, Virginia, by relating how cruel northerners over-worked, whipped, and starved a friendless little orphaned girl there until the good people of the town rescued the child and indignantly drove the northern family from the community. She concluded the narration with this gibe; "Had Ann Hindershot been a slave on a southern plantation, this incident might have done admirably as a fresh horror for Mrs. Beecher Stowe to add to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'; but as Ann Hindershot was only a white servant, and her master and mistress natives of a northern state, it is not likely that Mrs. Stowe will venture to weave such a narrative in any of her productions."<sup>29</sup>

Southern women writers also publicized the idea that the plight of the free Negroes of the North was deplorable. Caroline E. Rush contrasted New York squalor with the abundance of a plantation in Mississippi, where even the slaves were well-fed.<sup>30</sup> Schoolcraft declared that the North was "a

<sup>26</sup> Eliza Neville, "Lines on Reading Mrs. Trollope's *Factory Boy*," *The Magnolia* (Savannah), I (1842), 313-314.

<sup>27</sup> Authorship attributed to Mrs. [?] Woodson of Charlottesville by Margaret Couch Anthony Cabell, *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg* (Richmond, 1858), 112; recommended as reading for southerners. *The Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond), XXI (February, 1855), 127.

<sup>28</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 254n, 307-309.

<sup>29</sup> Cabell, *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg*, 258-265.

<sup>30</sup> Caroline E. Rush, *The North and the South; or, Slavery and Its Contrasts* (Philadelphia, 1852).



snare of the devil" for the Negro, causing him to become lawless or homesick for the South.<sup>31</sup> Mrs. H. E. Wilson's *Our Meg* (Boston, 1859) was a discourse on the suffering of free Negroes in the North, and Mrs. G. M. Flander's *The Ebony Idol* was a satire upon the efforts of an abolition organization to care for a Negro.<sup>32</sup>

The North was viewed as a region of strange cults and erratic beliefs by some southern writers as *ism* after *ism* arose there: Unitarianism, transcendentalism, feminism, bloomerism, Mormonism, teetotalism, socialism, free-loveism, styleism, abolitionism, and racial amalgamationism. "The fact is, you northern people are full of your *isms*," scoffed Mary H. Eastman in *Aunt Phillis's Cabin*, "you must start a new one every year."<sup>33</sup> Mary Eastman was a daughter of Dr. Thomas Henderson, of Warrenton, Virginia. She later wrote *Fashionable Life* (Philadelphia, 1856), a dissertation on the artificiality of New York styles and fashions.<sup>34</sup>

Several southern women attributed much of the sectionalism to economic differences. Sue Pettigru Bowen and Louisa S. McCord were among these economic determinists. In a passage of one of Bowen's novels, a southern planter is made to declare philosophically that the abolitionists really were not inspired by moral or religious indignation but by economic self interest.<sup>35</sup>

Louisa McCord emphasized in scholarly economic treatises that northern manufacturers favored protective tariffs only because of the special monopolistic advantages they could obtain therefrom. She stood firmly for laissez-faire doctrines and free trade, declaring they furnished the best policy for the South and for the nation. She cited the new free trade program of Great Britain as a sign of its enlightenment and its economic progress. She asserted that protectionism must

<sup>31</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 51, 530. A southerner, C. J. Brown, opened an office in Detroit to assist fugitive slaves who wished to return to their southern home. Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 253n.

<sup>32</sup> Francis Pendleton Gaines, *The Southern Plantation* (New York, 1925), 46-47; Herbert Ross Brown, *The Sentimental Novel 1789-1860* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 271.

<sup>33</sup> Quoted from Mary Eastman, *Aunt Phillis's Cabin* (Philadelphia, 1853). Brown, *The Sentimental Novel*, 271.

<sup>34</sup> Hart, *Female Prose Writers of America*, 226.

<sup>35</sup> Bowen, *Lily, A Novel*, 45.



inevitably lead to high cost, state socialism, the dole system, and loss of freedom. She maintained that "all commercial intercourse" is "beneficial to both sides" and that normal international trade must soon cease when nations adopt navigation laws. She freely admitted that laissez-faire was accompanied by struggle and some injustice; but she affirmed that it furnished the only road to achievement, to self-reliance, and to freedom, for people cannot be free until they have won the right to be free.

She wrote a reply to a book by H. C. Carey, one of the leading northern protectionists, in which she maintained the northern advocates of high tariffs were seeking them to gain greater profits for themselves by enslaving the exporting agricultural South.<sup>36</sup> She quoted Bastiat, Ricardo, Molinari, John Lewis and several other economists in expounding her theory. She published many articles on the subject in *The Southern Quarterly Review*.<sup>37</sup> Her translation of Francois Bastiat's *Sophismes Economiques* under the English title "Sophisms of the Protective Policy" elicited from one reviewer the statement that it was "the very best of its class that we have ever read."<sup>38</sup>

Finally, southern women saw in the North an alarming growth of un-American influences. An influx of immigrants to that region and the activities of the American or "Know Nothing" party helped to confirm them in this view. Mrs. Woodson asserted in *A Southern Home* that the Federal Union was in mortal danger because elections were controlled in the northern states by foreigners, uneducated workingmen, fanatics, and Roman Catholics who had vowed to obey the popes.<sup>39</sup> Some anti-Catholic and anti-foreign passages are in Augusta Jane Evans Wilson's *Inez: A Tale of the*

<sup>36</sup> D. J. M. [Louisa S. McCord (Mrs. D. J.) ?], "Art. IV. Navigation Laws," *The Southern Quarterly Review* (Charleston), I n.s. (April, 1850), 49; L. S. M. [Louisa S. McCord], "Carey on the Slave Trade," IX n.s. (January, 1854), 115-184.

<sup>37</sup> L. S. M. [Louisa S. McCord], "Justice and Fraternity," *The Southern Quarterly Review*, XV (July, 1849), 356-374; "Negro and White Slaves Wherein do they Differ," IV n.s. (July, 1851), 118-132.

<sup>38</sup> No reviewer named, *The Southern Quarterly Review*, XIV (July, 1848), 252.

<sup>39</sup> By a Virginian [Mrs. Woodson of Charlottesville?], *A Southern Home* (Richmond, 1855), 217-219.



*Alamo*,<sup>40</sup> Catharine Ann Ware Warfield's *The Household of Bouverie; or The Elixir of Gold*,<sup>41</sup> and Marion Harland's *Alone*.<sup>42</sup> Louisa McCord was disturbed by the growth of the foreign doctrines of socialism in the North and the conversion thereto of prominent Americans, among whom she included Horace Greeley and Albert Brisbane.<sup>43</sup>

In Mary Schoolcraft's opinion abolitionism was an un-American movement, promoted by stockholders of the British East India Company to cripple southern agriculture and to gain for India the supremacy in producing cotton and tobacco. She warned that if this British scheme should succeed, Russia probably would seize India and make English cotton manufacturers dependent upon its caprices for their supply of raw materials. Schoolcraft asserted, moreover, that Europeans and foreigners in the United States were agitating the slavery issue to keep the United States from becoming a world power, and quoted a speech by Senator Clingman of North Carolina as evidence of the discovery of such an international plot to break the American Union.<sup>44</sup>

Naturally Southern women did not allow Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to go unchallenged. They replied by denying that southern life was as cruel as Mrs. Stowe described it, by enlarging upon the dangers of Africanization, by emphasizing the advantages of slavery to the slave, to the South, and to the nation, and by reiterating the evils of northern life and character.

Perhaps the first reply to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was Carolina Lee Hentz's *Marcus Warland; or a Tale of the South* in 1852. Except for attacks upon the untruthfulness of fanatical abolitionists, Mrs. Hentz contented herself with a description of life in the South as she had seen it in many parts of the black belt during twenty years of residence therein, believing ap-

<sup>40</sup> Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, *Inez: A Tale of the Alamo* (New York, 1864), [ 7 ], 34. Originally published by Harpers in 1855. John D. Wade, "Augusta Jane Evans," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 195.

<sup>41</sup> Catherine Ann Ware Warfield, *The Household of Bouverie; or The Elixir of Gold* (2 vols., New York, 1860), I, 46-48, 55.

<sup>42</sup> Marion Harland, *Alone* (New York: Carleton, 1876; originally published in 1854), 306-307.

<sup>43</sup> L. S. M. [Louisa S. McCord], "The Right to Labor," *The Southern Quarterly Review*, XVI (October, 1849), 145.

<sup>44</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 215, 403.



parently that such a first-hand account would destroy the influence of abolitionists among the northern masses.<sup>45</sup> In a second book on the subject, *The Planter's Northern Bride*, she reminded her readers that she was a native of the North who had lived in the South long enough really to understand the region. Of slavery she wrote, "One thing is certain, and if we were on judicial oath we would repeat it, that during our residence in the South, we have never *witnessed* one scene of cruelty or oppression, nor beheld a chain or manacle, or the infliction of a punishment more severe than parental authority would be justified in applying to filial disobedience or transgression. This is not owing to our being placed in a limited sphere of observation, for we have studied domestic, social, and plantation life, in Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida."<sup>46</sup>

Caroline Hentz's northern birth and extensive literary reputation were significant factors in assuring a cordial reception of her writings in the North. She was the wife of a former professor at the University of North Carolina, and she enjoyed a reputation as a playwright as well as a novelist.<sup>47</sup>

Her intersectional experience was used by other southern writers to advance their cause. When Martha Haines Butt, of Norfolk, Virginia, wrote her reply to Harriet Stowe, *Antifanaticism: A Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1853), she inscribed it to Caroline Hentz as a northerner who had lived in the South before she undertook to write about it. Stowe, in contrast, she pointed out, had never visited the region but had written instead a fanatical, prejudiced, ignorant fabrication of falsehoods. Butt's description of the South was utopian.

Mary Eastman's *Aunt Phillis's Cabin* was likewise obviously a reply to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was advertised by Lippin-

<sup>45</sup> Caroline Lee Hentz, *Marcus Warland; or a Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1852), 7.

<sup>46</sup> Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter's Northern Bride* (Philadelphia, 1854), I, v.

<sup>47</sup> George Harvey Genzmer, "Caroline Lee Hentz," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 565-566; Evert A. Duyckinck and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1855), II, 486-487. Hentz's *Lovell's Folly* (Cincinnati, 1830) was a well executed novel of about 300 pages in which she treated sectional prejudices long before the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. *The Magnolia*, II n.s. (1843), 358.



cott, Grombo, and Company with a picture showing a comfortable frame home with a porch and a happy Negro woman.<sup>48</sup> Like Butt, she remarked upon the irrational state of the northern mind and the fanatical distortions of truth by abolitionists.

Schoolcraft strengthened the impression that abolitionists were murderous and treasonable fanatics as well as liars by relating how Mr. Gorsuch and one of his sons were lynched by abolitionists in Pennsylvania when they went there unarmed to recover a fugitive slave.<sup>49</sup> She contrasted abolition violence with the peaceable conditions of the South, declaring that she had heard of only one instance in her entire life of a southern planter having killed a slave and that in that case the killer had committed suicide out of remorse over the accident.<sup>50</sup> Like many others, she saw in John Brown's raid the logical result of northern fanaticism, a planned "midnight assassination of all the inhabitants of Harper's Ferry."<sup>51</sup>

Since the abolitionists had failed to accept her challenge to join in a campaign to purchase the slaves and provide them with sufficient funds to become self-supporting freedmen, she branded them as thieves, "Pharisees," enemies of the prosperity of the country, Chartists, warmongers, and "anti-slavery latter-day saints" who looked upon God as an "old fogey."<sup>52</sup> Those among them who advocated racial equality were unchristian because they had departed from the teachings of the Bible, unscientific because "the merest allusion to anthropology denotes the inferiority of the African mind,"<sup>53</sup> impractical because their theory required the removal of all immigration restrictions, opening the United States to "a worse barbarianism than Columbus found at the discovery of America,"<sup>54</sup> and unhistorical because the author of the American phrase "born free and equal"—Thomas Jef-

<sup>48</sup> Martha Haines Butt, *Antifanaticism: A Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1853), appendix, [ 32 ].

<sup>49</sup> Schoolcraft, *Letters on the Condition of the African Race* (Philadelphia, 1852), 1-34.

<sup>50</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 82-83.

<sup>51</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 96-97.

<sup>52</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 96, 208-212, 376, 562, 565-567.

<sup>53</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 241.

<sup>54</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 216.



person—obviously had not intended it to apply to all human beings, since he had not only continued to keep but had actually increased his holdings in slaves.<sup>55</sup> The southern slaves even spurned the abolition preachers sent among them because these agitators obviously lacked interest in their personal welfare and eternal salvation.<sup>56</sup>

Mary Schoolcraft was the wife of Dr. Thomas Rowe Schoolcraft, an eminent authority on Indian history. Hence she moved in influential social and intellectual circles; and when she asserted that there were insuperable racial barriers between the whites and the blacks and that “all hybrids are subject to the fixed law of moral deterioration that the half-breed Indian almost universally develops,”<sup>57</sup> her statements naturally possessed considerable authority. Furthermore, she revealed a wide knowledge of the literature on the subject, having served as her husband’s amanuensis for many years; and she cited Barrow, Hegel, and Dr. Benjamin Coates of Philadelphia, in support of her racial thesis.<sup>58</sup> Her best-known books were *Letters on the Condition of the African Race in the United States* (1852), and *The Black Gauntlet: A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina* (1860).

Since the Republican party absorbed the abolitionists, it naturally became a party of fanatics in the eyes of many southern women—a party that would cause the Africanization of the South and retrogression. Hence a vote against the Republican party was a vote for progress.

Mary Sophie Shaw Homes of New Orleans, writing under the pseudonym of Millie Mayfield, elaborated upon this theme in a remarkable long poem, *Progression, or, The South Defended*, which was published in the year of Lincoln’s election. As an evolutionist she brought into play much of the most advanced scientific thought of her day to prove that the doctrine of racial equality was a violation of the natural progressive order and therefore false. She warned that the Republicans were as ignorant of science and as fanatically

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<sup>55</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 561.

<sup>56</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 372.

<sup>57</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 540-541.

<sup>58</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, ix, 68-69, 216-218, 405.



prejudiced as their ancestors, the witch burners of Salem, and that if such reactionary fanatics, egalitarians and amalgamationists gained control of the national government, they would bleach the bones of each slaveholder: <sup>59</sup>

“On cold fanaticism’s stones,  
The while his blistering flesh would writhe  
and broil  
On Black Republican gridirons!”

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<sup>59</sup> Millie Mayfield (pseud.), *Progression, or, The South Defended* (Cincinnati, 1860), 130.



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The Medical Department of the Regular Army of the newly born Confederate States of America was authorized by the Provisional Congress at Montgomery, Alabama, on February 26, 1861, in "An Act for the Establishment and Organization of a General Staff for the Army of the Confederate States of America." This act, passed eight days after the inauguration of Jefferson Davis, provided for a medical department of one Surgeon General, four surgeons, and six assistant surgeons. The War Department was authorized to employ additional assistant surgeons should their services be required. The Surgeon General was to have the rank of colonel. Surgeons and assistant surgeons were to rank as majors and captains, respectively. Officers of the Medical Department, according to the act, could exercise command only in their own department.<sup>1</sup>

Two important laws affecting the Army Medical Department were enacted on March 6, 1861. The act of February 26, 1861, had provided medical officers for the Regular Army. The first of the two acts passed on March 6, 1861, entitled "An Act to provide for the Public Defense," authorized medical officers for the Provisional Army. This law empowered the President to appoint one surgeon and one assistant surgeon for each regiment when volunteers or militia were called into the military service in such numbers that the medical officers of the Regular Army could not furnish them proper medical attention. Medical officers appointed under the authority of this act were "to continue in service only so long as their services may be required in connection with the militia or volunteers."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> James M. Matthews (ed.), *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, from . . . February 8, 1861, to . . . February 18, 1862 . . .* (Richmond, 1864), 38-39.

<sup>2</sup> Matthews, *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 45-46.



*Alamo*,<sup>40</sup> Catharine Ann Ware Warfield's *The Household of Bouverie; or The Elixir of Gold*,<sup>41</sup> and Marion Harland's *Alone*.<sup>42</sup> Louisa McCord was disturbed by the growth of the foreign doctrines of socialism in the North and the conversion thereto of prominent Americans, among whom she included Horace Greeley and Albert Brisbane.<sup>43</sup>

In Mary Schoolcraft's opinion abolitionism was an un-American movement, promoted by stockholders of the British East India Company to cripple southern agriculture and to gain for India the supremacy in producing cotton and tobacco. She warned that if this British scheme should succeed, Russia probably would seize India and make English cotton manufacturers dependent upon its caprices for their supply of raw materials. Schoolcraft asserted, moreover, that Europeans and foreigners in the United States were agitating the slavery issue to keep the United States from becoming a world power, and quoted a speech by Senator Clingman of North Carolina as evidence of the discovery of such an international plot to break the American Union.<sup>44</sup>

Naturally Southern women did not allow Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to go unchallenged. They replied by denying that southern life was as cruel as Mrs. Stowe described it, by enlarging upon the dangers of Africanization, by emphasizing the advantages of slavery to the slave, to the South, and to the nation, and by reiterating the evils of northern life and character.

Perhaps the first reply to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was Carolina Lee Hentz's *Marcus Warland; or a Tale of the South* in 1852. Except for attacks upon the untruthfulness of fanatical abolitionists, Mrs. Hentz contented herself with a description of life in the South as she had seen it in many parts of the black belt during twenty years of residence therein, believing ap-

<sup>40</sup> Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, *Inez: A Tale of the Alamo* (New York, 1864), [ 7 ], 34. Originally published by Harpers in 1855. John D. Wade, "Augusta Jane Evans," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 195.

<sup>41</sup> Catherine Ann Ware Warfield, *The Household of Bouverie; or The Elixir of Gold* (2 vols., New York, 1860), I, 46-48, 55.

<sup>42</sup> Marion Harland, *Alone* (New York: Carleton, 1876; originally published in 1854), 306-307.

<sup>43</sup> L. S. M. [Louisa S. McCord], "The Right to Labor," *The Southern Quarterly Review*, XVI (October, 1849), 145.

<sup>44</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 215, 403.



parently that such a first-hand account would destroy the influence of abolitionists among the northern masses.<sup>45</sup> In a second book on the subject, *The Planter's Northern Bride*, she reminded her readers that she was a native of the North who had lived in the South long enough really to understand the region. Of slavery she wrote, "One thing is certain, and if we were on judicial oath we would repeat it, that during our residence in the South, we have never *witnessed* one scene of cruelty or oppression, nor beheld a chain or manacle, or the infliction of a punishment more severe than parental authority would be justified in applying to filial disobedience or transgression. This is not owing to our being placed in a limited sphere of observation, for we have studied domestic, social, and plantation life, in Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida."<sup>46</sup>

Caroline Hentz's northern birth and extensive literary reputation were significant factors in assuring a cordial reception of her writings in the North. She was the wife of a former professor at the University of North Carolina, and she enjoyed a reputation as a playwright as well as a novelist.<sup>47</sup>

Her intersectional experience was used by other southern writers to advance their cause. When Martha Haines Butt, of Norfolk, Virginia, wrote her reply to Harriet Stowe, *Antifanaticism: A Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1853), she inscribed it to Caroline Hentz as a northerner who had lived in the South before she undertook to write about it. Stowe, in contrast, she pointed out, had never visited the region but had written instead a fanatical, prejudiced, ignorant fabrication of falsehoods. Butt's description of the South was utopian.

Mary Eastman's *Aunt Phillis's Cabin* was likewise obviously a reply to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was advertised by Lippin-

<sup>45</sup> Caroline Lee Hentz, *Marcus Warland; or a Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1852), 7.

<sup>46</sup> Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter's Northern Bride* (Philadelphia, 1854), I, v.

<sup>47</sup> George Harvey Genzmer, "Caroline Lee Hentz," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 565-566; Evert A. Duyckinck and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1855), II, 486-487. Hentz's *Lovell's Folly* (Cincinnati, 1830) was a well executed novel of about 300 pages in which she treated sectional prejudices long before the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. *The Magnolia*, II n.s. (1843), 358.



cott, Grombo, and Company with a picture showing a comfortable frame home with a porch and a happy Negro woman.<sup>48</sup> Like Butt, she remarked upon the irrational state of the northern mind and the fanatical distortions of truth by abolitionists.

Schoolcraft strengthened the impression that abolitionists were murderous and treasonable fanatics as well as liars by relating how Mr. Gorsuch and one of his sons were lynched by abolitionists in Pennsylvania when they went there unarmed to recover a fugitive slave.<sup>49</sup> She contrasted abolition violence with the peaceable conditions of the South, declaring that she had heard of only one instance in her entire life of a southern planter having killed a slave and that in that case the killer had committed suicide out of remorse over the accident.<sup>50</sup> Like many others, she saw in John Brown's raid the logical result of northern fanaticism, a planned "midnight assassination of all the inhabitants of Harper's Ferry."<sup>51</sup>

Since the abolitionists had failed to accept her challenge to join in a campaign to purchase the slaves and provide them with sufficient funds to become self-supporting freedmen, she branded them as thieves, "Pharisees," enemies of the prosperity of the country, Chartists, warmongers, and "anti-slavery latter-day saints" who looked upon God as an "old fogey."<sup>52</sup> Those among them who advocated racial equality were unchristian because they had departed from the teachings of the Bible, unscientific because "the merest allusion to anthropology denotes the inferiority of the African mind,"<sup>53</sup> impractical because their theory required the removal of all immigration restrictions, opening the United States to "a worse barbarianism than Columbus found at the discovery of America,"<sup>54</sup> and unhistorical because the author of the American phrase "born free and equal"—Thomas Jef-

<sup>48</sup> Martha Haines Butt, *Antifanaticism: A Tale of the South* (Philadelphia, 1853), appendix, [ 32 ].

<sup>49</sup> Schoolcraft, *Letters on the Condition of the African Race* (Philadelphia, 1852), 1-34.

<sup>50</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 82-83.

<sup>51</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 96-97.

<sup>52</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 96, 208-212, 376, 562, 565-567.

<sup>53</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 241.

<sup>54</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 216.



feron—obviously had not intended it to apply to all human beings, since he had not only continued to keep but had actually increased his holdings in slaves.<sup>55</sup> The southern slaves even spurned the abolition preachers sent among them because these agitators obviously lacked interest in their personal welfare and eternal salvation.<sup>56</sup>

Mary Schoolcraft was the wife of Dr. Thomas Rowe Schoolcraft, an eminent authority on Indian history. Hence she moved in influential social and intellectual circles; and when she asserted that there were insuperable racial barriers between the whites and the blacks and that "all hybrids are subject to the fixed law of moral deterioration that the half-breed Indian almost universally develops,"<sup>57</sup> her statements naturally possessed considerable authority. Furthermore, she revealed a wide knowledge of the literature on the subject, having served as her husband's amanuensis for many years; and she cited Barrow, Hegel, and Dr. Benjamin Coates of Philadelphia, in support of her racial thesis.<sup>58</sup> Her best-known books were *Letters on the Condition of the African Race in the United States* (1852), and *The Black Gauntlet: A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina* (1860).

Since the Republican party absorbed the abolitionists, it naturally became a party of fanatics in the eyes of many southern women—a party that would cause the Africanization of the South and retrogression. Hence a vote against the Republican party was a vote for progress.

Mary Sophie Shaw Homes of New Orleans, writing under the pseudonym of Millie Mayfield, elaborated upon this theme in a remarkable long poem, *Progression, or, The South Defended*, which was published in the year of Lincoln's election. As an evolutionist she brought into play much of the most advanced scientific thought of her day to prove that the doctrine of racial equality was a violation of the natural progressive order and therefore false. She warned that the Republicans were as ignorant of science and as fanatically

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<sup>55</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 561.

<sup>56</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 372.

<sup>57</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, 540-541.

<sup>58</sup> Schoolcraft, *The Black Gauntlet*, ix, 68-69, 216-218, 405.



prejudiced as their ancestors, the witch burners of Salem, and that if such reactionary fanatics, egalitarians and amalgamationists gained control of the national government, they would bleach the bones of each slaveholder: <sup>59</sup>

“On cold fanaticism’s stones,  
The while his blistering flesh would writhe  
and broil  
On Black Republican gridirons!”

Since many in the lower South were in Homes’s state of mind by 1860, the election of Lincoln was viewed by them as a sufficient cause for secession. President Lincoln’s call for 75,000 volunteers to force the seceded states back into the Union compelled four more southern states into the Confederacy. Then the cold war became a shooting war and the nation was plunged into the worst holocaust in its entire history. What is thought to be the facts is frequently of greater historical importance than the facts themselves to an era. Of more current interest, perhaps, is that money shibboleths and thought patterns used in the propaganda campaigns a century ago still survive both in the North and South of today.

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<sup>2</sup> Matthews, *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 45-46.



The second measure concerning the Medical Department enacted by Congress on March 6, 1861, established a pay scale for army medical officers. The Surgeon General was to receive an annual salary of \$3,000. A surgeon's pay ranged from \$162 to \$200 a month; assistant surgeon's from \$110 to \$150 a month. The exact pay received by surgeons and assistant surgeons depended on length of service in either grade. In addition to the base pay certain allowances, such as fuel and quarters, were granted.<sup>3</sup> Only one important change concerning pay was made in this law. On January 23, 1865, Congress repealed so much of the earlier bill as affected the Surgeon General's pay and allowances, and enacted that thereafter his pay and allowances would be equivalent to the officers of his rank serving in the cavalry.<sup>4</sup> The pay of private physicians employed by contract varied considerably, depending in part on whether or not they gave all of their time to the service. It was ultimately decided that contract physicians who gave all of their time to the service would receive the pay and allowances of assistant surgeons.<sup>5</sup> The pay and allowances of dentists amounted to about \$10 per diem.<sup>6</sup>

The growing military establishment and large-scale epidemics of measles, malaria, typhoid fever, and other camp diseases during the early months of the war led to further increase in the number of medical officers authorized by Congress. On April 27, 1861, Leroy Pope Walker, Secretary of War, recommended, in a communication to President Davis that the army medical staff be increased.<sup>7</sup> Acting upon Secre-

<sup>3</sup> Matthews, *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Charles W. Ramsdell (ed.), *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress (November 7, 1864-March 18, 1865) Together with the Secret Acts of Previous Congresses* (Durham, North Carolina, 1941), 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Regulations for the Medical Department of the Confederate States Army* (Richmond, 1861), 9; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index, (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. IV, Vol. III, 623; S. P. Moore to E. S. Gailard, November 21, 1862, Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Surgeon General's Office, Chapter VI, Vol. 739, War Department Collection of Confederate Records (The National Archives, Washington, D. C.).

<sup>6</sup> W. A. Carrington to S. P. Moore, January 30, 1865. Letters Sent and Received, Medical Director's Office, Richmond, 1864-1865, Ch. VI, Vol. 364, WD Coll. of CR (The National Archives).

<sup>7</sup> *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 248.



tary Walker's advice the Congress, on May 16, 1861, authorized the addition of six surgeons and fourteen assistant surgeons to the Medical Department of the Regular Army.<sup>8</sup> And on August 14, 1861, the President was empowered "to appoint in the provisional army as many surgeons and assistant surgeons for the various hospitals of the Confederacy, as may be necessary."<sup>9</sup>

The organization of the Confederate States Navy was authorized by Congress on March 16, 1861. The act of organization provided for the appointment of five surgeons and five assistant surgeons. Medical officers appointed by authority of this act became, of course, officers in the permanent naval establishment.<sup>10</sup> Provision for temporary appointments was made by Congress in a bill approved on December 24, 1861. This measure empowered the President to appoint thirty additional assistant surgeons. Such appointments were "to be made from the navy and from civil life, as the President may see fit, and to terminate at the end of the war."<sup>11</sup> An increase of medical officers in the Regular Navy was authorized by an act of April 21, 1862, following the expansion of naval activity. This law authorized a permanent medical staff of twenty-two surgeons, fifteen passed assistant surgeons, and thirty assistant surgeons.<sup>12</sup> The need for Navy medical officers continued, however, and on May 1, 1863, Congress, in "An Act to create a Provisional Navy of the Confederate States," empowered the President to appoint in the Provisional Navy as many additional medical officers as the public service required.<sup>13</sup>

The pay scale of the Navy's medical officers was established

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<sup>8</sup> Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 115.

<sup>9</sup> Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 176.

<sup>10</sup> Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 70.

<sup>11</sup> Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 229.

<sup>12</sup> James M. Matthews (ed.), *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . First Session of the First Congress; 1862* (Richmond, 1862), 50.

<sup>13</sup> James M. Matthews (ed.), *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Third Session of the First Congress; 1863* (Richmond, 1863), 161. The word "regular" instead of "provisional" was used in this act, but it was undoubtedly inserted through error. On June 14, 1864, an amendment caused the proper word to be used. James M. Matthews (ed.), *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . First Session of the Second Congress: 1864* (Richmond, 1864), 277.



by Congress in acts of March 16, 1861, and September 26, 1862. Fleet surgeons were to receive an annual pay of \$3,500. A surgeon's pay for the first five years after the date of his commission was set at either \$2,200 or \$2,000 annually, depending on whether he was or was not on sea duty.<sup>14</sup> For service afloat passed assistant surgeons were to receive a yearly pay of \$1,700; for shore or other duty they would receive \$1,500, and, when on leave or awaiting orders, their yearly pay would be \$1,200.<sup>15</sup> The annual stipend of assistant surgeons was to be either \$1,250 or \$1,050.<sup>16</sup>

The proper uniform to be worn by the army medical officer was carefully explained in regulations. The officer's tunic of gray cloth, known as cadet gray, was to have black facings with a stand up collar. His "trowsers" were to be made of dark blue cloth, and [they] were to have "a black velvet stripe, one inch and a quarter in width, with a gold cord on each edge of the stripe." A black cravat, ankle or Jefferson boots, white gloves, a star on the tunic collar, a sash of "green silk net," and a cap on which the letters "M.S." were embroidered in gold completed the medical officer's prescribed dress.<sup>17</sup> Few were ever able to clothe themselves in such regalia.

Several unsuccessful efforts were made during the course of the war to alter the overall organization of the Medical Department as set forth above. On August 22, 1861, President Davis returned to Congress for reconsideration "An Act to authorize the appointment of an additional Assistant Surgeon to each regiment in the Army of the Confederate States." The President took the position that the expenditure which the proposal would require was unnecessary, inasmuch as existing legislative enactments were adequate to meet the needs of the service. The President wrote:

I am aware that there have been causes of complaint in relation to neglect of our sick and wounded soldiers; but this, it

<sup>14</sup> Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 71-72.

<sup>15</sup> Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Second Session of the First Congress; 1862*, 61.

<sup>16</sup> Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 72.

<sup>17</sup> *Uniform and Dress of the Army of the Confederate States* (Richmond, 1861), 3-4; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 369-373.



is believed, arises not so much from an insufficiency in the number of the surgeons and assistant surgeons as from inattention or want of qualification, and I am endeavoring to apply the proper remedy by organizing a board of examiners, so as to ascertain who are the officers really to blame, and replace them by others more competent and efficient.<sup>18</sup>

Another proposal, "An Act to reorganize and promote the efficiency of the Medical Department of the Provisional Army," received the veto of the President on October 13, 1862. The bill was carelessly framed and should have been blocked. The measure provided, for example, "that the rank, pay, and allowances of a brigadier general in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States be, and the same are hereby, conferred on the Surgeon General of the same." As the President pointed out, however, there was no such officer as the Surgeon General of the Provisional Army and no "Medical Department of the Provisional Army." Sections 3 and 4 of the bill required the assignment of additional surgeons and assistant surgeons, but no authority was given for the increased number. The President's chief objections to the bill were directed against its fifth section. The latter provided for an infirmary corps of fifty men for each brigade. This corps would aid in the care of sick and wounded and was to be officered by one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, two sergeants, and two corporals. In his veto message President Davis blasted the proposal and asserted that it was inadequate as "no provision whatever is made for any additional medical officers, nor does the act provide for any control by medical officers over these infirmary corps, nor assign to these corps any fixed duties."<sup>19</sup>

The final reorganization proposals to receive serious congressional consideration originated in April, 1863. A House bill, approved by its Committee on the Medical Department,

<sup>18</sup> James D. Richardson (comp.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, Including the Diplomatic Correspondence 1861-1865*, 2 vols. (Nashville, Tennessee, 1905), I, 130. See also *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1904-1905), I, 390.

<sup>19</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 263-265; *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, V, 557-558; *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, 1876-1943), XLVII (1930), 39.



provided, first, that the Surgeon General be given the rank, pay and allowances of a brigadier general in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States. The second proposition in the measure was for the appointment in the Provisional Army of two assistant surgeons general, as many as ten medical inspectors charged with supervising hospitals and camp sanitary conditions, and as many surgeons as the President might direct. The assistant surgeons general and the medical inspectors were to enjoy the rank, pay, and allowances of a colonel of cavalry. Surgeons were to receive the rank, pay, and allowances of either a lieutenant colonel or a major of cavalry, depending on their duty assignment. The House Bill also proposed the establishment in the Provisional Army of an infirmary corps of medical officers "in number not to exceed one surgeon for each brigade and one assistant surgeon for each regiment, who shall not be attached to the organization of troops, but shall serve in the field, or in field hospitals, under such regulations as the Secretary of War shall prescribe." The bill provided further that the appointment of Regular Army officers to offices created by the act would not affect their position in the Regular Army and that the rank conferred by the bill carried with it no authority to command outside of the Medical Department.<sup>20</sup> Thus did the House of Representatives endeavor to meet the chief executive's objections to the reorganization bill of October, 1862. The measure was approved by a vote of forty-four to twenty-seven in the lower chamber,<sup>21</sup> but was blocked in the Senate.<sup>22</sup> A Senate reorganization measure, not so comprehensive as the House bill, passed that body on April 11, 1863,<sup>23</sup> but was not concurred in by the House.<sup>24</sup> A bill to reorganize the Medical Corps of the Confederate States Navy, presented in the Senate on January 28, 1863, was referred to the Committee on

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<sup>20</sup> *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, VI, 324; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX (1943), 121-122.

<sup>21</sup> *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX (1943), 122.

<sup>22</sup> *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, III, 379.

<sup>23</sup> *Journal of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, III, 279; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX (1943), 128-129.

<sup>24</sup> *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, VI, 463.



Naval Affairs.<sup>25</sup> On March 13, 1863, it was reported out and laid on the table.<sup>26</sup> No other such proposal was made during the life of the Confederate Congress.

The Surgeon General, according to available records, seems to have lent his support to the reorganization proposals of April, 1863, and to have been disappointed upon the inability of the lawmakers to fashion a comprehensive measure for the President's signature.<sup>27</sup> The judgment of the Confederate Army and Navy surgeons themselves on the organization of the Medical Department was stated succinctly in their journal early in 1864:

Although the organization of the medical department is not as complete as it is believed it could have been, had the ideas and suggestions of its experienced presiding officer met with more favorable consideration, still, in view of the exactness with which its varied duties have been defined and systematized, it may be confidently asserted that, in the full performance of these duties by its members, the objects for which it was instituted have been, if not perfectly, yet, to a very great extent, satisfactorily accomplished.<sup>28</sup>

The structure of the medical service, as it existed late in 1864, is impressive. Six medical officers, including the Surgeon General, were on duty in the Surgeon General's office. Eighteen surgeons were serving as medical directors in the field and supervising the work of medical officers there. There were also eight medical directors of hospitals, six field medical inspectors, and seven medical inspectors of hospitals. Five Army Medical Boards were engaged in the examination of applicants for appointment as assistant surgeons and of assistant surgeons for promotion. The number of principal hospitals in the various states was as follows: Virginia—39, North Carolina—21, South Carolina—12, Georgia—50, Alabama—23, Mississippi—3, Florida—4, and Tennessee—2.

<sup>25</sup> *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, III, 37; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLVII (1930), 219.

<sup>26</sup> *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, III, 164.

<sup>27</sup> Samuel P. Moore, "Address of the President of the Association of Medical Officers of the Confederate States Army and Navy," *The Southern Practitioner* (Nashville, 1879-1918), XXXI (October, 1909), 494.

<sup>28</sup> *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal* (Richmond, 1864-1865), I (February, 1864), 26.



Medical laboratories, with a surgeon in charge of each, were located at Lincolnton, North Carolina; Tyler, Texas; Macon, Georgia; Augusta, Georgia; and Columbia, South Carolina. Thirty-two medical purveyors, employed in the procurement of medical and hospital supplies, were located throughout the Confederacy.<sup>29</sup> The Navy's Bureau of Medicine and Surgery was located in Richmond with Surgeon William A. W. Spotswood of Virginia in charge. There were naval hospitals at Richmond, Charleston, Wilmington, Savannah, and Mobile.<sup>30</sup>

The most important medical officer in the Confederate service was, of course, the Surgeon General of the Confederate States Army. According to army regulations the Surgeon General was "charged with the administrative details of the medical department, the government of hospitals, the regulation of the duties of surgeons and assistant surgeons, and the appointment of acting medical officers, when needed, for local or detached service." He was also charged with the issuance of directives "relating to the professional duties of medical officers."<sup>31</sup> Many important papers of the Medical Department were burned when the buildings in Richmond that housed the Surgeon General's office were destroyed by fire during the fall of the city. This loss has deprived those interested in knowing how effectively the Surgeon General and his staff functioned of much pertinent material.

The first Surgeon General of the Confederate States Army was David C. DeLeon, a surgeon in the "old army." DeLeon, a resident of Mobile, Alabama, was ordered to assume the duties of "acting Surgeon General" on May 6, 1861.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal*, I (September, 1864), 152; I (October, 1864), 176; I (November, 1864), 200.

<sup>30</sup> *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of Rebellion*, 30 vols. and index (Washington, 1894-1927), Ser. II, Vol. II, 761; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy from Its Organization to the Surrender of Its Last Vessel* (New York, 1887), 30.

<sup>31</sup> *Regulations for the Medical Department of the Confederate States Army*, 3; *Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States, 1863* (Richmond, 1863), 236.

<sup>32</sup> *Special Orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Confederate States, 1861* (Washington, 18—?), 18; E. Robert Wiese, "Life and Times of Samuel Preston Moore, Surgeon-General of the Confederate States of America," *Southern Medical Journal* (Nashville and Birmingham, 1908- ), XXIII (October, 1930), 917.



His occupancy of the Surgeon General's office, consisting of only one room at that time, was of brief duration. On July 12, 1861, orders were issued that relieved DeLeon and ordered Charles H. Smith of the office staff to take "temporary charge of the medical bureau."<sup>33</sup> A little over two weeks later, on July 30, 1861, the man who was to preside over the Medical Department for the duration of the war, Samuel Preston Moore, was assigned to duty as "acting Surgeon General."<sup>34</sup> Moore went to work immediately. A few weeks after his appointment he advised the Secretary of the Treasury, who was in charge of arrangements for establishing the public offices in Richmond, that it was "impossible to transact the business of this bureau (connected most intimately with the welfare of the Army in the field) in one single room, crowded to over-flowing with employees, soldiers, and visitors on business."<sup>35</sup> On November 29, 1861, the President sent Moore's name to the Senate for approval as Surgeon General. The nomination was confirmed on December 13, 1861.<sup>36</sup>

Samuel Preston Moore, Surgeon General of the Confederate States Army, was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1813.<sup>37</sup> His father and mother were Stephen West Moore and Eleanor Screven (Gilbert) Moore. Samuel was a lineal descendant of Dr. Mordecai Moore who came to America as Lord Baltimore's physician, and the Moore family enjoyed a high social standing.

Moore acquired his early education in Charleston, and was graduated from the Medical College of South Carolina on March 8, 1834. A year later he received an appointment

<sup>33</sup> *Special Orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Confederate States, 1861*, 50.

<sup>34</sup> *Special Orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Confederate States, 1861*, 59.

<sup>35</sup> S. P. Moore to C. G. Memminger, September 11, 1861. Letters of the Secretary of the Treasury, Chapter X, Accession 212, General Records of the Department of the Treasury (The National Archives).

<sup>36</sup> *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, I, 495, 568.

<sup>37</sup> For this sketch of the life of Samuel Preston Moore I have drawn liberally from the following: Percy M. Ashburn, "Samuel Preston Moore," Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Harris E. Starr (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1945), XIII, 137; James Evelyn Pilcher, *The Surgeon Generals of the Army of the United States of America* (Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1905), 95-98; and Samuel E. Lewis, "Samuel Preston Moore, M.D., Surgeon General of the Confederate States," *The Southern Practitioner*, XXIII (August, 1901), 381-386.



as assistant surgeon in the United States Army and entered upon an extended tour of duty in Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Florida. It was while he was stationed in Florida, at Camp Barrancas, that he married a daughter of Major Jacob Brown in June, 1845.

Moore saw service in the Mexican War and received his surgeoncy while on duty at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, on April 30, 1849. Between the years 1849 and 1860 he served duty tours at Fort Laramie, Oregon; San Antonio and Brownsville, Texas; Governor's Island, New York; and the United States Military Academy. In April 1860 Moore was ordered to New Orleans as medical purveyor.

The secession of South Carolina on December 20, 1860, brought Moore's service in the United States Army to a close. Loyal to his state, he resigned his commission and entered upon the practice of medicine in Little Rock, Arkansas. Then he was called to organize the Medical Department of the Southern Confederacy.

The new Surgeon General soon had the Medical Department operating efficiently. Examinations were prescribed to weed out incompetent personnel. The competent were assigned to key positions, and a reporting system intended to inform the Surgeon General of all pertinent medical facts and problems was instituted. Medical societies and the publication of professional journals and books were suspended early in the war.<sup>38</sup> Moore saw the need for discussion and publication and attempted to meet it. In August, 1863, he organized the Association of Army and Navy Surgeons of the Confederate States, "the oldest American military medical society."<sup>39</sup> He became its first president. The Association met regularly and heard reports on medical and surgical subjects proposed by its members.<sup>40</sup>

In the realm of publication Moore encouraged the publication of the *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Jour-*

<sup>38</sup> See Isaac C. Harrison, "A Historical Sketch of the Medical Society of Virginia," *Virginia Medical Monthly* (Richmond, 1874- ), LIX (December, 1932), 510; *The North Carolina Standard*, January 15, 1862.

<sup>39</sup> Edgar E. Hume, *Victories of Army Medicine* (Philadelphia, 1943), 22.

<sup>40</sup> The last meeting of the Association was held on March 18, 1865. Records of the Association of Army and Navy Surgeons (Confederate Museum, Richmond).



nal (January, 1864-February, 1865), ably edited by James Brown McCaw.<sup>41</sup> Well-written editorials, articles on their medical and surgical experiences by Confederate surgeons, and analyses of articles in foreign journals characterized this fine periodical. Despite numerous difficulties its editor reported in May, 1864, that the journal had "attained a larger circulation than was ever reached before by any Southern Medical periodical and promises . . . to surpass the most sanguine expectations of its friends."<sup>42</sup> The Surgeon General also prompted the publication and distribution to his medical personnel of two highly useful books: *Resources of the Southern Fields and Forests, Medical, Economical, and Agricultural*, written at Moore's request by Francis Peyre Porcher of South Carolina, and *A Manual of Military Surgery*, prepared by a group of surgeons working under Moore's direction. Both were published in 1863. The Surgeon General hoped that Porcher's book would enable his medical officers to supply many of their drug needs through the preparation of medicines from plants indigenous to the southern states. The surgical guide, he hoped, would improve operative procedure.

One of the chief distinctions claimed for Surgeon General Moore is that he introduced the hut or one story pavilion hospital, the forerunner of the modern general hospital. In the pavilion type hospital arrangement the sick and wounded were not lumped together in large buildings, but were treated in a number of huts. Each hut thus became an independent ward housing from twenty-five to fifty patients. A general hospital consisted of from forty-five to sixty huts.<sup>43</sup>

The end of the war brought Moore's active professional career to a close although he did serve as first President of the Association of Medical Officers of the Army and Navy of the Confederacy, organized in 1874, and delivered the

<sup>41</sup> Percy M. Ashburn, "James Brown McCaw," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 575-576.

<sup>42</sup> *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal*, I, (May, 1864), 78.

<sup>43</sup> Charles W. Chancellor, "A Memoir of the Late Samuel Preston Moore," *The Southern Practitioner*, XXV (November, 1903), 637; Wiese, "Life and Times of Samuel Preston Moore," *Southern Medical Journal*, XXIII (October, 1930), 920; Moore, "Address," *The Southern Practitioner*, XXXI (October, 1909), 491-497.



presidential address in 1875. He remained in Richmond, interesting himself in agricultural and educational matters, until his death on May 31, 1889.<sup>44</sup>

The ability of the Confederate Surgeon General seems not to have been questioned. He was intelligent, thorough, impartial, but unfortunately, perhaps, addicted to the formality of army discipline. One of Moore's admirers wrote of "his great work as an organizer, his remarkable executive ability, fitness for the high position, and his official work."<sup>45</sup> "The Surgeon General," reported William A. Carrington, Medical Director of Virginia's hospitals, "attends to all papers coming to his office in regular rotation, and neglects none."<sup>46</sup> The praise of still another contemporary was even more sweeping as he asked "where, or under what government so complicated and extensive as this, was there ever a department of the public service characterized by such order and precision? Every paper emanating from that office was a model of despatch and neatness."<sup>47</sup>

Moore's relationship with the officers of his department was extremely formal and conducted in a true military manner. According to a fellow officer "the Emperor of the Russians was not more autocratic. He commanded and it was done. He stood in *terrorem* over the surgeon, whatever his rank or wherever he might be—from Richmond to the trans-Mississippi, and to the extremest verge of the Confederate States."<sup>48</sup> Moore insisted that subordinates conform to the

<sup>44</sup> The Association of Medical Officers of the Army and Navy of the Confederacy, in annual session at Memphis, 1909, proposed a monument to commemorate Moore's work. *The Southern Practitioner*, XXXIII (1911), 203-212. The movement was kept alive and during the annual meeting held in Richmond in 1915 it was stated that "the outlook was bright for a successful outcome of the plan to erect a monument to Dr. Samuel Preston Moore . . . , the medical officers of both branches of the service, and to the women who served as nurses." *Virginia Medical Semi-Monthly*, XX (June 11, 1915), 127. No such monument was ever erected.

<sup>45</sup> John R. Gildersleeve, "History of Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, Va., and Its Medical Officers During 1861-1865," *The Virginia Medical Semi-Monthly*, IX (July 8, 1904), 153.

<sup>46</sup> W. A. Carrington to J. P. Fitzgerald. Letters Sent and Received, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, 1864-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 364, WD Coll. of CR.

<sup>47</sup> Francis Payne Porcher, "Confederate Surgeons," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XVII (1889), 16.

<sup>48</sup> Porcher, "Confederate Surgeons," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XVII, 16.



rules of military correspondence in their messages to his office.<sup>49</sup> He complained of the many leaves of absence granted to surgeons and failed to understand why medical officers serving in general hospitals even wanted them.<sup>50</sup> Medical officers were warned that charges would be preferred against those who failed to comply with regulations,<sup>51</sup> and on one occasion the Surgeon General ordered a medical director to arrest all the members of an examining board and prefer charges against them because they had committed a minor infraction of orders.<sup>52</sup> Moore's extreme formality sometimes offended those with tender sensibilities, but even these acknowledged his ability. "He was a man of great brusqueness of manner," wrote one such, "and gave offense to many who called on him, whatever their business, and without any regard to their station or rank, though he was an able executive officer, and I believe an efficient and impartial one."<sup>53</sup> Underneath his rough exterior there was a more appealing and sympathetic side as is evidenced by his correspondence with the mothers of hospitalized soldiers. At times, upon their request, he investigated individual cases and reassured the mothers as best he could.<sup>54</sup>

The number of medical officers that served in the Army and Navy of the Confederacy has received a reasonable amount of inquiry. Joseph Jones, one of the ablest Confederate surgeons, estimated the total to be something less than 3,000. Only 73 medical officers, he thought, saw service in the Navy.<sup>55</sup> At the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Asso-

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<sup>49</sup> S. P. Moore to Richard Potts, November 19, 1861. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Surgeon General's Office, Chapter VI, Vol. 739, WD Coll. of CR.

<sup>50</sup> S. P. Moore to W. A. Carrington, April 6, 1863. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Vol. 740.

<sup>51</sup> S. P. Moore to W. A. Carrington, August 14, 1863. Order Book, General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Virginia (Confederate Museum, Richmond).

<sup>52</sup> S. P. Moore to W. A. Carrington, July 21, 1863. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Vol. 740.

<sup>53</sup> John Herbert Claiborne, *Seventy-Five Years in Old Virginia* (New York and Washington, 1904), 199-200. See also W. D. Somers to H. F. Scott, May 10, 1864. William D. Somers Papers (Duke University Library Durham, N. C.).

<sup>54</sup> S. P. Moore to Mrs. Ann E. Gates, November 22, 1864. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Chapter VI, Vol. 741.

<sup>55</sup> Joseph Jones, "The Medical History of the Confederate States Army and Navy," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XX (1892), 119-120.



ciation of Medical Officers of the Army and Navy of the Confederacy in 1916, the "Committee on the Roster of the Medical officers of the Confederate States" reported the following number of officers to have been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate for service in the Army Medical Department:

Surgeon General .....	1
Surgeons .....	1,242
Assistant Surgeons .....	1,994
	<hr/>
	3,237

The same committee found the following number of officers to have been nominated and confirmed for service in the Medical Department of the Navy:

Surgeons .....	26
Passed Assistant Surgeons .....	13
Assistant Surgeons .....	63
Assistant Surgeons for the War ....	5
	<hr/>
	107 <sup>56</sup>

In view of the figures set forth above it is interesting to note that an officer who served throughout the war could remember having seen only one medical officer.<sup>57</sup>

The nucleus of the Confederate States Army and Navy Medical Departments was formed by those who resigned from the medical staffs of the Union Army and the Navy. When the year 1861 opened, the Medical Corps of the United States Army consisted of one Surgeon General, thirty surgeons, and eighty-three assistant surgeons. Three surgeons and twenty-one assistant surgeons resigned their commissions and entered the Confederate service.<sup>58</sup> Much the same is true as regards the Navy. J. Thomas Scharf, historian of

<sup>56</sup> *The Southern Practitioner*, XXXVIII (July, 1916), 270.

<sup>57</sup> Joseph B. Cumming, *War Recollections*, 11-12, typescript (University of North Carolina Library).

<sup>58</sup> Harvey E. Brown, *The Medical Department of the United States Army from 1775 to 1873* (Washington, 1873), 215; Hume, *Victories of Army Medicine*, 15.



the Confederate States Navy, asserts that "by June 3, 1861, about one-fifth of the officers of the United States navy had resigned." Of 148 medical officers listed as of that date 28 southerners had resigned.<sup>59</sup> A register published in 1931 indicates 35 southern resignations from the Union Navy Medical Corps. William A. W. Spotswood of Virginia, who became the top-ranking naval surgeon of the Confederacy, was among those who relinquished their commissions.<sup>60</sup>

It was to be expected perhaps that in a conflict characterized by heavy fighting during summer and relative inactivity in winter there would be alternating periods of sufficiency and insufficiency in regard to the number of medical officers. Surgeon General Moore sometimes noted an excessive number of medical officers in certain Virginia general hospitals,<sup>61</sup> and early in November, 1863, he informed a Georgia doctor who had filed an application to appear before an Army Medical Board that no invitations were being issued "as the Medical Department has its sufficiency of medical officers."<sup>62</sup> A similar message was also sent out early in the year 1865.<sup>63</sup> The coming of winter generally meant the cancellation of contracts between the Medical Department and private physicians employed during the months of active campaigning.<sup>64</sup>

It was sometimes difficult, late in the war, to keep the army in the field supplied with its complement of medical officers, summer or winter. Lafayette Guild, General Lee's Medical Director, advised Surgeon General Moore on February 24, 1864, that there were thirteen regiments in the Army of

<sup>59</sup> Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, 32.

<sup>60</sup> *Register of Officers of the Confederate States Navy* (Washington, 1931). A register reportedly containing a list of all officers who had resigned from the U. S. Navy was found on a Confederate gunboat captured in North Carolina waters. On this list were the names of nine surgeons, ten passed assistant surgeons, and eleven assistant surgeons. Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events, with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, etc.*, 11 vols. and Supplement (New York, 1861-1868), IV, 217-218.

<sup>61</sup> S. P. Moore to W. A. Carrington, June 20, 1863. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Vol. 740.

<sup>62</sup> S. P. Moore to Matt Calvert, November 3, 1863. Letters, Orders, and Circulars Sent, Vol. 740.

<sup>63</sup> S. P. Moore to William Bell, January 30, 1865. Letters, Orders and Circulars Sent, Vol. 741.

<sup>64</sup> W. A. Carrington to S. P. Moore, January 4, 1865, and to S. Funsten, February 3, 1865. Letters Sent and Received, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, 1864-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 364.



Northern Virginia understaffed in medical officers,<sup>65</sup> and the deficiency had not been made up by the middle of April.<sup>66</sup> The need for medical officers increased sharply after the summer fighting got underway, and the Medical Department used the newspapers to urge private physicians to come forward for immediate service.<sup>67</sup> On June 15, 1864, the Medical Director of Virginia's hospitals asserted that he had been compelled to employ the most inefficient doctors in Richmond to care for the wounded. Each medical officer, according to Carrington, "had an average of far over 100 wounded men" to care for.<sup>68</sup> The Navy also had its problems. On April 28, 1864, W. A. W. Spotswood, the Navy's chief medical official, informed the Secretary of the Navy that there were not enough surgeons authorized by Congress to meet the demands of the service.<sup>69</sup> Six months later found him presenting the same complaint.<sup>70</sup> President Davis himself stated well the overall situation in a veto message of March 13, 1865. In blocking a proposal that would have required some 150 medical officers for work connected with conscription, the President explained: "We have no medical officers to spare from attendance upon the troops and in the hospitals . . . ." <sup>71</sup>

The Confederate Congress gave considerable attention to the establishment of an effective and efficient hospital program. Early confusion, ascribable primarily to the unexpectedly large number of sick and wounded during the opening months of the war, was ended through the cooperative efforts of Congress and the Medical Department. Problems were better understood, appropriations were increased, and an adequate number of carefully located general hospitals were soon ready for occupancy by those needing hospital

<sup>65</sup> Lafayette Guild to S. P. Moore, February 24, 1864. Letters Sent, Medical Directors' Office, Army of Northern Virginia, 1863-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 642.

<sup>66</sup> L. Guild to S. P. Moore, April 9 and 13, 1864. Letters Sent, Medical Directors' Office, Vol. 642.

<sup>67</sup> See, for example, Augusta, (Ga.) *Daily Constitutionalist*, May 28, 1864.

<sup>68</sup> W. A. Carrington to R. H. Chilton, June 15, 1864. Letters Sent and Received, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, 1864-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 364.

<sup>69</sup> *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 647.

<sup>70</sup> *Official Records of . . . Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 758.

<sup>71</sup> *Richardson Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 643.



care. Private hospitals were closed or taken over by the War Department.<sup>72</sup>

An illustration of congressional effort to effect improvement in the hospital arrangement, and to recognize the State Rights idea at the same time, was the "Act to better provide for the Sick and Wounded of the Army in Hospitals," dated September 27, 1862. Prior to the passage of this act no definite system was followed in the assignment of patients to hospitals. Representative James Farrow of South Carolina "thought most of the hardships which beset the soldier whilst in hospitals, grew out of the practice of mixing up soldiers from all portions of the Confederacy, in the same hospital, and scattering men from the same neighbourhood and regiment" in many different institutions.<sup>73</sup> The bill, as approved, provided that hospitals "be known and numbered as hospitals of a particular state," and directed that, when feasible, the sick and wounded be assigned to hospitals representing their states.<sup>74</sup> The arrangement ordered by this important measure, seems to have received compliance, but the Medical Director of Virginia's hospitals informed Surgeon General Moore that it resulted in greatly increased expenditures.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Nineteenth Century* (Richmond, Virginia, 1933), 297-298; S. P. Moore to E. N. Covey, July 16, 1863, copy. John and Edmund Burke Haywood Papers (Duke University Library). The Fair Grounds Hospital, Raleigh, North Carolina, went into operation as a Confederate Hospital on August 1, 1862. E. Burke Haywood to E. S. Gaillard, October 15, 1862. Ernest Haywood Collection (University of North Carolina Library).

<sup>73</sup> *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLV (1925), 230; *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, V, 304.

<sup>74</sup> The act of September 27, 1862, also authorized the employment of matrons, assistant matrons, ward matrons, ward masters, and additional nurses and cooks as needed. Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Second Session of the First Congress; 1862*, 64.

<sup>75</sup> *Report of the Apportionment of the General Hospitals in and around Richmond*, February 13, 1864. This item, an eight page pamphlet, was found in the Rare Book Collection, Library of Congress. See also Special Order No. 133, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, August 27, 1863, Order Book, General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Virginia (Confederate Museum, Richmond); George P. Kain to Phoebe Y. Pember, September 14, 1864. Mrs. Phoebe Y. Pember Letters (University of North Carolina Library); Richmond *Examiner*, June 11, 1863. On February 9, 1863, Representative David Clopton of Alabama obtained support for a resolution which instructed the Committee on the Medical Department "to inquire into the expediency of establishing one or more hospitals in each State, and of providing for the transportation to such hospitals of the sick or wounded soldiers from such States respectively who may be unfit for service for thirty days." *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, VI, 86; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLVIII (1941), 86.



Another significant act to improve the Confederate hospital program became law on May 1, 1863. This statute, an amendment to the legislation of September 27, 1862, directed the Surgeon General to establish, in addition to hospitals already existing, a number of "way hospitals." These latter institutions were to be located along the routes of important railroads and were to furnish rations and quarters to sick and wounded furloughed and discharged soldiers during the course of their trip home. Way hospitals were to be administered in the same way as general hospitals.<sup>76</sup> This act was a much needed one, and the authority delegated to the Surgeon General was soon implemented by specific directives from his office. There were seventeen way hospitals established in Virginia and North Carolina alone.<sup>77</sup>

Congressional legislation also outlined the procedure to be followed in the granting of furloughs and discharges to sick, wounded, and disabled soldiers in hospitals. This, of course, was another matter of paramount importance. Numerous bills on the subject were proposed, but no comprehensive measure was enacted until May 1, 1863. In the meantime furloughs and discharges to men in hospitals were conferred in accordance with army regulations, directives from the Surgeon General, and general orders issued by the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office. The inevitable result was a considerable amount of confusion.<sup>78</sup>

On August 25, 1862, Senator Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia, asserted that he had "learned from the Secretary of War, that not one man in three, who were furloughed, ever re-

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<sup>76</sup> Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Third Session of the First Congress; 1863*, 162.

<sup>77</sup> W. A. Carrington to Benjamin Blackford, June 19, 1863. Order and Letter Book, General Hospital, Liberty, Virginia (Confederate Museum); Circular No. 10, Office of the Medical Director, Richmond, August 11, 1864; Order Book, General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Virginia, (Confederate Museum); Circular No. 32, Office of the Medical Director, Raleigh, September 14, 1864; Letters, Orders, and Circulars Issued and Received, Military Prison Hospital, Salisbury, North Carolina, 1864-1865, VI, Vol. 35, WD Coll. of CR.

<sup>78</sup> *Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States, 1863*, 17-18; Order of S. P. Moore, September 19, 1862, Order Book, General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg, Virginia (Confederate Museum); *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 98, 243; A. S. Mason to J. B. McCaw, December 18, 1862, Letters Received and Sent, Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, 1861-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 707, WD Coll. of CR.



turned to the army.”<sup>79</sup> Such a situation, of course, demanded more efficient administration. It was also declared, with some exaggeration, that there was too much delay encountered by those entitled to furloughs and discharges. The charge was levelled in Congress early in 1863 that applicants for discharges might die before their applications were processed. Representative Caleb C. Herbert, of Texas, claimed that there were patients in the Richmond hospitals who had been there for more than a year. There were “hundreds,” he thought, who were permanently disabled. Thus, “the Government was subjected to millions of expense, with no possible good to anybody.”<sup>80</sup> The act of May 1, 1863, followed upon the heels of such assertions.

“An Act regulating the granting of Furloughs and Discharges in Hospitals” provided for the creation of boards of examiners, comprised of hospital surgeons. These boards were to visit the hospitals to which they belonged twice each week and examine applicants for furloughs and discharges. Applicants for furlough, found unfit for military duty and likely to remain so for at least thirty days, were to receive furloughs for such period of time as the board should deem them unfit for duty, but not to exceed sixty days. The boards of examiners were empowered to recommend discharges. Recommendations for discharge had to be approved by the Surgeon General or the Commanding General of the army or department to which the soldier belonged. This act also required the surgeon in charge of every Confederate hospital to make a daily visit to each patient under his care.<sup>81</sup>

Provision was made later for the extension of furloughs when soldiers were unable to travel,<sup>82</sup> but Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens complained that many thousands had

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<sup>79</sup> *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLV, (1925), 224.

<sup>80</sup> *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX, (1943), 186.

<sup>81</sup> Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Third Session of the First Congress; 1863*, 153-154. Senator Louis T. Wigfall, of Texas, opposed the bill and termed it “a proposition to take this power [of granting furloughs] from the hands of the President and the line officers and give it to the surgeons.” This, Wigfall felt, “would be a bouleversement of the whole army.” *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XLIX, (1943), 241.

<sup>82</sup> *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 913.



died in returning to the army before they were fully recovered.<sup>83</sup> On February 17, 1864, Congress amended the act regulating furlough and discharge procedure by extending the disability period which entitled the sick and wounded to furloughs to at least sixty days.<sup>84</sup>

A brief survey of furlough and discharge statistics suggests why the matter of a uniform and workable policy was of so much importance. Hospital reports for the Department of Virginia, covering the period from September, 1862, to August, 1864, reveal that 60,506 men were furloughed and 4,667 others were discharged during this 23 month interval.<sup>85</sup> Thus, an average of 2,631 furloughs and 203 discharges was granted monthly in this department alone. The largest number of furloughs allowed in one month was the 6,556 allowed in June, 1864. The highest number of discharges was the 1,550 granted in September, 1862. Records kept in the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General's Office list a total of 27,599 discharges conferred during the course of the war.<sup>86</sup> The board of examiners at Richmond's Chimborazo Hospital, largest in the Confederacy, furloughed 1,283 men between August 19 and September 30, 1864, and approximately 1,465 troops were furloughed from Howard's Grove Hospital, another Richmond institution, from August 20, 1864, to November 25, 1864.<sup>87</sup> Available records indicate that the

<sup>83</sup> John Beauchamp Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* (ed. by Howard Swiggett, 2 vols., New York, 1935), II, 99-100.

<sup>84</sup> James M. Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Fourth Session of the First Congress; 1863-64* (Richmond, Virginia, 1864), 194.

<sup>85</sup> Statistical Report of Hospitals in the Department of Virginia, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, 1862-1864, Chapter VI, Vol. 151, WD Coll. of CR (The National Archives).

<sup>86</sup> Record of Discharges on Surgeon's Certificate of Disability, 1861-1865, Chapter I, Vols. 176-185, WD Coll. of CR. This list is probably not complete. The number of white and colored soldiers discharged from the United States Army for reasons of disability totaled 215,312 and 8,223 respectively. Surgeon General of the United States Army, *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, 6 vols. (Washington, 1870-1888), *Medical History*, I, 648, 718. John Thomas Graves, a Missouri soldier discharged in 1863 for reasons of poor health, died in the Missouri State Confederate Home in May, 1950, at the age of 108. Graves was the oldest Confederate veteran. "Milestones," *Time* (New York, 1923-), LV (May 22, 1950), 102.

<sup>87</sup> Register of Furloughs, Medical Director's Office, Richmond, 1864, Chapter VI, Vol. 177, WD Coll. of CR. On May 24, 1864, the Medical Director of Virginia's hospitals charged that the Board of Examiners at Chimborazo was not furloughing as many disabled men as it should. W. A. Carrington to J. B. McCaw, May 24, 1864. Letters Received and Sent, Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, 1861-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 709.



number of discharges allowed dropped sharply after passage of the new legislation. Conversely, the number of furloughs given increased noticeably and reached record highs in the summer of 1864.<sup>88</sup>

Perhaps the chief criticism directed against the new policy for granting furloughs and discharges was raised by Lafayette Guild, Medical Director of the Army of Northern Virginia. Guild asserted that "a very large number of soldiers" had become permanently disabled for field service chiefly due to the fact that after being wounded they had been sent home where their wounds were neglected "at a period during the process of healing when judicious surgical attention was required to prevent Anchylosis, Atrophy or contraction of the muscles and other deformities." To avoid this loss of manpower Guild was in favor of granting furloughs only to the permanently disabled. He also proposed the establishment of a hospital in which men who had developed deformities while on furlough could be treated.<sup>89</sup> It is probable that Guild overstated his case, but undoubtedly many wounded men were sent home who would have fared better in the hospitals. In general, the act worked satisfactorily.

The growing shortage of manpower gave increasing concern to the President and Congress, and in his message to Congress of December 7, 1863, President Davis recommended the organization of an Invalid Corps. Such a corps, he believed, "could be made useful in various employments for which efficient officers and troops are now detached."<sup>90</sup> The Congress responded with "An Act to provide an Invalid Corps," and this measure became law on February 17, 1864. The enactment provided for a corps composed of officers and men who were retired or discharged as the result of wounds or disease contracted in the line of duty. As some-

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<sup>88</sup> Statistical Report of Hospitals in the Department of Virginia, Medical Directors' Office, Richmond, 1862-1864, Chapter VI, Vol. 151, WD Coll. of CR.

<sup>89</sup> L. Guild to W. H. Taylor, January 27, 1865. Letters Sent, Medical Directors' Office, Army of Northern Virginia, 1863-1865, Chapter VI, Vol. 642. Surgeon General Moore, in an address after the war, stated that the establishment of a hospital in which deformities caused by wounds could be treated had been contemplated. Moore, "Address," *The Southern Practitioner*, XXXI (October, 1909), 496.

<sup>90</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 373.



thing of a reward for their service-incurred disabilities the rank, pay and emoluments of officers and men assigned to the corps were to continue during the war or as long as they remained on the retired or discharged list. Each member of the Invalid Corps was required to undergo a physical examination at least once every six months in order that any change in his condition might be discerned. It was expected, of course, that many in the Invalid Corps might be able to perform limited service, and the Secretary of War was authorized to assign officers and to detail men "for such duty as they shall be qualified to perform." Men relieved from disability were to be ordered back to their commands.<sup>91</sup> An amendment enacted by Congress on January 27, 1865, reduced the compensation of retired officers to half pay.<sup>92</sup>

A Register of Officers of the Invalid Corps, maintained in the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, lists a total of 1,063 names. Of this number 231 were described as "totally disqualified," and almost all the rest were assigned to some sort of duty.<sup>93</sup> A Register of Enlisted Men of the Invalid Corps, kept in the same Office, lists a total of 5,139 names. The enlisted men described as "totally disqualified" numbered 2,061. The record is not complete as to what proportion of the remainder was assigned to light service.<sup>94</sup>

Congress, throughout the war years, attempted to furnish the Army and the Navy medical staffs sufficient funds to insure their efficient operation. Large sums of money were necessary to purchase medical and hospital supplies, to establish and support military hospitals, to pay the salaries of contract physicians and to meet ever increasing operations everywhere. The estimates of Surgeon General Moore always received respectful attention from Congress, and that officer, in a post-war address, adverted to the cooperation he had

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<sup>91</sup> Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America . . . Fourth Session of the First Congress*, 203.

<sup>92</sup> Ramsdell, *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress*, 27.

<sup>93</sup> Register of Officers of the Invalid Corps, 1864-1865, Chapter I, Vol. 192, WD Coll. of CR.

<sup>94</sup> Register of Enlisted Men of the Invalid Corps, 1864-1865, Chapter I, Vol. 193, WD Coll. of CR.



received from the legislative branch.<sup>95</sup> Congressional appropriations to the Army Medical Department increased rapidly during each year of the war.

The war-time appropriations were as follows:

## 1861

Medical and hospital departments .....	\$ 75,000
Medical and hospital supplies .....	350,000
Surgical and medical supplies .....	250,000
Establishment and support of military hospitals .....	50,000
Pay of contract physicians .....	50,000
Pay of cooks and nurses .....	130,000
	<hr/>
	\$ 905,000

## 1862

Medical and hospital supplies .....	\$ 2,300,000
Surgical and medical supplies .....	2,520,000
Establishment and support of military hospitals .....	97,000
Pay of contract physicians .....	110,000
Pay of cooks and nurses .....	96,000
Pay of hospital stewards .....	12,000
Pay of hospital laundresses .....	10,000
	<hr/>
	\$ 5,145,000

## 1863

Medical and hospital supplies .....	\$ 11,000,000
Establishment and support of military hospitals .....	300,000
Hospital clothing .....	625,000
Alcoholic stimulants .....	604,800
Pay of contract physicians .....	400,000
Pay of cooks and nurses .....	490,000
Pay of hospital stewards .....	135,000
Pay of hospital laundresses .....	125,000
Pay of matrons, assistant matrons, and ward matrons .....	490,000
Pay of ward masters .....	310,000
	<hr/>
	\$ 14,479,800

## 1864

Medical and hospital supplies .....	\$ 30,240,000
Establishment and support of military hospitals .....	350,000

<sup>95</sup> Moore, "Address," *The Southern Practitioner*, XXXI (October, 1909), 494.



Pay of contract physicians . . . . .	450,000
Pay of cooks and nurses . . . . .	700,000
Pay of hospital stewards . . . . .	200,000
Pay of hospital laundresses . . . . .	300,000
Pay of matrons, assistant matrons, and ward matrons . . . . .	700,000
Pay of ward masters . . . . .	200,000
	<u>\$ 33,140,000</u>

## 1865

Medical and hospital supplies . . . . .	\$ 14,300,000
Establishment and support of military hospitals . . . . .	100,000
Hospital clothing . . . . .	500,000
Alcoholic stimulants . . . . .	4,000,000
Pay of contract physicians . . . . .	250,000
Pay of cooks and nurses . . . . .	350,000
Pay of hospital stewards . . . . .	100,000
Pay of hospital laundresses . . . . .	150,000
Pay of matrons, assistant matrons, and ward matrons . . . . .	350,000
Pay of ward masters . . . . .	200,000
	<u>\$ 20,300,000</u>

A grand total of \$73,969,800 was appropriated to the Army Medical Department during the war period. Appropriations to the Navy Department's medical staff likewise increased year by year. They totaled \$1,716,500, and are broken down as follows:

1861 . . . . .	\$ 20,000
1862 . . . . .	61,500
1863 . . . . .	250,000
1864 . . . . .	1,010,000
1865 . . . . .	375,000
	<u>\$ 1,716,500<sup>96</sup></u>

<sup>96</sup> Army and Navy appropriation figures were extracted from the various appropriation bills of the Confederate Congresses as set forth in the works edited by J. M. Matthews and C. W. Ramsdell, all of which have been cited heretofore. There is one other figure which might be noted. An act approved on August 21, 1861, provided an appropriation of \$57,000,000 to be used for the payment of troops, quartermaster supplies, ordnance supplies, engineering, and surgical and medical expenditures. It is not known how much of this was distributed to the medical service. Matthews, *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government*, 187. The total expenditures of the United States Army Medical Department, from June 30, 1861, to June 30, 1866, exclusive of salaries to medical officers, reached the sum of \$47,351,982.24. Brown, *The Medical Department of the United States Army from 1775 to 1873*, 246.



These figures do not include the salaries paid to Army and Navy medical officers.

The increasing medical expenditures, while partially the result of a steady price rise,<sup>97</sup> reflect a constant increase of medical services. Not only did the appropriations for such items as medical and hospital supplies, the establishment and support of military hospitals, and the pay of contract physicians mount steadily, but new items were added from time to time and old ones dropped. By 1863, following the passage of the act of September 27, 1862, which authorized the employment of matrons, assistant matrons, ward matrons, and other attendants, the objects of appropriation had become almost standardized.

The medical service of the Confederate States bore a close resemblance to that of the United States. Just as the Confederate Constitution coincided in many ways with the Federal Constitution, medical regulations drafted at the war's outbreak were almost identical with those of the "old army." The legislation enacted by the First and Second Congresses, however, was the product of experience and investigation rather than duplication, and it reflected credit on those bodies.

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<sup>97</sup> See, for example, E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1950), 219 ff.



## LETTERS OF YOUNG NOVELIST: CALVIN HENDERSON WILEY

EDITED BY RICHARD WALSER

The heroic, determined, and conscious effort of a small group of North Carolinians to create and then to establish firmly a state literature is particularly exemplified in the novels of Calvin Henderson Wiley, who in the late 1840's wrote and had published two intensely patriotic Revolutionary romances dealing with North Carolina's past.

Wiley is chiefly remembered as the first superintendent of common schools in North Carolina, an honor which came to him in 1853. Born in Guilford County in 1819, he graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1840 and the following year, upon receiving a law license, settled in the village of Oxford to practice his profession.<sup>1</sup> His clients, unfortunately, were not burdensome,<sup>2</sup> and he turned in his spare time to literary pursuits, editing the *Oxford Mercury* from 1841 to 1843. In 1847 he published *Alamance*,<sup>3</sup> in 1849 *Roanoke*.<sup>4</sup> Wiley was well aware that novels dealing with

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<sup>1</sup> For biographical data see sketches by R. D. W. Connor in Samuel A. Ashe (ed.), *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1905), II, [427]-440; and by C. Alphonso Smith in Bettie D. Caldwell (compiler), *Founders and Builders of Greensboro, 1808-1908* (Greensboro, 1925). The latter discusses Wiley's literary career in some detail and quotes a letter of Wiley's dated from Philadelphia, August 31, 1847, in which he writes of his having always "cherished a desire to immortalize my old mother state. . .," adding "I have made my native place shine in the glories of my first attempts at fame" (p. 137). See also Mary Callum Wiley (ed.), "Unpublished Letters of Calvin Henderson Wiley," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX (January, 1952), 91-103, which includes a letter to his mother dated from New York, July 17, 1848, telling of his "trying to make something by my pen as well as by my profession" and of his being in New York "on business connected with my books" (p. 93).

<sup>2</sup> In the Preface of *Alamance* Wiley gives a highly descriptive picture of the everyday humdrum of his law office. Constantly disturbed by unprofitable visitors, he had great difficulty finding time to write. He makes clear, however, his great love for his state, and his fervent desire to use her unexploited history and character in works of fiction, as Sir Walter Scott had done for his native Scotland (p. vii).

<sup>3</sup> *Alamance; or, The Great and Final Experiment* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1847). The novel was published anonymously.

<sup>4</sup> *Roanoke* has had a most peculiar publishing history. First it appeared serially in *Sartain's Union Magazine* in ten installments from March through December, 1849 (vols. IV-V). It was pirated in London in 1851 as



# A L A M A N C E;

OR,

## THE GREAT AND FINAL EXPERIMENT.

One good deed, dying tongueless,  
Slaughters a thousand waiting on that.  
*Winter's Tale.*

---

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,  
82 CLIFF STREET, NEW YORK.  
1847.

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*University of North Carolina Library*

Plate I

WILEY'S FIRST NOVEL



North Carolina were almost unknown,<sup>5</sup> for in the preface to *Alamance* his imaginary character "Horace Lockwitter, of New York" exclaims: "A North Carolina book! What a gem for the curious in literature!"<sup>6</sup> It was Wiley's express purpose to put his state into the records of literature, from which he felt it had been disgracefully and inexcusably absent for too long a time.

*Alamance* is the story of several families before, during, and after the Revolution in the community surrounding the little Presbyterian church of Alamance in Guilford County. (It does not concern, as one might suppose, the Battle of Alamance.) The conflicting loyalties of local Whigs and Tories result in dissension among friends and lovers. The hero, Henry Warden, takes part in the Battle of Camden; later Warden and his trustworthy, comical friend Uncle "Corny" Demijohn participate in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. For the most part, the story is seen through the eyes of the schoolmaster, Hector M'Bride. Historical personages appearing briefly are Dr. David Caldwell, Flora Macdonald, Francis Marion, and George Washington. *Alamance* was Wiley's novel of the central part of the state. In his next, he deliberately planned a move to the east.

*Roanoke* is not so successful a novel as Wiley's first. This time he seems determined more than ever to fill his book with North Carolina history and tradition and to let the plot get along as best it can. For instance, after recounting the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, he steps from his position as narrator to exclaim: "This was one of the most decisive and important victories achieved during the Revolution . . . yet who out of North Carolina has heard of Moore's Creek,

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*Adventures of Old Dan Tucker, and His Son Walter*, published by Willoughby & Co.; in 1852 another pirated edition appeared in London as *Utopia; An Early Picture of Life at the South*, published by Henry Lea. Again in 1852 T. B. Peterson issued it under the title *Life in the South, A Companion to Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In 1866 Peterson reissued it under its original title *Roanoke*. This last is the edition which is most common. *Alamance* and *Roanoke* are the first novels to be written by a native of North Carolina.

<sup>5</sup> Wiley does not show any familiarity with Robert Strange's *Eoneguski* (1839), the first novel with its setting almost entirely within the boundaries of North Carolina. See Richard Walser, "Senator Strange's Indian Novel," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVI (January, 1949), [1]-27.

<sup>6</sup> Wiley, *Alamance*, vi.



or of its heroes Lillington and Caswell?"<sup>7</sup> The story, moving from Nags Head to New Bern and then to Wilmington and Moore's Creek, is principally concerned with the adventures of Walter Tucker, a type of young democratic American who will not accede to his being inferior to anyone else, and of Utopia Ricketts, a sort of Neoplatonic child of nature. The time is 1775 and 1776. There are elaborate scenes of the palace in New Bern with Governor Josiah Martin entertaining for Lady Susannah Carolina Matilda, sister of the Queen of Great Britain. Folk characters are Old Dan Tucker of North Carolina and Zip Coon of Virginia. Surprise revelations are frequent, and no reader is alarmed when Walter turns out to be the descendant of Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Manteo of Roanoke. Generally, the author has carefully documented his material to provide authenticity; for instance, he quotes Martin's *History of North Carolina* when mentioning Governor Tryon's sister-in-law, the questionable Esther Wake.<sup>8</sup> Still, in spite of its diffuseness, in 1849 *Roanoke* helped to spread abroad the historical background of North Carolina of which the novelist was so proud.

Luckily, letters by Wiley and about him, written during the time of the composition and publication of these two novels, have been preserved. The struggle of the young novelist for recognition is a matter of record—a record heretofore, for the most part, never before in print.<sup>9</sup> These letters relate the battle of a man under thirty who was contending not only for his own place in the world<sup>10</sup> but for the literary honor of his state. Read chronologically, they give an excellent picture of Wiley's life during that period.

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<sup>7</sup> Wiley, *Roanoke*, 143.

<sup>8</sup> Wiley, *Roanoke*, 39.

<sup>9</sup> True, several Wiley letters of this period have been printed; but none of them have been reissued in the present series. Unless otherwise noted, all letters are from the T. B. Kingsbury Letterbook, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

<sup>10</sup> Wiley's fame was hardly established until the publication of his *North Carolina Reader* (Philadelphia, 1851). See Howard Braverman, "Calvin H. Wiley's *North Carolina Reader*," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX (October, 1952), 500-522.



I. W. GARROTT<sup>11</sup> to JOHN W. ELLIS<sup>12</sup>Marion, Ala—Apr 7, 1847<sup>13</sup>

... How flourishes the law with *you*? I received a letter yesterday from our old college mate C. H. Wiley now of Oxford in the Old North & he gives a most woeful account of the Prospects of the Profession in your state. From the tenor of his letter, I infer that he is completely disgusted with law & politics; & what do you think he purposes to do? Why *turn author* & write—*novels*. This in course is *entre nous*— He says that he has already prepared one & that when revised & corrected it will be ready for the Press. If this takes, he thenceforth bids farewell to the green bag<sup>14</sup>— Poor fellow, is he cracked? I most sincerely hope that he will succeed to the full extent of his brightest anticipations but think the enterprise of doubtful issue . . . .

WILEY to MANGUM<sup>15</sup>Raleigh, June 29th, 1847—<sup>16</sup>

Dear Sir:

I shall have to call on you to redeem a promise which you made in sincerity but which, I hoped, you would not have to perform. The exigencies of my situation demand that I should go *immediately* North-ward, & it is important that I go under the most favorable auspices.—

I did not when I was at your house reveal to you the full extent of the perils that environ me, & shall now merely glance at them by way, not of exciting your heart which needs no spur, but of conquering your laziness which stands in the way of your kindness.

To begin at the beginning— When I finished my education I was in debt. My father's circumstances having begun to fail, I undertook to shift for myself & my standing was so fair that, altho' a boy, I was enabled to borrow money on the most accomodating terms. For this & another sum afterwards obtained I was in debt when I commenced the practice of the law.

<sup>11</sup> Isham W. Garrott (1816-1863) was born in Wake County, attended the University of North Carolina, then removed to Alabama, where he became a lawyer.

<sup>12</sup> John Willis Ellis (1820-1861), first a lawyer, was governor of North Carolina (1859-1861).

<sup>13</sup> Ellis Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

<sup>14</sup> Symbol of the legal profession.

<sup>15</sup> Willie Person Mangum (1792-1861), Hillsboro resident, was U. S. Senator from 1840 to 1853.

<sup>16</sup> This letter and the one following are from the Willie P. Mangum Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Both are addressed to Mangum at Red Mountain, Orange County.



These debts were a millstone about my neck. As you know, no one can succeed at the Bar unless he is independent, or at least has a small capital to begin with. I have had to waste, for a bare existence, energies that might have made me eminent at the Bar or distinguished in politics. My old school-mates are all astonished at not hearing of me from the voice of the public, but they do not know that I have had to strive with a Hercules who has kept me down. My difficulties have latterly increased, but not by my own imprudence. My parents' circumstances have, at last, become so involved as to demand my immediate supervision for I have no brothers. This is not all. When I commenced the law Gov. Morehead,<sup>17</sup> knowing my history proffered me the use of his library until I could buy one. Thinking no doubt that I am now prospering he has made a call for his books. Thus will my very tools be taken away for I cannot ask him (the Gov.) to extend his favors—

Anticipating these things I last winter ran for the Office of Solicitor, & the result you know.<sup>18</sup> Still untiring I went home & commenced a literary production which I have now finished & wish to publish. I shall start North soon & must ask you to say all for me your conscience will permit. I shall rely mostly on your letters for altho' I get a few here, the two men best able to recommend me (Badger<sup>19</sup> & Haywood<sup>20</sup>) are men to whom I cannot apply. With one I have only a speaking acquaintance & the other I never wish to ask for a favor. You will please give me a letter to Edward Johnson<sup>21</sup> of Washington City the man who writes the literary articles for the *Intelligencer*—to Brooks<sup>22</sup> of New-York & Webb<sup>23</sup> of the same place, & to any

<sup>17</sup> John Motley Morehead (1796-1866) was governor of North Carolina (1841-1845).

<sup>18</sup> During this period, solicitors for the various circuits throughout the State were named by the Legislature. In November, 1846, Wiley ran against John F. Poindexter, John Kerr, and Henry K. Nash for solicitor of the 4th circuit. The House gave Poindexter a majority on the third ballot. Wiley ran last in all three votings. See *Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives* (1846-1847), 308-312.

<sup>19</sup> George Edmund Badger (1795-1866), judge, Secretary of the Navy (1840-1841), elected to the U. S. Senate from North Carolina in 1848.

<sup>20</sup> William H. Haywood, Jr. (1801-1852), political leader from Raleigh, served in the U. S. Senate from 1843 to 1846.

<sup>21</sup> Wiley misspells the name. Edward William Johnston (1799-1867) was a versatile journalist. For ten years he was literary editor of the *National Intelligencer* in Washington, for which he evidently wrote the unsigned columns called "Notes on New Books" and "International Literary Exchange." He was a contributor to the *Southern Literary Messenger*. His most brilliant writing appeared under his penname "Il Segretarios."

<sup>22</sup> Probably James Brooks (1810-1873), founder in 1836 of the *New York Evening Express*.

<sup>23</sup> James Watson Webb (1802-1884), author, editor of the *New York Morning Courier and New York Enquirer* (1829-1861), United States Minister to Brazil (1861-1869) and one of the founders of the Associated Press.



ADVENTURES  
OF  
OLD DAN TUCKER,  
AND  
HIS SON WALTER;  
A TALE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

BY C. H. WILEY.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY FELIX O. C. DARLEY.

—————"Give me the broad prairie,  
Where man, like the wind, roams impulsive and free;  
Behold how its beautiful colours all vary,  
Like those of the clouds or the deep-rolling sea!  
A life in the woods, boys, is even as changing;  
With proud independence we season our cheer:  
And those who the world are for happiness ranging,  
Won't find it at all if they don't find it here."  
*Life in the West.* By GENERAL MORRIS.

LONDON:  
WILLOUGHBY & CO., 22, WARWICK LANE.

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*University of North Carolina Library*

Plate II

THE 1851 PIRATED EDITION OF ROANOKE



other influential or literary characters in New-York & Philadelphia, particularly the latter. I will call & see you as soon as I return & will also, of course, send you a copy of my book.

I wish my letters to place me in a position to command the respect of publishers.

I shall leave this place in a few days & send this letter by a servant.

Wishing you health & success,

I remain,

Yours very truly & sincerely,

WILEY to MANGUM

Oxford, July 14th, 1847—

Dear Sir:

The enclosed letter<sup>24</sup> was written at Raleigh several days ago & will speak for itself. I had intended to send it to you by a boy but finding a conveyance otherwise I must trust to your writing to me by the mail. You *must* write, & I shall look for the packet on Friday night. The Hillsboro mail comes in that night & will not again arrive until the Friday following. I wish to start North-ward on Saturday & must rely mainly on your letters. If you knew me better I could with more confidence ask the favor mentioned, but even then I should not do it but for the strong case I make out. I love my pen & have some confidence in its ability to make a reputation for me; but matters are so pressing with me now that I must jump into immediate favor with publishers or I will fall to a position whence I may not be able to rise. I have two objects in view; *first* to sell my book & form a favorable acquaintance with publishers & *secondly*, to get a situation if I can as a writer with a permanent salary. I can say, without any disposition to boast that *any thing* from my pen in the way of a book will sell sufficiently in N. C. to pay double the cost of publication. In addition to this my scholastic career which was long and thorough brought me acquainted with students from all parts of the South & I now have enthusiastic friends & admirers (excuse me) in some of the most intelligent and prominent young men of Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, & Missouri. Add to this the fact that critics here think my book has *some* intrinsic merits & it will justify the hope of a moderately fair price. I wish to form the acquaintance of literary men in Philadelphia & New York & want some obliging critic high in the confidence of publishers to pass judgment on the manuscript.

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<sup>24</sup> The one preceding this, dated June 29.



I wish to make a short stop in Washington City & to see Edward Johnson who perhaps can give me much information that will be useful.

I will see you immediately after my return & also, if you like, give you the interesting news by letter, that may occur in my travels— —

Let me ask you again to spur up your energies & let me hear from you by Friday. It strikes me that one letter might be addressed to several in the same city—

*I never forget a favor.*

I am most truly,  
& with high regard,  
Your obliged Servant,

JA. T. LITTLEJOHN<sup>25</sup> to Doct. THOMAS D. MUTTER,<sup>26</sup> Phila.

Oxford, No. Car. July 20, 1847<sup>27</sup>

My dear Cousin:

This will be handed you by Calvin H. Wiley Esq. a lawyer of this place of highly respectable attainment in his profession and a gentleman of high standing and of a liberal education, as well as of fine literary taste and acquirements and a practiced and gifted writer, whom I beg to commend to your favorable notice.

Mr. Wiley visits your City upon a purely literary enterprize—having in view the publication of a literary work, which he has now ready for the press. Of the merits of the Work I have no opportunity of judging; but from the Known reputation of the Author in this community as a Writer and a man of genius, I have no doubt it is entitled to very high consideration—and that in North Carolina the Work will meet with a favorable reception and command a large sale.

Mr. Wiley will desire to make the acquaintance of some of your publishers. Any assistance you may be able to render him in the furtherance of his object, I shall very highly esteem.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>25</sup> James Thomas Littlejohn (1816-1887), whose family were among the original inhabitants of Oxford, was a local figure of considerable importance. He was the grandfather of Jacques Busbee of Jugtown-pottery fame. For the identification of most of the Granville County names, I am indebted to Francis B. Hays, antiquarian and historian of Oxford.

<sup>26</sup> Though born in Richmond, Mutter (1811-1859) was descended from pre-Revolutionary North Carolina settlers. After attending Hampden-Sydney College, he went to the University of Pennsylvania, from which he received an M.D. degree at the age of twenty. He won a reputation as surgeon and teacher at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia.

<sup>27</sup> Wiley Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.



WILEY to KINGSBURY<sup>28</sup>

Philadelphia, Aug. 27th, 1847—

My dear *The*:

You must excuse me for my long delay in writing to you, one of my dearest friends. I received your very kind letter while passing thro' Philadelphia & it has done me good service. I disliked to shew it & others but Webb<sup>29</sup> of the "Courier & Enquirer" & in fact every body else told me that while at the North I must do as Northerners do, blow my own trumpet. The Rev. Mr. Griswold<sup>30</sup> (a scholar, critic & gentleman) I found at New-York & after a careful examination of my book<sup>31</sup> he passed such a high encomium on it that the Harpers took it. Editors, authors & publishers, one & all, here & in New-York express great astonishment at my success for it is a rule with the Messrs. H. to publish *no* untried work of an unknown author. This book is now printing & I have already corrected a good many of the proof sheets. I have Mr. Griswold's written opinion & he says the book is, "*original, & fresh with indigenous scenes & characters drawn with spirit & felicity & is obliged to be successful from its merits*" &c &c—. I have just arrived in this City & went to see Graham<sup>32</sup> the prince of publishers. I shewed him Mr. G's opinion & we at once struck a new bargain. I am to write a Novel<sup>33</sup> of 100 pages for his Magazine & he is to give me \$500 for the privilege of publishing & leave me the copyright! *This is fact.*

All the leading Northern Editors will give me a shove & Mr. Graham is going to announce for December, "A New & exciting story by the popular author of *Alamance*" &c &c. So we go.

I have purposely delayed writing you until I could give you good news. When I am more at leisure I will give you an account of my travels: in the mean time I wish you to do me another favor. The Harpers will attend to the interests of my book in other states but they desire me to see that a demonstration is made in N. C. I will get Gales<sup>34</sup> & Hale<sup>35</sup> to announce a

<sup>28</sup> Theodore Bryant Kingsbury (1828-1913) attended the Oxford Male Academy, the Lovejoy Military Academy (Raleigh), and from 1847 to 1849 the University of North Carolina. He became a minister. Also he edited the *Leisure Hour* (Oxford) and later the *Wilmington Star* and *Wilmington Messenger*.

<sup>29</sup> James Watson Webb. See above, n. 23.

<sup>30</sup> Rufus Wilmot Griswold (1815-1857), prominent New York and Philadelphia journalist and editor, literary executor of Edgar Allan Poe.

<sup>31</sup> *Alamance*.

<sup>32</sup> George Rex Graham (1813-1894), Philadelphia publisher of *Graham's Magazine* from 1840 until he sold it in 1853.

<sup>33</sup> Later titled *Roanoke*.

<sup>34</sup> Weston Raleigh Gales (1802-1848), at this time editor of the influential *Raleigh Register*.

<sup>35</sup> Edward Jones Hale (1802-1883), publisher of the *Carolina Observer* (renamed the *Fayetteville Observer* in 1834) from 1825 to 1865.



COMPANION TO "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN."

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# U T O P I A ;

AN EARLY PICTURE

OF

## Life at the South,

BY C. H. WILEY.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY DARLEY.

"Who is God and where is he?" continued the negro, his nostrils dilating and his chest heaving; "does he not sit in heaven and mark the unexpressed wailings, the inward prayers, and the heart-sickness of those thousands of thinking, rational, and immortal souls, whom the white men drive and beat as they do their oxen and their horses? Do you know that the negro as well as the white man has an undying spirit that looks to heaven, and that it will meet its master's as an equal at the bar of God? *Master! 'God only is my master!'*"—*Page 109.*

LONDON:—HENRY LEA, 22, WARWICK LANE.

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*University of North Carolina Library*

Plate III

THE 1852 PIRATED EDITION OF ROANOKE



forth-coming N. C. Novel about which much interest is felt & you must attend to the "Standard." Write, immediately a communication stating that there is now in the press of the Harpers a N. C. novel & that you understand it has been highly commended by the first critics in the Union, (Griswold is *the* first) & is likely to make a sensation &c &c & then call on the Carolinians to look out & stand by their state.

My dear friend I rely on you, & when I am "famous,"

"We'll take a cup o' kindness

"In memory o' auld lang syne."

No time is to be lost for the book is coming fast. You will get a copy but you must let no one know it is a *present*. I cannot send to all my friends.

I[n] haste,

Your true friend,

WM. D. HEFLIN<sup>36</sup> to KINGSBURY

Oxford Sept 2nd, 1847

. . . C. H. Wiley was in N. York when last heard from which was about two weeks ago. he left here a few days after you did & went to Phil where he remained a short time & went to N. Y. He does not write any thing about coming home, I suppose he will not come until he gets his book out. He intimated that the Harpers would probably publish it, and I suppose it is now in course of publication. He says it has been read by the Literati of N. Y. & Phil & these judgements upon its merits are very favorable indeed & they think it will succeed admirably. He had been offered \$5. per column to write for the *Courier & Enquirer*,<sup>37</sup> which he has declined. He writes very independent. It is the opinion of some that he will not return here to live but will settle permanently in N. Y. I think he would succeed better as a writer than at the Bar . . . .

[*To be concluded*]

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<sup>36</sup> Son of Lewis Heflin of Granville County. William D. and his brother Jesse moved to Sardis, Mississippi, early in their lives and lost contact with the North Carolina branches of the family. This information supplied by Wm. D. Heflin's grandnephew, W. J. Webb of Oxford.

<sup>37</sup> See above, n. 23.



## BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of Willie Person Mangum: Volume III, 1839-1843.  
Edited by Henry T. Shanks (Raleigh: State Department of  
Archives and History. 1953. Pp. xxiv, 553. Illustrations. \$1.00.)

This, the third volume of the Mangum papers, covering the years 1839 to 1843, portrays the major role played by Willie P. Mangum in the turbulent affairs of the Whig party.

The most persistent theme in this correspondence is the extreme displeasure felt by Mangum and his fellow moderate Whigs toward what they regarded as President Tyler's betrayal of Whig policies. Tyler's anti-bank, anti-internal improvement and strict constructionist stand, which was almost completely at variance with the Whig platform of 1840, was acceptable only to the most extreme southerners. The fury of the moderates at Tyler's refusal to follow Clay's financial program is clearly expressed in a group of letters by the Maryland Whig Reverdy Johnson, whose opinion Mangum held in high esteem.

This volume would seem to lend considerable support to the suggested thesis of Charles G. Sellers, Jr., in "Who Were the Southern Whigs," *American Historical Review*, LIX (January, 1954) pp. 335-346, that during the 1830's and 1840's the South was politically divided on the basis of economic issues rather than on the question of states' rights vs. nationalism. Little mention of states' rights principles appears, whereas the increasing tendency of the southern Whigs to follow Clay's nationalist orientation is very much in evidence. A great many letters from prominent New York businessmen, such as James D. Ogden, James Auchincloss, and Nicholas Carroll, suggest the community of interest which had developed between leading southern and northern Whigs on important economic matters, especially on the necessity for establishing a new national bank.

In addition to matters of national interest, the letters reflect Mangum's important role as a dispenser of patronage and his popularity as a speaker at Whig meetings. A group of his letters to his wife contain various interesting personal details.



In keeping with the high standard of editing already established in this series, the present volume contains extensive explanatory notes and brief biographical identifications of virtually all of the correspondents.

Howard Braverman.

Brooklyn College,  
Brooklyn, New York.

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An Abstract of North Carolina Wills From About 1760 to About 1800. By Fred A. Olds. (Baltimore: Southern Book Company. 1954. Pps. 330. \$10.00.)

Before 1760 the law required that North Carolina wills be filed in the office of the secretary of the Province of North Carolina. Since that time they have been filed in the respective counties. In 1906 J. Bryan Grimes, Secretary of State, published *North Carolina Wills and Inventories*, containing abstracts of the so-called "state wills" before 1760.

Realizing that there was a sizable demand for Grimes' work, Colonel Fred A. Olds, Collector for the Hall of History, undertook to publish *An Abstract of North Carolina Wills From About 1760 To About 1800*. He personally visited 48 counties and abstracted approximately 9,900 wills. The bulk of the wills recorded in the other 12 counties in existence in 1800 had been destroyed by courthouse fires. Of the 125 copies printed in 1925, one went to each of the state's 100 courthouses and one copy to each of several libraries. Obviously, therefore, few copies were ever in the hands of the general public.

The edition under review is "a photographic reprint of the original." Referring to manuscript corrections made from time to time "by various people," the publishers do not "vouch for the validity of these corrections." The reviewer recommends that both the corrections and the original (printed copy) be used with caution inasmuch as both are secondary. In the interest of accuracy one should go behind the printed volume insofar as possible.

The first edition of this book has been used a great deal and it is safe to predict that this photographic reprint will



be in demand, especially by genealogists. Certainly this volume will invite the researcher to seek the original or the probated copy of any will in which he may be interested.

W. Frank Burton.

State Department of Archives and History,  
Raleigh.

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Selected Papers of Cornelia Phillips Spencer. Edited by Louis R. Wilson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 753. \$7.50.)

This volume of the published writings and of much of the private correspondence of Cornelia Phillips Spencer is an admirable job of editing. The documents reproduced here are products of the years from 1865 to 1895, and they accomplish the two-fold purpose of the editor: "(1) to give a vivid impression of the times, and (2) to acquaint the present-day public with the literary excellence of Mrs. Spencer's style when she gave her imagination and pen full play."

The volume contains Cornelia Spencer's contributions to a number of publications, notably to the North Carolina *Presbyterian*, in which she conducted the "Young Lady's Column." In addition, there are her letters to members of her family and to friends and acquaintances of high and low estate. Her writings reveal a personality of great versatility and of undying loyalty to the University of North Carolina in the trying days following the Civil War. Her viewpoints on a multitude of matters, such as manners and customs, North Carolina attitudes and background, education, religion, and politics are always pungently stated and reveal a mind of great wisdom and common sense.

Although Cornelia Phillips Spencer was born in New York City, she came to Chapel Hill in 1826 with her parents, Professor and Mrs. James Phillips, when she was about a year old. She grew up to love Chapel Hill and the University which, to her, was the great institution in her life. Except for her brief married life in Alabama, Chapel Hill was her home until 1894, when she went to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to make her home with her daughter and son-in-law, Professor



and Mrs. James Lee Love. Her life, therefore, was cast in the days of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the restoration of Democratic rule in North Carolina.

In his arrangement of Cornelia Spencer's writings, which proceeded from her own experiences, observations, and study, the editor has presented the reader and student with a fund of information about a remarkable woman and the life of her generation in North Carolina.

Howard B. Clay.

East Carolina College,  
Greenville, N. C.

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*The Rowan Story, 1753-1953: A Narrative History of Rowan County, North Carolina.* By James S. Brawley. (Salisbury, North Carolina: Rowan Printing Company. 1953. Pp. 402. \$5.00.)

The county history is perhaps the most neglected phase of American historiography, at least in quality if not in quantity. The author of the county history is often a novice in historical research, biased by a natural feeling of local patriotism, and more a chronicler of tradition than an interpreter of his locality in the broader aspects of state or regional history. The labor and time involved, not to say skill, plus the difficulty of publication, the limited sales, and the author's purely local claim to fame (even this is apt to be denied if he has offended some of the local powers), have frequently turned the best talent away from local history.

The history of Rowan County is not ideal, but it does include much that is interesting and useful. It is attractive in appearance, with an unusual jacket, numerous illustrations, some useful appendices, and an extensive bibliography. It is comprehensive in scope, includes chapters on social and economic life as well as political, and it is replete with the names of early settlers, important officials, and distinguished citizens. It is a much better balanced work than Jethro Rumple's *History of Rowan County* (1881; reprinted, 1929), which put the main emphasis on biographical material.



Among other things Mr. Brawley's work stresses the importance of the early German and Scotch-Irish settlers, the fact that Salisbury was a western outpost, that the east-west conflict had much to do with shaping the political interests of the section, and the place of transportation in the scheme of local development. Unfortunately there are no footnotes to indicate the sources of some important information, probably obtained from local records. More attention to literary form would have made for greater clarity and precision. Since Rowan County at one time included a large part of the western half of the state, it would have been helpful if the author had indicated more exactly the area covered in any particular discussion, and this would be especially desirable when giving population figures and other statistics. Naturally the greater part of the story has to do with Salisbury and its immediate vicinity. The two folding maps, one by David A. Rendleman showing the location of the pioneer German settlers, and the other by William D. Kizziah showing early Rowan County, after Strother's map of 1808, are worthy of special mention. This is a bicentennial history, written by a native son, and dedicated to the late Kerr Craige Ramsay.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University,  
Durham.

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Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson: The Restoration of the Confederates to their Rights and Privileges, 1861-1898. By Jonathan Truman Dorris. Introduction by J. G. Randall. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1953. Pp. xxi, 459. Bibliography and index. \$7.50.)

This volume is primarily concerned with the pardons and amnesties granted by or in accordance with Lincoln's proclamation of December 9, 1863, and Johnson's four proclamations of May 27, 1865, September 7, 1867, and July 4 and December 25, 1868. There is also a discussion of Congressional efforts to curtail presidential amnesty and an analysis of the various congressional amnesty acts, the last of which was not passed until 1898, by which disabilities under the



Fourteenth Amendment were removed from former Confederates. Individual chapters are devoted to pardoning Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, and other sections treat specifically of the pardoning of Confederate cabinet members and other high civil officers. An illuminating chapter relates to pardon and amnesty in the courts.

Of especial interest to the readers of this review is a chapter on "Pardoning North Carolinians," previously published in somewhat longer form in 1946 (*North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIII, 360-401). In this are described the activities of W. W. Holden, John A. Gilmer, William A. Graham, Josiah Turner, Jr., Jonathan Worth, and Zebulon B. Vance during the period under discussion, and the interrelated problems that arose in connection with the reconstruction of North Carolina. Here, as indeed in the work as a whole, much ground is covered that has already been explored in numerous works relating to the Civil War and Reconstruction periods; but it is convenient to have the subject of clemency treated in a compact and specific work like this one. The author has spent nearly thirty years on his subject, and he appears to have been the first to make use of the extensive Amnesty Papers, formerly in the custody of the State, War, and Justice Departments but now in the National Archives.

It is unfortunate that so useful and handsome a book should be marred by so many typographical and other minor errors. In connection with North Carolina for instance, there occur B. S. "Hendrich" for Hedrick on page 151, although the name is spelled correctly on other pages (211, 212, 213) and in the index; and "Burton" Gaither for Burgess Gaither (p. 217 and index). A carelessly constructed sentence conveys the impression that Kemp P. Battle delivered the address on "The Duties of Defeat" that Zebulon B. Vance made at the University of North Carolina commencement in 1866, and in addition Battle's *History* is cited as though it were a one-volume work (p. 202). The misreading of "Dear Madam" as "Dear Mother" in a letter from Mrs. Richard S. Ewell to Mrs. Andrew Johnson (in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina) trapped the author into describing this as "a pecul-



iar and incoherent letter," a description hardly sustained by an examination of its contents (p. 162). Similar instances of poor editing and hasty proofreading occur on various other pages.

James W. Patton.

The University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill.

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Proceedings of the First Confederate Congress, Fourth Session, 7 December, 1863—18 February, 1864. Edited by Frank E. Vandiver. Southern Historical Society Papers, No. LI. (Richmond: The Virginia Historical Society. 1953. Pp. VIII, 463.)

This volume, the seventh of the series covering the proceedings and debates of the Confederate Congress, which was begun by the Southern Historical Society in 1923 with Douglas S. Freeman, George L. Christian, and H. R. McIlwaine as the committee of publication. It has been understood that editorial control was vested in Dr. Freeman, who became the sole survivor of the committee. He and Mr. J. Ambler Johnston constituted for some years the membership of the Society, and upon his death, Mr. Johnson requested the Virginia Historical Society to liquidate the resources of the organization which has now ceased to exist. The copy for the present volume and two more to follow was already prepared, and the projected fifty-second volume will complete the series.

This present volume follows the plan of the previous ones. The debates are taken chiefly from the Richmond *Examiner*, with other newspapers, chiefly the *Enquirer* and *Dispatch*, being used to supply deficiencies. It gives a clear picture of the operations of Congress, quite as clear as is possible where no stenographic reports of the debates were made, and an equally clear view of many of the members. It reflects the growing dissatisfaction of Congress with the President and certain executive officers, with numerous high officers of the army, with army treatment of civilians, with the wholesale speculation, which disgraced the country, and with the resulting problems of an inflated currency.



The value of the work to historical investigators will be very great, for it gathers scattered material and makes available much information hitherto difficult to obtain. One can wish that the newspapers had printed or summarized more of the speeches, particularly those made by the rank and file of the members. Equally it is a matter of regret that the proceedings of the frequent secret sessions are not available, but, despite these deficiencies, the sum of information made conveniently available is impressive.

Professor Vandiver, in a brief foreword, effectively points out the value of the contribution made by the publication.

Investigators will look forward to the completion of the series.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton.

Chapel Hill.

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Americans Interpret Their Civil War. By Thomas J. Pressly. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xvi, 347. \$5.00.)

The outstanding virtue of Mr. Pressly's study is that he shows how the varying interpretations of the coming of the Civil War are related to the social and economic conditions of the periods in which they were advanced. The Beardian point of view, for example, he observes, arose out of the Progressive Movement of the early twentieth century when historians with reformist tendencies, such as Charles A. Beard, were very critical of the control of big business over politics and were keenly aware of the working of economic forces behind the facade of politics. The interpretation of the causes of the War for Southern Independence by the Civil War generation extending to the 1880's naturally sought to place the war guilt on the opposing side. The southerners blamed the abolitionists as the responsible party and at the same time maintained secession to be a legal and constitutional act; the northerners attributed the war to a conspiracy of fire eaters and designated the secession movement as a rebellion. With the rise of the "New South" movement in the 1880's and 1890's and the acceleration of industrialization, a



new spirit dominated the interpretation of the Civil War. The desire to reconcile the two sections and promote nationalism, as well as the rise of the trained historian in this period led to a more objective writing of Civil War history and to an emphasis on great social forces rather than on evil individuals as the cause of the conflict.

One of the most interesting parts of this excellent study is an analysis of modern trends in the interpretation of the Civil War. During the decade of the 1920's and 1930's economic strains revised emotional tensions between the North and South, and there arose a school devoted to a new vindication of the South, the leaders of which were Charles W. Ramsdell and Frank L. Owsley. Also disillusionment over the results of World War I promoted a point of view extremely hostile to war, an outlook which regarded the Civil War as "a needless war," thus returning to the interpretation of the Copperheads or Peace Democrats of the 1860's. The revisionists of recent days have denied that the Civil War was inevitable and have emphasized emotionalism, the blunders of leaders, and propaganda as prominent causes of the conflict. Mr. Pressly has written an acute and scholarly analysis of the various interpretations of the coming of the Civil War. The reviewer only wishes that such an intelligent student of this great national crisis had stated his own views of its origin.

Clement Eaton.

University of Kentucky,  
Lexington.

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Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1954. Pp. x, 359. \$5.00.)

Rarely does one encounter in title or subtitle such a happy combination of alliteration and accuracy as is seen in Rembert W. Patrick's detailed story of American efforts to acquire by any means, fair or foul, the Floridas in the five year period from 1810 to 1815. The always vacillating, and often Machiavellian, policies of Madison and Monroe, alternately support-



ing and disavowing the activities of the "Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border," resulted in what has truly been termed a fiasco.

When Kendrick C. Babcock about fifty years ago wrote *The Rise of American Nationality, 1811-1819*, he prefaced his second chapter with "The persistent desire of the United States to possess the Floridas, between 1801 and 1819, amounted almost to a disease, corrupting the moral sense of each succeeding administration." *Florida Fiasco* sustains this judgment. While the *realpolitik* of Madison and Monroe is by no means neglected, the main emphasis is placed upon the "Rampant Rebels" from the St. Marys southward. Involved in this story are "governors and legislators of Southern states, frontiersmen and aristocrats, Indians and Negroes, smugglers and robbers, Spanish militiamen, and land-hungry American farmers." These diverse groups all appear in the Florida arena throughout the twenty-three chapters of Professor Patrick's study. Occupations, synthetic revolutions, bloody fights and evacuations are all minutely described. No encounters or skirmishes are too small or too remote to escape the author's attention. In fact, the criticism might be made that except for the local historian the accounts are too detailed.

The central figure of the first nine chapters is General George Mathews, Revolutionary soldier, twice governor of Georgia, and Madison's agent in 1812. Of this "lovable old Irishman" the author is prone to write with great admiration. His attitude toward later actors in the drama is much more detached.

*Florida Fiasco* is the product of exhaustive research. Well over half of the footnotes are citations from unpublished sources. These include letters and reports from many manuscript collections in Washington as well as in Georgia and Florida. In an earlier work, *Florida under Five Flags*, the author was most generous in the matter of maps. It is to be regretted that the present work does not include at least one map. Point Petre, Picolatti, Cow Ford, Moosa Old Fort and Payne's town are mentioned many times and will be familiar



only to the specialist or local historian. The orthodox historian might object to the lengthy conversations, sometimes covering two or three pages, interpolated in the text, especially since it is not always clear to what extent they are verbatim reports or reconstructions (pp. 72-74, 130-132, 291-294, 314, 320, 335). On the whole, however, it is an excellent work. While its main value is probably in the complete survey of the exciting activities of the "Rampant Rebels" on the border, the Washington angle is also both interesting and timely. At present when the United States is occupying the position of ethical arbiter in international affairs, it is well to recall that in the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century we were, diplomatically at least, not always in the category of Caesar's wife.

D. H. Gilpatrick.

Furman University,  
Greenville, S. C.

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Planter Management and Capitalism in Ante-Bellum Georgia.  
By Albert Virgil House. (New York: Columbia University  
Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 329. \$4.75.)

Within the last twenty years many valuable studies of rice culture along the South Atlantic coast have been published. Most of these studies have focused attention on the South Carolina tidewater where rice was first grown and most intensively cultivated. The volume under review deals with the cultivation, processing, and marketing of rice in Georgia. Since this area of rice culture has been neglected by historians, Professor House, with somewhat scanty but pertinent data, is warranted in publishing the results of his research in this region.

Since rice was not cultivated on the Georgia coast until about 1830 and did not reach the peak of production until about 1850, the Georgia records available to students are not so numerous as those for South Carolina. Accordingly, the author has had to rely chiefly on the plantation journal and the account book of Hugh Fraser Grant, an Altamaha River planter, supplemented by the Manigault Plantation records



and other related source materials in the Southern Historical Collection at The University of North Carolina.

The first eighty-two pages of the book are devoted to a trenchant and illuminating description of the production and marketing of rice on the Georgia coast. The remaining 211 pages of the text contain copies of the plantation journal of Hugh Fraser Grant together with accounts with factors, slave lists, crop summaries, accounts with overseers, field journals, tax returns and other miscellaneous items. Altogether, they constitute an impressive array.

As to the planting, cultivation and harvesting of rice, the author has contributed little that is new. He has, however, explored new angles in his treatment of the capitalistic aspects of rice culture. As the writer points out (p. 70), "Too few writers have attempted to learn or to recount the sources of the factor's credit and supplies or the type of customers who bought the crops entrusted to him." He points up the operations of the rice merchants and commission houses in purchasing rice of factors for speculative purposes. Furthermore, he reveals that as a result of the establishment of supply houses and banks in Savannah, which catered to the needs of the planters, the old style factors suffered a partial loss of their traditional functions.

Professor House asserts, and we think correctly, that his study is unique in that it presents in the original Elizafield Journal of Hugh Fraser Grant (in the author's possession) a continuous record of the cultivation of separate rice fields over a period of years together with "complete and continuous records of financial transactions with factors" from 1839-1859.

A cursory survey of the objective data spread on the pages of this book indicates that despite the mutations of the seasons, pests, floods, and sickness, rice planting under efficient management prior to 1860 was a profitable undertaking.

The editorial work in this volume is generally satisfactory. One could wish, however, that the author had explained such terms as "Dashed for two days" (p. 134), "white gomased" (p. 131), and "the multicalis patch" (p. 131).

The notes on sources and the directory of business firms



mentioned in the plantation documents constitute valuable explanatory aids.

Rosser H. Taylor.

Western Carolina College,  
Cullowhee, N. C.

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The Salzburgers and Their Descendants. By P. A. Strobel. With Foreword, Appendix and Index by Edward D. Wells, Sr. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 318. \$3.00.)

Published in 1855 and reprinted in facsimile, this history of the Salzburgers is, in style and purpose, a spiritual exercise. The author, their pastor (1844-1849), sought to rescue these devout German settlers of Colonial Georgia from obscurity and, from their story, to point a moral for his day (and ours), even as the original Salzburgers' example did in theirs.

The Ebenezer settlement was a religious community, less pervasive in its influence than the Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts but not without effect. Its people contributed piety, industry, and sobriety to the land that offered them a home. Sponsored by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the Lutheran Church, and in accordance with the regulations of the Georgia Trustees, they conformed their lives to the Church's discipline under the leadership of pious and practical pastors. After initial hardships, they attained prosperity and supported religion and education, although schisms, indifference, and neglect were to come with the years.

During the Revolution, many Salzburgers, some actively and prominently, sympathized with the Patriot cause; a few, including the disturbing Pastor Triebner, adhered to the British. Ebenezer was occupied by both sides and suffered depredations from Loyalist marauders, its church being used by the British as hospital and stable. Slowly the community recovered from material losses but continued to feel the effects of the corruption of morals and the decline of religion; and it was faced with problems of adjustment to a new age of freedom, Americanization, worldliness and emigration.



Strobel consulted some of the sources available to him—a few histories, church documents, private journals and persons. Many of the local records were destroyed or scattered. Frequently he uses the frustrating words: “It has not been found practical to ascertain.” The account is best for the early years and becomes quite sketchy for the period 1783-1855. At times moralizing replaces realistic portrayal of the daily life of the Salzburger. There are a few notes but no specific references. Mr. Wells contributes a foreword, appendix (a marriage list) and index but no editorial emendations.

As a tribute to a pioneering people and a source of some informative bits of social history, this book was worth writing and reissuing; one wishes that it could have been more adequately written and certainly more fully edited.

Lawrence F. Brewster.

East Carolina College,  
Greenville, N. C.

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The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Volume VIII, 25 February to 31 October 1785. Edited by Julian P. Boyd, Mina R. Bryan, and Elizabeth L. Hutter. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. xxix, 687. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

The period covered by this volume of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*—February through October 1785—is an important one in the origins and foundations of American foreign policy. In March Thomas Jefferson was elected by the Congress to succeed Benjamin Franklin as American minister to France, and before the year had expired Franklin returned to the United States. In May John Adams left France for London to assume his duties as minister to Great Britain. These three commissioners had much to do with the formulation of policy and the foreign relations of the new nation.

Many of the papers in the volume concern the efforts of the three commissioners to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with European nations, which culminated in the signing of a commercial treaty with Prussia in September of 1785. Another important diplomatic event was the negotiation



of a treaty with the Barbary states. The correspondence between Jefferson and Adams, arranging for the mission of Thomas Barclay and John Lamb together with the official instructions and commissions presented by Barclay and Lamb as well as Jefferson's project for a treaty, are printed herein.

Jefferson's personal correspondence with a wide range of people both at home and in Europe makes up a large part of the volume. It throws much light on public and private affairs in France and other foreign countries. In addition it helps to illuminate many phases of American life as well as Jefferson's views and philosophy. He and his American friends discuss art, literature, science, and education; agriculture, commerce, internal improvements, and land speculation; the amendment of the Articles of Confederation, organization of new western state governments, and state and federal governmental policies; manners, habits, and social customs; slavery and religion; national characteristics and the contrasts between the northern and southern states of the American Union. In fact there are few if any aspects of American life that are not touched upon in these letters. Particularly interesting are the letters of Jefferson and Abigail Adams which show the warm friendship between the two. So informal were they that Jefferson did not hesitate to ask Abigail to purchase for him in London a dozen linen shirts because they were much cheaper there than in Paris. Other interesting exchanges are between Jefferson and his American friends about Jean Antoine Houdon's statue of George Washington, the plans for the Virginia state Capitol, the sale of Virginia tobacco in France, and the publication of David Ramsay's "History of the Revolution." Every student of the period will find something of interest in this volume.

Julian P. Boyd and his associates have maintained the high quality of editorial work which characterizes the earlier volumes of the set.

Fletcher M. Green.

The University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill.

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Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. Studies in Maryland History, No. 2. By Raphael Semmes. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1953. Pp. xi, 208. Illustrations.)

The late Dr. Semmes's charming little book tells us that Baltimore, once the nation's third largest commercial port, exported enormous quantities of flour, tobacco, corn, salted meat, timber, and imported coffee, hides, sugar, guano, and copper on a large scale. European visitors, whether French émigrés, English farmers, or German noblemen, were invariably impressed by the bustling harbor and the beautiful Baltimore clippers. Streets, buildings, monuments, and other points of interest were described, but of greater interest to visitors were celebrations, parties, people, and manners. Although Europeans could not condone the chewing of tobacco and bolting of meals, they did agree that Cheasapeake canvasback duck was justly famed as a delicacy.

Some observers with a preconceived dislike for slavery shared the astonishment of C. D. Arfwedson when he found "the situation of a slave . . . far more degrading" or of L. B. Mackinnon who could "only refer to the happy, good-natured and 'devil-may-care' appearance of the slaves themselves." Present-day readers may be surprised to learn that during Baltimore elections in the Know-Nothing era "respectable citizens were driven from the polls" with "deadly weapons . . . placed at their heads."

But the subject mentioned most frequently by ante-bellum visitors was the beauty of Baltimore women. Even Mrs. Matilda Houstoun, a critical English-woman, found their reputation for beauty well deserved and after further travel reported it a common saying that the greatest ambition of a Kentucky gentleman was "to have the surest rifle in his hand, the best horse in his stable, and a Maryland *gal* for his wife."

The author found approximately two hundred diaries, memoirs, and reminiscences of travelers containing material on Baltimore between 1783 and 1860. All are listed in the bibliography and nearly half are mentioned in the text. Skillfully blending statements of visitors with his own, Dr. Semmes has produced a collection of vivid pen pictures of Baltimore



and vicinity. He died before the publication of his work, but Mrs. Marguerite Harrison Blake has done a good job of preparing it for the press.

Henry Smith Stroupe.

Wake Forest College,  
Wake Forest.

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Arthur Pue Gorman. By John R. Lambert. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 397. \$6.00.)

Arthur Pue Gorman was a self-made man. With only one year of formal schooling, he rose from page in the United States Senate to Senate Postmaster, Collector of Internal Revenue in Maryland, member of the General Assembly in Maryland and member of the United States Senate. This remarkable rise to so influential and powerful a position was accomplished through a remarkably sound judgment of men and an ability to use them to his own advantage. By securing the election of the incumbent State Senator as Governor, Gorman made a place for himself in the State Senate of Maryland. This maneuver involved support of another candidate for the United States Senate at the next election and again Gorman was successful in his candidate's behalf. But such manipulation was dangerous, and to protect his own interests Gorman next sought and obtained the governorship of Maryland for another of his political allies. The General Assembly of Maryland in 1880 elected him United States Senator.

The most fundamental characteristics of Gorman were his genuine conservatism and his love of harmony. Because of these two innate qualities, his political course was nearly always one of compromise, of concession to expediency. This was certainly true in the case of the tariff imbroglio in both of Cleveland's administrations as well as his policy with respect to the silver issue during the second term. His primary aim was to maintain party unity and thus prevent defeat at the polls. But Cleveland had his way in both cases and the Republicans had their issue. The result each time was Democratic defeat.

There are fifteen well-organized chapters which cover



fully Gorman's life from his entry into politics. The treatment is sympathetic, but eminently fair both to Gorman and to his political associates. Professor Lambert has made a thorough study of the source material dealing with his subject. These include much that has never before been used. The work is well documented and includes a highly competent critical essay on authorities. The book is one of the Southern Biography Series.

John Mitchell Justice.

Appalachian State Teachers College  
Boone, N. C.

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The Territorial Papers of the United States: Volume XIX, The Territory of Arkansas, 1819-1825. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1953. Pp. xiv, 1003. Maps, charts. \$6.50.)

The first of three which ultimately will encompass the entire Arkansas territorial period, this volume should prove of great value to students of the history of Arkansas and the trans-Mississippi South and West. All except 20 of the 777 documents included have previously been available, only in the original in Washington. Most of the papers were chosen from official government files, but these have been supplemented with pertinent selections from the *Arkansas Gazette*, the only newspaper in the territory during the period. Also included (and published for the first time) is the Executive Register of civil appointments, heretofore to be seen only in the original in Little Rock.

The scope of the volume is wide. Documents on Indian affairs are most prevalent, followed closely in number by those concerning land matters—survey, sale, and administration of public lands, and adjudication of land titles, often in dispute because of conflicting claims originating in the French and Spanish periods. Other subjects range as widely as the postal service, road and river transportation, salt works, the militia, and routine administrative problems.

So rich a volume has many merits, but this reviewer, to whom the Arkansas territorial period has often seemed a his-



torical void spanned only by the thin files of the *Arkansas Gazette*, was especially impressed by the wealth of information concerning individuals. Many men known only imperfectly in the recent past now begin to emerge in detail. Among such are Matthew Arbuckle, William Bradford, George Gray, Hartwell Boswell, William Russell, and Matthew Lyon, all storied frontier characters. And there are the lesser men—hundreds of them. No other source for this period contains such a mine of names. Even our co-laborers in the vineyard, the genealogists, will find this volume highly rewarding.

The book measures up in every way to its uniformly excellent predecessors: the format is good, the typography clear, the editor's explanatory footnotes helpful. Only two errors were noted, one minor, a misdating of the Executive Register (p. xi), the other rather unfortunate: the "late" Professor John H. Reynolds (p. viii) is very much alive today in the midst of his eighty-sixth year.

For the nineteenth time Clarence Edwin Carter has performed his exacting task imaginatively and well. We of the trans-Mississippi South, especially, look forward with anticipation to the publication of the remaining volumes of Arkansas territorial papers.

Orville W. Taylor.

Little Rock Junior College,  
Little Rock, Ark.



## HISTORICAL NEWS

The University of North Carolina Department of History reports the following news:

During the summer session C. O. Cathey will teach at the University of Wyoming, and James E. King at The Johns Hopkins University.

Fletcher M. Green took over the lecture course and seminar of the late Charles S. Sydnor at Duke University during the spring semester.

Loren C. MacKinney, currently engaged in research in Italy, attended a conference in Spoleto, Italy, April 6-13, devoted to the study of the tenth century. He read a paper on "Early Medieval Medicine as Seen in Manuscript Illustration." Professor MacKinney has been awarded a research grant by The University of North Carolina.

Frank W. Klingberg will take leave during the year 1954-1955 on a Ford Fellowship. During the summer, 1954, he will work in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Harold A. Bierck, Jr., who has been awarded a research grant by the University, attended the Conference on the Teaching of History in the Western Hemisphere, held at San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 4-10. He was appointed by the Department of State as a member of the United States Advisory Committee on the Commission of History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Professor Bierck's article, "Spoils, Soils, and Skinner," appeared in the *Maryland Magazine of History*, XLIX (March, 1954).

Elisha P. Douglass participated in a conference on "Using Local Historical Resources in Teaching Social Studies," held at Duke University, March 26-27. He has received a research grant from The University of North Carolina.

James L. Godfrey served as Outside Examiner for the Honors Program at Sweet Briar College in May. He has been given the Faculty Award for outstanding service by the Dialectic Senate at The University of North Carolina, and, in addition, has been awarded a research grant by the University.



Charles G. Sellers, Jr., of Princeton University will teach in the second term of summer school.

George H. Callcott, doctoral candidate in history, has been appointed instructor at Longwood College.

Lenore O'Boyle, of the Woman's College history department, has been granted a Fulbright Fellowship to do research in the archives at Frankfurt, Germany. Her work will deal with liberal parties of Germany in the nineteenth century.

Duke University announces the appointment of E. Malcolm Carroll as chairman of the Department of History, succeeding Charles S. Sydnor, who died March 2.

Members of the history faculty currently engaged in research are Harold T. Parker, who is working this summer in the French Archives (Paris) on the Napoleonic Empire, and John S. Curtiss, who has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship to work during the academic year 1954-1955 on his history of the Russian Army under Nicholas I. After extensive work in American libraries, Dr. Curtiss plans to do research in Finland, England, and France. He will conclude his European work by participating in the International Congress of Historians in Rome. Allen S. Johnson, a research assistant in the department, is doing research this summer in England on George Grenville. Under a Ford Foundation grant, Arthur B. Ferguson will take sabbatical leave for the next academic year to write on chivalry and the society of fifteenth century England. Richard L. Watson will take sabbatical leave in the spring, 1955, to pursue work on his biography of Furnifold M. Simmons.

Publications of faculty members include William T. Laprade's "State Parties and National Politics," *The American Scholar* (winter, 1953); Laprade's "The Power of the English Press in the Eighteenth Century," reprinted in Edwin Ford and Edwin Emery, eds., *Highlights in the History of the American Press*; Joel G. Colton's "The French Socialist Party: A Case Study of the Non-Communist Left," *Yale Re-*



view (spring, 1954); and Richard L. Watson, Jr.'s "Roosevelt and Hoover," *South Atlantic Quarterly* (January, 1954).

Representing the department at the forty-seventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held at Madison, Wisconsin, April 22-24, were I. B. Holley, Jr., and Alexander De Conde, who commented on papers presented at the meeting.

Graduate students have collected a fund to be used by the Friends of the Duke University Library as a memorial to Dr. Sydnor. From other sources has come a Sydnor memorial contribution to the library for the purchase of books on southern history.

Jay Luvaas, director of the Flowers Collection, announces the receipt as gifts of the Willis Smith papers, which contains about 40,000 items, and the William Watts Ball Papers (1908-1951). The Ball Papers of approximately 24,000 items include correspondence, notes, editorials, and other papers of the South Carolina newspaperman and late editor of the *Charleston News and Courier*.

Percival Perry of the Wake Forest history faculty has been awarded a study and research grant by Duke University for the summer term, 1954.

Henry S. Stroupe has been promoted to professor and named chairman of the Social Sciences Department.

Winfred Buck Yearn and Davis L. Smiley attended the recent meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Dr. Smiley's article, "Abraham Lincoln Deals with Cassius M. Clay: Portrait of a Patient Politician," appeared in the *Lincoln Herald* (winter, 1953).

The Department of History of Davidson College reports the resignation of Edward O. Guerrant, who will return to California.

Frontis W. Johnston has been awarded a Ford Foundation faculty fellowship and will spend the next academic year studying and writing at The University of North Carolina.

Paul A. Marrotte, who received his doctorate from The



University of North Carolina, has joined the staff on a temporary basis as assistant professor.

The North Carolina Council for the Social Studies in cooperation with the State Department of Archives and History and with the departments of History and Education of Duke University held a conference on "Using Local History" at Duke University, April 3-4. The sessions were planned to appeal to elementary, junior, and senior high social studies teachers. They included demonstration lessons, displays of historical and instructional material, and discussion of ways of locating and utilizing local material.

The spring meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina was held at Meredith College, Raleigh, on May 8. Papers heard during the afternoon session included "Edgar W. Knight: Educator and Historian," by Fletcher M. Green, and "William R. Davie: Partisan Leader," by Blackwell P. Robinson. In the evening session, a panel discussion featured the subject, "Suggestions for the Study and Writing of Local History," with Hugh T. Lefler as discussion chairman, and William S. Powell, W. P. Jacobs, W. Frank Burton, and Phillips Russell as panel members. After the discussion, Blackwell Robinson spoke on the "Revision of the North Carolina Guide Book," and Christopher Crittenden gave a "Report on the Historic Sites Commission Program."

On March 16 in Charlotte the Historic Sites Commission, created by the 1953 General Assembly, held its second meeting. All members of the group were present. Among matters acted upon were a proposed report to the Governor and the Advisory Budget Commission, plans for the restoration of the Philip Alston House in Moore County, and the proposed development of Historic Halifax.

The annual meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association was held in Asheville, April 24, with D. J. Whitener presiding. Highlights of the meeting was the presentation of the first annual award of the Western North Carolina Historical Association trophy to Mrs. Sadie Smath-



ers Patton of Hendersonville. A committee composed of D. Hiden Ramsey of Asheville, George M. Stephens of Asheville, and Margaret Ligon of Asheville made the award selection based on Mrs. Patton's outstanding contribution towards the preservation of the history of the area. Miss Cordelia Camp read a paper on the Asheville Normal School, and Clarence N. Gilbert read a sketch of the life of Thomas L. Clingman. Officers elected during the business session for the year 1954-1955 are Samuel E. Beck of Asheville, president; Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City, vice president; and Albert S. McLean of Asheville, secretary-treasurer. The association will meet jointly with the State Literary and Historical Association at Mars Hill in August.

Under the sponsorship of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, a clinic on historical sources was held at Appalachian State Teachers College on March 26. The aim of the clinic was to continue the work of uncovering and preserving local history, and it attracted enthusiasts from Alleghany, Watauga, Avery, Burke, Caldwell and Wilkes counties. D. J. Whitener, president of the sponsoring association, plans to hold similar clinics throughout the 23 counties included in the Western North Carolina Historical Association. In the future, he plans to conduct clinics for public school history teachers at Brevard College, Western Carolina Teachers College, Gardner-Webb Junior College, and Montreat College.

The Stanly County Historical Society met at Albemarle, April 3, with Horace Carter addressing the group on changes within Stanly County during the past 50 years. Numerous projects currently being undertaken by members of the society were discussed, and Colonel Jeffrey E. Stanback of Mt. Gilead urged the group to back his suggestion that a highway be constructed from Troy straight through Morrow Mountain State Park to Albemarle. A committee, consisting of Mrs. J. N. Lilly, W. F. Snuggs, and Mrs. Florence C. Anderson, was appointed to secure a deed for the old



Marshall graveyard. Mrs. G. D. B. Reynolds presided at the meeting.

The Mitchell County Historical Association held its organizational meeting on April 20 at Bakersville. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History spoke on objectives of local historical societies, and assisted in organizing the group. Meeting again on May 17, the association elected the following permanent officers: Jason B. Deyton, president; Walter Thomas, vice president; George M. Baker, 2nd vice president; Paul Garland, 3rd vice president; Mrs. A. E. Gouge, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Ethel Blevins, curator.

The organizational meeting of the Graham County Historical Society took place in Robbinsville on April 23, with D. L. Corbitt assisting in organizational procedures. James A. Stanley was elected temporary chairman, Mrs. Wayne McClung was elected temporary secretary. In addition to other business, the following committees were activated: by-laws and constitution, membership, permanent officers, programs, and refreshments.

The Pasquotank County Historical Society was organized on March 31 at Elizabeth City. Officers elected were General John Wood, president; Reverend George F. Hill, honorary president; and Mrs. William Peters, secretary-treasurer.

The Currituck Historical Society held its third regular meeting on April 12 in the courthouse at Currituck, with Dudley Bagley presiding. The program dealt mainly with early educational institutions in Currituck County, and with data on the life of John Gibbs. Walter Smith, chairman of the cemeteries committee, announced the opening of a contest, sponsored by Dudley Bagley, to locate the oldest dated grave marker within the present boundaries of Currituck County. An award of \$10 will be given to the person finding the oldest marker prior to July 12, the date of the next meeting of the society. Chairmen of the permanent committees within the society are Mrs. Frank Roberts, publications; Mrs.



Pearl E. West, museum; Norman Hughes, library; General John Wood, historic sites; Miss Alice Flora, war history; Mrs. E. L. Griffin, genealogical; and Walter Smith, cemeteries. Wilton Walker, Jr., was named chairman of the tentatively named committee on geographical county history.

Meeting in April, the Wilkes County Historical Association elected the following officers: T. E. Story of North Wilkesboro, president; C. B. Eller of North Wilkesboro, vice president; Mrs. B. R. Underwood of North Wilkesboro, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Lawrence Critcher of Moravian Falls, curator.

On April 23, D. L. Corbitt assisted in organizing the Cherokee County Historical Society. Temporary officers were elected at the meeting.

The second annual historic tour of the Rutherford County Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, was made April 10. Miss Eva Hampton, tour chairman, introduced Horace L. Carpenter of Rutherfordton, who spoke on "Early Days in Rutherfordton," and Ben E. Washburn, retired physician, who spoke on "Early Doctors in Rutherfordton." Other speakers included John Twitty of Rutherfordton, speaking on Susan Twitty Miller, heroine of the Revolutionary War; and Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City, speaking on "The Significance of Mountain Creek and Broad River in Local Revolutionary Events." Inclement weather reduced the number of stops on the tour, but the group visited "Fox Haven," ancestral home of the Morris family, and presently owned by Mr. and Mrs. Ben Sumner.

Sponsored by the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, a historical tour of Sampson County was conducted by Mrs. Taft Bass of Clinton on May 9. From the gathering point in front of the county courthouse in Clinton, the group left for stops at the Taft Bass home; Clinton cemetery; the old Boykin family graveyard near Clinton; the gun



factory operated during the Revolutionary War, which is located near Butler Crossroads; the ghost town of Lisbon; the J. B. Seavey home; the Sampson Memorial Park where lunch was served; the William A. Faison home near Turkey; the Daniel Joyner home; the Captain Elias Faison Shaw home; the Major James Moore home located on the old stagecoach road; and finally House's Mill near Newton Grove where tea was served the group on the pavilion built over the mill-race.

A historical tour of Pender County, under the sponsorship of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, was conducted by Judge Clifton Moore of Burgaw on April 25. The group gathered at the Moores Creek National Military Park and proceeded on the tour, which had been largely planned by Miss Mattie Bloodworth, Pender County historian.

A state historical marker for Kiffin Yates Rockwell, first pilot of the Escadrille Lafayette to shoot down a German plane during World War I, was unveiled on May 18 during a ceremony near his home in Asheville. Among those participating in the program were Colonel Pol E. Charbonnaux, air attaché at the French Embassy in Washington, who represented Ambassador Georges Bonnett, and Lt. General Robert L. Eichelberger, retired commander of the United States Eighth Army. The ceremony was held on the thirty-eighth anniversary of the downing of the German plane by Rockwell, who was killed in action in France on September 23, 1916.

On April 23, near Rockfish Creek in Cumberland County, Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, presided at a ceremony for the unveiling of a state historical marker on the site where the forces of Brigadier General James Moore camped prior to the battle of Moores Creek Bridge. John A. Oates of Fayetteville was the principal speaker on the program, which was held as part of the Cape Fear Valley Festival in honor of Cumberland County's bicentennial celebration. The cere-



monies were sponsored by the Colonel Robert Rowan Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the marker was accepted by Mrs. Harvey P. Ferris, Chapter Chairman for the Preservation of Historic Spots.

A historical marker was unveiled at the Rutherford Trace, near Enka, April 20. The program included D. L. Corbitt, speaking on "North Carolina's Marker Program"; W. A. Edgerton of Enka speaking on "This Historic Place"; and D. J. Whitener of Boone speaking on "Today's Event in the Work of Our Organization." Albert S. McLean gave the dedicatory sentences, and H. C. Wilburn unveiled the marker. Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville presided.

The Camden County Historical Society sponsored the unveiling of a marker at the previously unmarked grave of Lemuel Sawyer near Camden on May 30. Elizabeth Gregory McPherson of Washington and Camden conducted the ceremony. Judge W. I. Halstead of South Mills and Richard Walser of Raleigh made brief talks.

Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, reviewed Clement Eaton's *A History of the Southern Confederacy* at a meeting of the Johnston-Pettigrew Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, in Raleigh, March 17. On April 10 Dr. Crittenden addressed the annual meeting of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati on the State Department of Archives and History and its program. On April 22 Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, museum administrator of the Department of Archives and History, met with a group of school teachers and others in Salisbury to discuss how the city and county schools could cooperate in building up the Rowan Historical Museum, for which an old house has been purchased. J. H. Knox, superintendent of the Salisbury city schools, C. C. Erwin, county superintendent of schools, and Mrs. Gettys Guille, president of the museum, participated in the Salisbury discussion.



D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, celebrated his thirtieth anniversary with the agency on April 1. Since 1935, he has had the additional duty of managing editor of *The North Carolina Historical Review*. He has edited or compiled such volumes as *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943*, and *Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590*, and the addresses of North Carolina's governors, from Cameron Morrison to R. Gregg Cherry. For the past two years, Corbitt has served as chairman of the committee on local historical societies of the State Literary and Historical Association, and is actively engaged in organizing local groups in North Carolina counties. He spoke to the Kiwanis Club of Forest City, April 26, on "The Publication Program of the State Department of Archives and History," and addressed the Smith, Peacock, and Hook family reunion at Benson, May 2, on "The Significance of History."

Clarence W. Griffin, member of the executive board of the Department of Archives and History, addressed the senior class of Ellenboro High School, February 12, on "Fifty Years of Progress in Agriculture in Rutherford County"; on February 13, he spoke at a meeting of the Rutherford Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on "What Makes North Carolina a Great State"; and on March 5, he delivered the latter address at Gilkey before the Young Men's and Women's Club, sponsored by the Farm Bureau.

J. F. Pugh, superintendent of the Camden County schools, has published a sketch of the history of Camden County entitled "Camden County, Named for Sir Charles Pratt, Birthplace of Famous Men," in the *Norfolk Virginian Pilot*, April 11.

Leonard W. Labaree, editor of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, which is sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University, requests information on the location of letters to or from Franklin and any other Frank-



lin materials with which *Review* readers may be familiar. Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. Leonard W. Labaree, 1319 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, announces the 1953 award of its annual book prize to Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University for *Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty*. Competition is now open for books published since January 1, 1954, in the field of early American history and culture. This field embraces all phases of American history to about 1815, including the borderlands of the British North American colonies and the British colonies in the West Indies to 1776. To be considered for the \$500 prize, books should be submitted to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia, not later than January 15, 1955.



## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Fletcher M. Green is chairman of the Department of History at The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Mr. John W. Parker is chairman of the Department of English at Fayetteville State Teachers College, Fayetteville.

Mr. Hugh F. Rankin is a doctoral candidate in history at The University of North Carolina and winner of the R. D. W. Connor Award for 1953.

Dr. Robert Leroy Hildrup is professor of history at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Dr. H. H. Cunningham is chairman of the Department of Social Sciences at Elon College, Elon.

Mr. Richard Walser is associate professor of English at North Carolina State College, Raleigh.



# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## THE NICHOLITES OF NORTH CAROLINA

By KENNETH L. CARROLL

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century there existed in Guilford County a group of people known as the Nicholites. This band of believers, who lived near Deep River, was an off-shoot of a larger body which settled on the Delaware-Maryland border.<sup>1</sup> Like those who remained in Maryland and Delaware, the Nicholites of North Carolina took their name from Joseph Nichols, the founder of their religious society.

Joseph Nichols, the little-known spiritual leader whose religious call took him on preaching trips throughout Delaware, both shores of Maryland, and to Philadelphia, was born near Dover, Delaware, about 1730. In his youth and early manhood his vivacity and humor led many of his neighbors to seek his company, so that on Sundays (or first-days as the Nicholites came to call them) and at other times of leisure many of his companions gathered to share in his entertaining pastime.

It was at one of these gatherings for pleasure that one of Nichols's close friends was taken ill and died suddenly at the place where they had assembled. This event was credited by Nichols as having awakened his attention, showing him the uncertainty of life, and bringing about a radical change in his character.<sup>2</sup> When his neighbors gathered around him

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the Nicholites in Maryland and Delaware, see Kenneth L. Carroll, "Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV, 47-61; and "More About the Nicholites," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI, 278-289.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel M. Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends, from its Rise to the Year 1828* (Philadelphia, 1867), III, 493.



seeking entertainment, as was their custom, he suggested that they should spend their time more rationally than they had done before and also that a portion of Scripture should be read. Gradually, then, their meetings were transformed from "scenes of mirth to seasons of serious thoughtfulness."<sup>3</sup> Finally Joseph Nichols, in his early thirties, appeared among his neighbors as a preacher of righteousness.

In his meetings for worship and in his thoughts Joseph Nichols was greatly influenced by the neighbouring Friends or Quakers. The form of silent worship, the testimony against war, oaths, and a stipendiary ministry, the pattern of the wedding ceremony, the monthly meeting for business, the name of Friends which the Nicholites gave to themselves, and the title "New Quakers" sometimes applied to them, all show how large this debt to the Society of Friends was.<sup>4</sup>

In his meetings Joseph Nichols sat in silence, as did the Quakers, until he felt himself called to preach. When he experienced no such impulse his meetings ended in silence. As his followers in Guilford County recorded in 1778, only a few years after his death, Joseph Nichols

believed in the light that Shines in the understanding of man and woman that Discovers to them betwixt good and evil, right and wrong and reproves for evil and Justifies for well Doing, to be the only means of Grace to enable us to work out our Salvation, and as he believed so he preached.<sup>5</sup>

Nichols's followers, as already stated, called themselves Friends but had the name Nicholites applied to them by the outside world. The origin of this name is clearly preserved by his followers in North Carolina who wrote "we amongst many other Soules became believers in the light and in a

<sup>3</sup> Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends*, III, 494.

<sup>4</sup> Carroll, "More About the Nicholites," 279. The Nicholites also adopted the Quaker practice of calling months and days by number rather than by name.

<sup>5</sup> See page 1 of the original petition of the Nicholites to the General Assembly of North Carolina. This petition, hereafter referred to as *Nicholite Petition*, and dated 8th month, 4th day, 1778, is preserved in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C. The petition is located in the Legislative Papers, House of Commons, August, 1778.



reproachful & revileing manner was Called Nicholites, as much as to say followers of Nichol's light."<sup>6</sup>

Those people who accepted the spiritual leadership of Joseph Nichols not only abstained from swearing and the use of profane language, but also had a testimony against oaths of all kinds. Those in Maryland obtained from the state legislature the right of affirmation instead of taking an oath.<sup>7</sup> It was this principle that caused the North Carolina Nicholites to appeal to the General Assembly for relief. They wrote:

To the Generall Assembly and authority of the State of North Carolina we the subscribers having understood that we was made no mention of in the house of Assembly as a separate people from other Sosciaties and that we had not a proper right to the affirmation provided for the Quakers administered to us according to law Except we git a grant from your authority for it, we have thought it Convenient to lay our case before you.<sup>8</sup>

As a consequence of their obedience to the Inward Light, the Nicholites likewise bore a firm testimony against all war. This aspect of their belief is like reflected in their petition to the government of North Carolina. After stating that their desire was to live an "honest, peacible, quiet & inofensive life before God and man" and that it was not in their hearts "to make any resistance against your authority nor to assist any other authority against you," the Nicholites expressed their concern over the position in which they found themselves as a result of the Revolutionary War:

We do humbly petition and pray you in your authority to exclude us from such things as we believe we cant be Justified before God in, which we humbly pray God almighty the great authority of both heaven and earth to give you a Sence of the honesty of our hearts in this petition, it is for no other Cause . . . but purely that we may be able to Answer a good Conscience both toward God and man, which things are those we believe we cant be Just before God to bear arms or lift the sword against our fellow Creature, in Justification of which we could mention Sundray

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<sup>6</sup> *Nicholite Petition*, 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Laws of Maryland Made Since M,DCC,LXIII, Consisting of Acts of Assembly Under the Proprietary Government, Etc.* (Annapolis, 1787), Laws of 1783, Ch. 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Nicholite Petition*, 1.



Sayings of Christ and his apostles and by a liveing Sense of Gods laws written in our hearts bearing witness to the same we fear to offend him.<sup>9</sup>

Closely related to the refusal of this religious society to participate in warfare was the testimony which the Nicholites made against capital punishment. They wrote to the Assembly as follows: "Another thing we believe we Could not be Clear in, that is to answer the law as a witness against any person that thereby they shalt be put to Death."<sup>10</sup>

Having stated these two desires (to be freed from taking oaths and from taking lives), the Nicholites then expressed their hope that the members of the General Assembly would "feel bowels" for them in "the two above mentioned particulars."<sup>11</sup>

This petition of the Nicholites, presented in the summer of 1778, was signed by nine of the male members of the group and bore the names of Paris Chipman, Joseph Stanley, Valentine Pegg, William Charles, Levin (Leavin) Charles, John Horney, William Horney, James Caldwell, and William Wheeler. Two of the group were appointed to "wride" down with it in case the assembly should wish to make any further inquiry concerning the society.

The arrival of these Nicholites with their petition did not escape the notice of the Moravians who were themselves petitioning the Assembly for the right to make an affirmation. The Moravians recorded that the Nicholites, whom they mistakenly held to have separated from the Quakers, "came from Guilford bringing a petition. . . . They asked for certain privileges which, to their joy, the Assembly did not fully comprehend."<sup>12</sup> The Moravians, who insisted that their cause was not "to be combined with that of the Nicholites, which was probably what the enemy wanted," reported that their own petition "was willingly received, was read clearly by the Under Clerk, who usually does not read well, and was heard

<sup>9</sup> *Nicholite Petition*, 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> *Nicholite Petition*, 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Nicholite Petition*, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, III, (Raleigh, 1926), 1379.



with unusual attention and quiet.”<sup>13</sup> The Nicholite petition, however, was received “with much less attention.”<sup>14</sup> A resolution passed August 18, 1778, granted the requests of the “Quakers, Moravians, Dunkards, and Mennonists” but made no mention of the Nicholites.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the beliefs mentioned above which characterized the Nicholites or “New Quakers,” there were many others that were of importance. Joseph Nichols was the first person in his neighborhood to preach against slaveholding. His followers voluntarily released their slaves and made it against their rules to own slaves. James Horney and others were so zealous that they even refused to eat with slaveholders or to partake of the produce raised by slave labor.<sup>16</sup> The preaching of Joseph Nichols, when coupled with that of John Woolman, was greatly influential in causing Maryland Quakers to adopt a position similar to that of the Nicholites in condemning slavery.<sup>17</sup>

Negroes, apparently without any discrimination, attended the meetings of the Nicholites. Joseph Nichols, according to tradition, gave his coat to a poor slave who came to the meeting without one.<sup>18</sup> Even more important is the fact that Negroes held membership in the Nicholite Society. Isaac Linnegar and his wife Rosannah, a former slave, were members as were their children also.<sup>19</sup> This Isaac Linnegar was one of the group which migrated to North Carolina late in the eighteenth century.

The Nicholites were also marked by their insistence upon plainness—a practice which entered into every aspect of their lives. They refused to raise flowers in their gardens or

<sup>13</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, III, 1379.

<sup>14</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, III, 1379.

<sup>15</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, III, 1383.

<sup>16</sup> Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends*, III, 495.

<sup>17</sup> Kenneth L. Carroll, “Maryland Quakers and Slavery,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV, 215-225.

<sup>18</sup> Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism; Being Extracts from the Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Meeting Composing It, to which is Prefixed an Account of their First Establishment* (Philadelphia, 1860), 416.

<sup>19</sup> See the birth and marriage records of the Nicholites which can be found in published form in my two articles cited in footnote 1. The manuscript originals are now with the records of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends, Easton, Maryland.



around their houses. They would wear no flowered or striped apparel. The women wore plain sun-bonnets and the men all wore white hats (mostly of wool and in its natural color). The Nicholites did not even approve of mixing colors that were natural, such as black and white wool or black wool and white cotton; and they refused to wear black leather or to blacken their shoes.<sup>20</sup> They objected to dyeing cloth—"esteeming it a superfluous expense, calculated more for ostentation than true usefulness."<sup>21</sup> Job Scott, a travelling Quaker preacher who visited the North Carolina Nicholites in 1789, had the following to say about their emphasis upon plainness:

I had a lively evidence that some among them were humbly endeavouring to serve the Lord; but at the same time I saw clearly that many of them rested too much in their outside plainness; and valuing themselves upon that, and stopped short of more living acquaintance with the well-spring of eternal life.<sup>22</sup>

The eighteenth century Nicholites, who were in some ways similar to the Jewish Essenes of the New Testament times, as far as dress was concerned, likewise resembled the ancient Essenes in still another way. They did not approve of much "school-learning" or education, feeling that there was a snare in it. It was their feeling that the more educated one became the more he depended upon literary acquirements in religious concerns rather than on the influence of the Spirit. For this

<sup>20</sup> John and Isaac Comly (eds.), *Friends' Miscellany: Being a Collection of Essays and Fragments, Biographical, Religious, Epistolary, Narrative, and Historical; Etc.* (Philadelphia, 1833), IV, 249. This volume is hereafter referred to as *Friends' Miscellany*. We read here that "So great was their aversion . . . in respect to colored garments, that when Job Scott attended their meeting at Marshy Creek, and had appeared powerfully in the ministry, to the baptizing of the assembly into great solemnity and feeling, — on his sitting down, being in a great perspiration, he took a black silk handkerchief, and put it over his head; — which so offended the audience, that it seemed to spoil his service, in some of their minds."

<sup>21</sup> Isaac Martin, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Labours, and Religious Exercises of Isaac Martin, Late of Rahway, in East Jersey, Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1834), 53. See also Elias Hicks, *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Elias Hicks* (New York, 1832), 62; and Amelia Mott Gummere (ed.), *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia 1922), 96.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted by Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, 1896), 110.



reason their children were seldom taught in school much further than learning to read.<sup>23</sup>

The doctrine of self-denial even extended to the Nicholites' furniture and to their mode of travel. Stools and benches were their usual seats—for plainness and simplicity were insisted upon. As time went by some of them began to acquire chairs. This development caused a great deal of uneasiness in the minds of some of them, especially those travelling ministers from the North Carolina group. When the Nicholites travelled it was usually by foot except when the distance involved permitted the use of a horse or a light cart.<sup>24</sup>

Joseph Nichols, the founder of this religious group, was not permitted to live long with them, but died sometime before 1774. It was in December of that year that the Nicholite society was formally organized by an assembly of Nichols's followers who had gathered "to Consider of Some things Relating to the General Benefit of the Church of Christ."<sup>25</sup> Following this decision there were held regular monthly meetings for business which usually lasted about three days, extending from the seventh-day through second-day.<sup>26</sup>

Shortly after this organization of the Society in 1774 there occurred the migration of some members of this Society from Maryland and Delaware to North Carolina. The loss of the minutes of the group makes it impossible to tell the exact time that this movement took place and also renders it difficult to tell just which ones went south. An examination of the land records for Guilford County, where the group settled, suggests that a small group migrated first—perhaps to prepare the way for the larger body. Joseph Stanley and Paris Chipman, both of whom signed the petition to the

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<sup>23</sup> *Friends' Miscellany*, IV, 248-249. It is interesting to note that at this point the Nicholites differed greatly from the Quakers who had influenced them so much just as the Essenes differed from the Pharisees from whom they had sprung. The Quakers have always emphasized education, and the Pharisees prided themselves upon their training.

<sup>24</sup> *Friends' Miscellany*, IV, 250.

<sup>25</sup> This decision to organize is recorded in the front of the volume which contains the marriage records of the Nicholites.

<sup>26</sup> Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism*, 419.



General Assembly, bought land in Guilford early in 1775.<sup>27</sup> This advance guard of the Nicholites apparently reached North Carolina in 1775. It is impossible to tell the size or make-up of this group.

The second wave of the migration, or the main body of the North Carolina Nicholites, arrived in Guilford County in 1778, settling there only a few months before sending their petition to the General Assembly. Of the other signers of the petition, Levin Charles, William Charles, John Horney, and William Horney entered their claims for land grants in that year.<sup>28</sup> Valentine Pegg and William Wheeler entered their claims later. In addition to those people already named, this second band of Nicholites probably included the following men and their families: Elisha, Levi, and Michael Charles; Alexander and David Caldwell; Charles, Evan, John, Nathaniel, Obediah, and Peter Harris; James Horney; William Hubbard; Isaac Linnegar; Martin Pegg; and others. All of these men, whose names appear as witnesses on the marriage records of the Nicholites, entered land grant claims in Guilford County in 1778 or shortly thereafter. A thorough search of the land grant records would undoubtedly reveal others who were a part of this group.

The Nicholites who migrated from Maryland and Delaware to North Carolina settled in the western part of Guilford County—a section which already had a large number of Quakers in it. Almost all of their land grants were on Deep River, Wolf's Island Creek, Reedy Fork, Matrimony Creek and Haw River. It was in this section near Deep River that they built their meeting-house where they were visited in 1789 by Job Scott. Three other travelling Quakers who visited them were John Wigham in 1795, Joshua Evans in 1797, and Stephen Grellet in 1800.

Just as in Maryland, where they had three meeting-houses in Caroline County, the Nicholites in North Carolina conducted their business affairs at their monthly meetings. It

<sup>27</sup> See the Guilford County, North Carolina, Record of Deeds, I, 315, 348-349. A microfilm copy of this is available at the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. At this time Chipman obtained 630 acres by purchase.

<sup>28</sup> Land Office records show the land grants made to each of these people.



was here that their marriages were solemnized—after both parties involved had previously published their intentions at a meeting for worship and received the permission of the group. The two bodies of Nicholites frequently sent epistles to each other and received and read others from their brethren in return.<sup>29</sup>

It appears that almost from the time they organized in 1774 the Nicholites realized that their society was very similar in form, thought, and principles to the Society of Friends or Quakers. In their petition to the General Assembly, in 1778, the North Carolina Nicholites wrote, "We Do profess and Confess the same principals that the Quakers Doth, but for Some reasons which we Could render if required we hitherto have not thought it best to Joyn Membership with them."<sup>30</sup>

As time went by the main body of Nicholites (i.e., those living on the Eastern Shore of Maryland), under the urgings of James Harris and other influential members of the society, thought more and more of the benefits which might come from a union of the Nicholites and the Quakers. Isaac Martin, a travelling Quaker who visited the Eastern Shore group in 1794, wrote, "A great part of them are desirous of joining Friends, but others are opposed to it and as they appear concerned that unity may be maintained amongst themselves, this subject will require time. . . ." <sup>31</sup> In 1797 the major part of the Eastern Shore Nicholites applied for membership in the Society of Friends and most of them were subsequently accepted. The remaining Nicholites in that area continued to worship with the Quakers and finally turned over their meeting-houses to them in 1799 and 1803.<sup>32</sup>

Following the 1800 visit of Stephen Grellet to the Guilford County Nicholites at Deep River nothing else is heard of them. It appears probable that they followed the example of the parent body in Maryland, with which they were in fre-

<sup>29</sup> *Friends' Miscellany*, IV, 248.

<sup>30</sup> *Nicholite Petition*, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Martin, *A Journal of . . . Isaac Martin*, 54-55.

<sup>32</sup> See Carroll, "More About the Nicholites," 283-287, for an account of this development.



quent communication, and joined themselves to the Quakers. A number of things point to such a development. Isaac Linnegar (Linager), a "part colored man"—undoubtedly the Isaac Linnegar who married the former slave, Rosannah—asked to be received into membership at the Deep River Meeting of Friends in the 6th month, 1798, and was accepted the 1st of the 6th month, 1801.<sup>33</sup> Valentine Pegg and his family were granted membership by the Deep River Quakers from 1805 to 1807.<sup>34</sup>

The movement to merge with the Quakers probably began as early among the North Carolina Nicholites as it did with the Maryland ones. William Charles and his whole family received Friends membership on the 3rd of the 7th month, 1790.<sup>35</sup> Sarah Wheeler, daughter of William and Elizabeth Wheeler, was received into membership by the Deep River Monthly Meeting of Friends on the 3rd of the 2nd month, 1794. It appears probable that Jonathan Marine, the great-grandfather of James Whitcomb Riley, was also a member of the Nicholites. Jonathan, his wife (Mary Charles), and family were received by the Deep River Quakers on the 1st of the 10th month, 1792.<sup>36</sup>

The Nicholites lasted about a quarter of a century in North Carolina, from 1775 to 1800, and then ceased to exist as an independent religious body. Theirs was a brief history but must have been an interesting one. It may be that some day their records and their correspondence will come to light. Then a fuller picture of this unusual group can be painted.

<sup>33</sup> William W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, 1936-1950), I, 824.

<sup>34</sup> Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, I, 833.

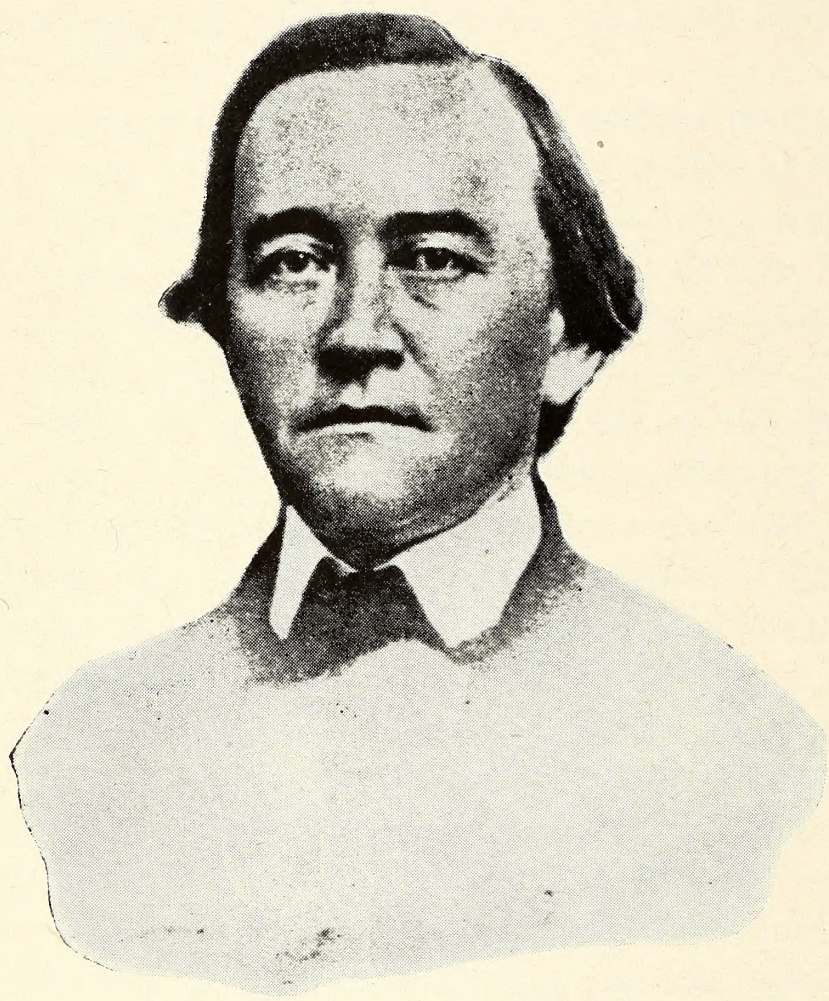
<sup>35</sup> Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, I, 875. The Charles family was received by the Springfield Monthly Meeting in the southwestern part of Guilford County.

<sup>36</sup> Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, I, 826. Jonathan Marine (1752-1811), who was born in Maryland and died in Ohio, is said to have gone to North Carolina with a colony of "Quakers" about 1774 or 1775. This group, with which family tradition connects him, must have been the first group of Nicholites rather than Quakers. Jonathan Marine's wife was Mary Charles, a member of a family which was almost completely Nicholite. Also some of the Marines, including Zorobabel from whom the writer is descended, belonged to the Eastern Shore group; their names are frequently met in the volume carrying the marriage records of the Nicholites. The Marine family history can be found in Nelson Osgood Rhoades (ed.), *Colonial Families of the United States of America* (Baltimore, 1920), VII, 349-355; and Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925), 415-425. Both of these works show a connection between the Marines and the Nicholites.









WILLIAM WAIGHSTILL AVERY  
1816-1864



## W. W. AVERY IN THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1860

By OWEN M. PETERSON

In North Carolina, as in most of the southern states, political sentiment within the Democratic party in the late 1850's was characterized by division and indecision. The principal cause for unrest among the Democrats, and the nation in general, was the persistent question of slavery in the territories. For some time Democrats of the South had been on the defensive as their northern brethren, in the face of growing anti-slavery sentiment and political defeat, became increasingly aggressive in their quest for a means of securing election to office while avoiding the radicalism of the Republicans. When in 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska bill, authored by Stephen A. Douglas, introduced popular sovereignty as a doctrine for settlement of territorial slave problems, northern Democrats rallied to the call. This policy, which permitted the territorial legislatures to decide for themselves the status of slavery within their borders, was immediately recognized by many Southerners as a threat to their right to carry slaves into the territories. Other southern leaders, however, were willing to abandon the cause of states' rights for the sake of political expediency and in hope of retaining control of the federal government. Thus Douglas's popular sovereignty not only split the party sectionally, but further divided the South.

In 1856, at their convention in Cincinnati, Democrats sought to end the growing hostility within the party fold with a platform satisfactory to both factions.<sup>1</sup> The proposals adopted seemed an amicable settlement of differences in the convention, but when presented to the people they became one of the most controversial platforms in Democratic history. Southerners returned to their homes and interpreted the resolutions as a guarantee for the institution of slavery, while

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<sup>1</sup> For the 1856 Democratic platform, see Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), appendix.



northern Democrats construed them as a permit for the territorial legislatures to enact whatever provisions they deemed desirable.

In spite of these differences the Democracy triumphed in the national elections that year. However, all during the administration of James Buchanan the debate was continued throughout the country on the stump, in Congress, and in state conventions and legislatures. The activities of the Emigrant Aid Society, which gave financial assistance to Northerners wishing to emigrate into the territories, the petitions from abolitionist New England which flooded Congress, and the denunciations of slavery from northern pulpits during these years served to alienate further the southern wing of the party. In 1857 came the Dred Scott decision which declared, in effect, that Congress could not prohibit slavery in the territories. Southerners quickly seized upon this as a repudiation of popular sovereignty and Douglas. Thus, the Dred Scott decision completed the split within the Democratic party. The climax to the controversy came in 1860 at the disastrous Democratic National Convention, held in Charleston and Baltimore.

In contrast to the delegates from the cotton states who were largely of one mind, the delegates to the national convention from North Carolina and the border states were divided in opinion as to the proper course: the majority endorsed the southern protectionist philosophy, but there were many who were willing to go along with Douglas and popular sovereignty as politically expedient. The action of the Douglas wing in the convention, however, was to crystallize opinion and greatly unify the North Carolina delegation, as well as the entire South. One of the leading men in the convention and probably the most influential delegate from North Carolina was William Waightstill Avery, the young and eloquent Democratic leader from Burke County. Avery served as chairman of the platform committee at the convention and was one of the leading supporters of the resolutions calling for federal protection of slavery within the territories. In the crucial debate on the platform at Charleston, Avery twice



spoke in favor of the majority pro-southern report and later at Baltimore, in a short address, he urged readmission of the southern seceders.

To understand fully the role of William Waightstill Avery in the Democratic National Convention of 1860 it is necessary to know something of his background and training. The Avery family was one of the oldest and most influential in western North Carolina. The family had come to America in 1631 and several members had fought in the American Revolution.

Waightstill Avery, grandfather of William Waightstill Avery, was born in Norwich, Connecticut, raised a Puritan, and bore a given name that originally was "Wait-Still-On-The-Lord." He was educated at Princeton and in 1766 graduated from there with highest honors. He remained at Princeton for another year as a tutor under the celebrated Jonathan Edwards and John Witherspoon. Following this, he moved to Maryland where he studied law under Littleton Dennis. In 1769, Waightstill Avery moved to North Carolina and settled in Charlotte. There he took an active part in North Carolina politics, serving as a member of the Provincial Council in 1775, as a delegate to the North Carolina Constitutional Convention in 1776, as the state's representative in arranging the 1777 treaties with the Cherokee Indians, and in several other capacities in succeeding years. In 1778 he bought Swan's Pond and established the family home; there his three daughters and one son, Isaac, were born.

Isaac Avery, William Avery's father, was a planter on a large and extensive scale, for thirty years cashier in the Bank of Morgantown, and one of the most influential men in that sector of the state.<sup>2</sup> Into this environment of influence and political interest William Waightstill Avery was born on May 25, 1816, the first child of Isaac and Harriet Avery. William

<sup>2</sup> C. S. Wooten, "The Avery Family," *Charlotte Observer*, undated clipping in The University of North Carolina Library; Mary Johnston Avery, "The Place that Lured Waightstill," *Charlotte Observer*, September 30, 1928; John W. Moore, *History of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1880), I, 421; John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851* (Philadelphia, 1851), I, 11; and John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1914), 358-359.



was raised in a household in which a high price was set on knowledge and education. In addition to his grandfather's eminence as a scholar and lawyer, his father was regarded as a man of culture and learning. His library was famous throughout the area and it was said of him that "there was scarcely any subject on which he was not well-informed." Colonel Avery was a classical scholar and to his home he brought copies of the works of all of the principal Latin writers and Shakespeare. In his old age he is reported to have read Latin with the greatest facility.<sup>3</sup>

The two houses at Swan's Pond, containing sixteen spacious rooms, were the scene of frequent social and political meetings. Debates were held there, political issues discussed, and plans formulated. The socially and politically important were frequent visitors to this house of old-fashioned cordial hospitality and gracious living. Such an atmosphere undoubtedly influenced greatly the first-born son.

Although information on the means by which William Avery gained his preparatory education is not available, we do have indication of his attainments at the time of his entrance into college. The requirements which Avery had to meet for admission to the University of North Carolina included:

In Mathematics, the whole of Arithmetic (Barnard's or Adam's) and Young's Algebra to Simple Equations. In the Classics, Jacob's Greek Reader, the whole of the prose; or Graeca Minora and the latter part of Jacob's Greek Reader; the whole of Virgil, and Cicero's Select Orations, except the Phillipics.<sup>4</sup>

When William Avery came to Chapel Hill in 1833, the state University was a small college with a classical complexion. There were five buildings on the campus. A faculty of nine handled all of the subjects taught. The University library contained about 1,900 volumes, but was supplemented by the libraries of the Dialectic and Philanthropic societies

<sup>3</sup> Avery, "The Place that Lured Waightstill"; and *Charlotte Observer*, April 28, 1898.

<sup>4</sup> Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1907), 358.



whose books totalled about 6,000, making nearly 8,000 volumes available on the campus. The system of studies followed at the University is indicated in the following statement:

The Seniors, being excused from recitation before breakfast, had eleven hours of class attendance. One of these was in the Bible Sunday afternoon. . . . The three lower classes had fifteen hours a week, including a Bible recitation on Sunday. Textbooks were used in every department and instruction was principally by them. Lectures, written and oral, were occasionally delivered in all departments in the Junior and Senior years.<sup>5</sup>

Emphasis in the small university was primarily on mathematics and Latin and Greek, although the natural sciences, social sciences, rhetoric, and French also were taught. It seems likely that William Avery, as a member of one of the state's leading families and as an outstanding student at the University, was a member of one of the two campus literary societies. If so, continuing our speculation, he probably had occasion to participate in debates, discussions, and other speaking activities which those societies afforded their members.

At the end of four years at Chapel Hill, Avery received the A. B. degree, graduating first in a class of nine and delivering the valedictory address at the commencement exercises. Avery's interest in education persisted after his graduation and from 1850 to 1864 he served as one of the University's trustees. At the time of his election as a trustee, he delivered the annual address at the commencement exercises, speaking somewhat prophetically on state pride, "the duty of which, as well as our reasons for possessing it, he strongly enforced."<sup>6</sup>

Following his graduation from the University, Avery read law with Judge William Gaston, "then considered the greatest lawyer in North Carolina." Avery was licensed in 1839 and set up practice in Morganton. His ability at the bar won him recognition as one of the state's outstanding lawyers.

<sup>5</sup> Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, 408, 410, 461.

<sup>6</sup> Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, 433-434, 796, 825; and *Raleigh Standard*, June 28, 1837.



Offered a judgeship at one time during his career, he declined it to maintain his practice and to engage in politics.<sup>7</sup>

Following the family tradition, William W. Avery became active in politics at an early age. In 1842, while only twenty-six years old, he was first elected to the North Carolina legislature. He was re-elected in 1850 and several times thereafter. Undoubtedly his marriage to Corrina Mary Morehead, daughter of former Governor John Motley Morehead, did not impair his political opportunities. In 1856 Avery was elected to the state senate and named its president and that year, and in 1860, he was chosen chairman of the North Carolina delegation to the Democratic National Convention. In 1858 Avery was a candidate for Congressman from North Carolina but was defeated by Zebulon B. Vance. He was re-elected president of the state senate in 1860, but declined to serve.<sup>8</sup>

The succession of offices to which the young politician was elected is indicative of his influence, good reputation, and popularity. It is especially significant that this was achieved in the face of formidable opposition. As the *Raleigh Standard* pointed out in 1856:

Mr. Avery comes from the western portion of the State, where for several years he sustained the banner of Democracy and defended its cause against an overwhelming majority of the people and the whole bar of the mountain circuit. . . . Mr. Avery enjoys much personal popularity, having been repeatedly elected to the house of commons in his own county, giving a large anti-Democratic majority.<sup>9</sup>

Other indications of Avery's high repute are plentiful. He was called "the most active and . . . perhaps the most influential" of the members of the 1860 delegation to the Democratic National Convention; it was said that he was "admirably qualified for the duties of Speaker of the Senate,"

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<sup>7</sup> Wooten, "The Avery Family"; Joseph Blount Cheshire, *Nonnulla* (Chapel Hill, 1930), 99, 103; and Z. B. Walser, "Colonel W. W. Avery," *Greensboro Daily News*, July 18, 1926.

<sup>8</sup> Walser, "Colonel W. W. Avery"; Wooten, "The Avery Family"; Avery, "The Place that Lured Waightstill"; Samuel A'Court Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1925), II, 536; and *Charlotte Observer*, April 28, 1898, September 30, 1928.

<sup>9</sup> *Raleigh Standard*, November 26, 1856.



he was a "fine lawyer, a profound lawyer," and he was one of North Carolina's "bravest sons and one of the purest patriots."<sup>10</sup> Mention should be made of an incident reported by one historian, John W. Moore. Moore says of Avery, "In an unfortunate difficulty, he had slain Samuel Flemming of Yancey, and his life was made unhappy in its remembrance. He classed as a Democrat, and was lacking in the moderation and gentleness of his compeer, Mr. Speaker Jesse G. Sheppard."<sup>11</sup> The writer, however, fails to elaborate upon this incident and it is not mentioned by other historians or contemporary reporters.

One of the reasons for Avery's political and legal eminence was his skill as a speaker. Newspapers noted Avery's "great warmth, rapidity and force" as a speaker and called his speeches "the ablest efforts we have ever listened to," "interesting and lucid," and "strong, able, and cultured . . . worthy to be delivered in Parliament or the Senate."<sup>12</sup> The effectiveness of Avery's speaking is further reflected in the reported reactions of some of his audiences. Of a debate at Charlotte it was reported that, "During Mr. Avery's speech he was frequently applauded and cheered, and Democrats expressed much gratification with the efforts of their gallant standard-bearer." The *Raleigh Standard* reported that Avery's speech at the June 11, 1856, ratification meeting in New York was "received with cheers and the strongest demonstrations of approval." Other accounts tell of the "very large, attentive, and interested" audiences and the "enthusiastic manner" in which they responded to Avery's speeches.<sup>13</sup> In spite of the political biases of nineteenth-century newspaper reporting, the near unanimity of approval of Avery's speaking seems proof of its effectiveness.

It was probably the combination of Avery's legal and political eminence and his oratorical skill that led to his

<sup>10</sup> Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, 536; *Raleigh Standard*, November 19, 1856; Wooten, "The Avery Family."

<sup>11</sup> Moore, *History of North Carolina*, II, 122.

<sup>12</sup> *Raleigh Standard*, June 18, November 25, 1856; *Charlotte Western Democrat*, May 1, September 11, 1860; *Fayetteville North Carolinian*, May 5, 1860; Wooten, "The Avery Family."

<sup>13</sup> *Charlotte Western Democrat*, September 11, June 5, 1860; *Raleigh Standard*, June 22, 25, 1856; and *Charlotte Whig*, September 11, 1860.



selection as chairman of the North Carolina delegation to the Democratic Convention in 1860 and as one of the southern speakers in the crucial platform debate at that meeting. In the course of the long and bitter convention, Avery delivered three major speeches, two in defense of the majority report of the resolutions committee at Charleston and one in favor of readmission of the seceders at the meeting in Baltimore.

When the Democrats assembled in Charleston in April, 1860, it was well known that the sections were split on the question of whether Congress had the right to intervene in order to protect slaveholders going into the United States territories. Several of the southern Democratic state conventions had endorsed the Dred Scott decision recognizing the right of slaveholders to carry slaves, labeled by the opinion as property, into the territories. They sent delegations instructed to urge the convention to incorporate this doctrine into its platform. Northern Democrats came instructed to support Stephen A. Douglas and his doctrine of popular sovereignty—the right of each territory to determine for itself the status of slavery—and claimed that this had been the true meaning of the Cincinnati platform in 1856.

The choice of Charleston as the site for the 1860 convention undoubtedly was unfortunate, for Charlestonians probably were stronger in the loyalty to the South and reverence for the institution of slavery than almost any other group of Southerners. Fired by the editorials of Robert Barnwell Rhett in the *Charleston Mercury*, aroused by the speeches of southern leaders during the convention, the citizenry of South Carolina filled the galleries of old Institute Hall to capacity and exerted a tremendous pressure upon the convention. Their intense partisanship in the sectional controversy did little to promote much-needed party unity and harmony. During the first five days of the meeting the feelings of the delegates were fired to a feverous pitch of excitement as both sections sought victories in the procedural disputes



over the seating of contesting delegations and the removal of the unit voting rule.<sup>14</sup>

On the fifth day, April 28, the resolutions committee made its recommendations for the party platform and William Waightstill Avery, as chairman of that committee, addressed the convention. The committee had been unable to reach agreement and offered two principal reports. The majority, or protectionist, resolutions were introduced and defended by Avery. The principal difference in the reports lay in their recommendations on the status of slavery in the territories. The southern members of the committee, constituting a majority, recommended:

That the Democracy of the United States hold these cardinal principles on the subject of slavery in the territories: First, That Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the territories. Second, That the territorial legislature has no power to abolish slavery in any territory, nor to prohibit the introduction of slaves therein, nor any power to destroy or impair the right of property in slaves by any legislation whatever. . . . That it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect when necessary the rights of persons and property on the high seas, in the territories, or wherever else its constitutional authority extends.<sup>15</sup>

The minority pro-Douglas report recommended:

That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic convention at Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature, when applied to the same subject matters, and we recommend as the only further resolution the following: That all questions in regard to the rights of property in states or territories arising under the Constitution of the United States are judicial in their character; and the Democratic party is pledged to abide by and faithfully carry out such determination of these questions as has been or may be made by the Supreme Court of the United States.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Nichols, *Disruption of American Democracy*, 288-300.

<sup>15</sup> *Charleston Mercury*, April 28, 1860; and *Charleston Democratic Papers*, Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

<sup>16</sup> *Charleston Mercury*, April 28, 1860; and *Charleston Democratic Papers*.



After the two reports had been read, Avery spoke for about half an hour in defense of the majority report. His speech was extemporaneous because, as he said, "I have had no time . . . to prepare an address to this convention because I knew not what I was to report; but like every true Democrat I am always ready to say something in behalf of the principles which I maintain."<sup>17</sup> At the outset of his talk, Avery stated as his thesis: "I stand here representing the great banner states of the Democracy of this Union, I stand here representing what is regarded by seventeen of the Democratic states of this Union as a great, vital, and fundamental principle. That principle is the perfect, unqualified equality of every State, of the citizens of every State in the territories which have been acquired by the blood and treasure of the whole people of the United States." The major portion of Avery's address, into which he then proceeded, was devoted to discussion of the political consequences which could be expected to result from the adoption of the two proposed platforms. Avery pointed out that the states endorsing the majority report not only represented 127 electoral votes, but that these were the traditionally Democratic states. If the Democratic party wished to win the coming election, Avery asserted, it could not afford to lose the support of these states. Secondly, he compared the equity of the two reports to each section, stressing the injustice which would be inflicted upon the South by adoption of the "popular sovereignty" report:

I say that the results and ultimate consequences to the Southern states of this controversy if the popular sovereignty doctrine be adopted as the doctrine of the Democratic Party would be dangerous and subversive of their rights. We say that in a contest for the occupation of the territories of the United States, the Southern men encumbered with slaves cannot compete with the Emigrant Aid Society at the North. We say that the Emigrant Aid Society can send a voter to one of the territories of the United States to determine a question relating to slavery for the sum of \$200, while it would cost the Southern men the sum of \$1500. We say, then, that wherever there is competition

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<sup>17</sup> *Charleston Mercury*, April 28, 1860.



between the North and South that the North can and will, at less expense and difficulty, secure power, control, and dominion over the territories of the federal government and if then you establish the doctrine that a territorial legislature which may be established by Congress in any territory has the right, directly or indirectly, to affect the institution of slavery, then you can see that the legislature by its action, either directly or indirectly, may dually exclude every man from the slaveholding states as effectually as if you had adopted the Wilmot Proviso out and out.

In contrast, Avery argued, the majority report proposed no invasion of the constitutional rights of the North and no exclusion from the territories of northern property or citizens. In the long range, there was a third important consideration, according to Avery. That was:

If you establish the doctrine of popular sovereignty—if you establish a cordon of free states on the Gulf extending across from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, I ask you where in the future are the South to emigrate? Where is the negro population, when it becomes redundant, to be placed? Are you prepared to bring on, in the future or at present, that irrepressible conflict which has met the rebuke of every Democrat in the United States? <sup>18</sup>

The only equitable solution to the problem, according to Avery, was adoption of the majority report.

The second major portion of Avery's address was devoted to refutation of two of the charges of the Douglas phalanx: 1) That the 1856 platform had endorsed popular sovereignty, and 2) That the status of slavery in the territories was primarily a judicial matter. On the first issue Avery pointed out that when southern men voted for the Cincinnati platform they understood it to endorse placing the territories in the same position as the District of Columbia, where Congress had power neither to prohibit nor to establish slavery. Concerning the second argument, Avery suggested to the Northerners that, "If it be a judicial question, it is immaterial to you how the platform is made, because all you will have to say is, 'This is a judicial question; the majority of the conven-

<sup>18</sup> Charleston *Mercury*, April 28, 1860.



tion were of one opinion; I may entertain my own opinion upon the question; let the Supreme Court settle it.'” Avery concluded his speech by emphasizing that preservation of the Union depended upon the Democracy of the North, on their ability to correct the opinions and views which Northerners entertained upon these questions. “I say here,” he argued, “that so far as my observation extends there never has been a crisis when the great question of slavery was met on a broad, manly, and bold platform in which the Northern Democracy did not triumph.”<sup>19</sup>

The debate on the platform extended far into the evening with such notable speakers as William Lowndes Yancey and Ethelbert Barksdale addressing the convention in favor of the majority report, and Senator George Ellis Pugh and Henry B. Payne speaking for the Douglas resolutions. Finally, a motion was made and passed to resubmit the reports to the committee. So the session was adjourned and the committee began anew the strenuous task of attempting to reach a compromise.

On the following evening, however, the committee reported back the two sets of resolutions, almost wholly unaltered. Avery again introduced the majority report. This he did briefly, spending most of his time explaining the few minor changes that had been made since the previous report. In addition, he reminded northern delegates that:

At the adoption of the federal constitution there was no such doctrine as popular sovereignty. At the period of the adoption of the Constitution there were twelve slave-holding states in this Union and only one free state. Tennessee and Kentucky, Alabama and Mississippi were territories. You will remember that the slaves of the Northern states were sold to Southern people and were carried to the territories now composing states. . . . Our Northern friends, therefore, should not complain if there is some little excitement on the part of our friends in those states if the effort should be now made to apply to them a doctrine which would not apply at the origin of the government.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Charleston *Mercury*, April 28, 1860.

<sup>20</sup> Charleston *Mercury*, April 30, 1860.



Once again long and heated debate ensued. After several attempts to forestall a vote, the convention decided to postpone decision on the controversial question until Monday. On Monday, the platform finally came to a vote and the Douglas report of the minority of the committee was adopted over the almost unanimous opposition of the southern delegates. Immediately thereafter, the delegations from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, and Texas and parts of several other delegations withdrew. North Carolina's representatives asked and obtained permission to retire for consultation, but remained in the convention. On the following day, the seceding delegates organized their own convention in St. Andrew's Hall and the original convention moved on to balloting for a candidate for the Presidency.

In the balloting, the North Carolina delegation voted as a unit thirteen times for R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia; twelve times for Joseph Lane of Oregon; and six times for Daniel S. Dickinson of New York. Then, until the fifty-seventh and final ballot, R. P. Dick voted for Douglas and the others of the delegation remained steadfast in their support of Lane. When it became obvious after fifty-seven ballots that Douglas could not muster the two-thirds vote necessary for nomination, the convention adjourned until June 18 when they would reconvene in Baltimore.<sup>21</sup>

Public reaction to the disruption at Charleston was varied. Many foresaw dissolution of the Union and civil war; others were less pessimistic. The *Charlotte Western Democrat* observed:

We rejoice to know that our delegation acted in such a way as to show that the Democratic Party of the Old North State is not a disunion party. . . . We do not impugn the motives of all the seceding delegates, but we think they acted hastily. Disunion papers, like the *Charleston Mercury*, are rejoicing at the disruption of the Convention. . . . But the National Democratic Constitutional Convention at Baltimore will settle the difficulty satisfactorily and disappoint all disorganizers and disunionists.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, II, 538.

<sup>22</sup> *Charlotte Western Democrat*, May 15, 1860.



In the interim between the two sessions, Democratic leaders of both factions were active throughout the South. In those states whose delegates had withdrawn from the Charleston fray Douglasites sought to organize conventions which would nominate substitute delegations sympathetic to the Little Giant's cause. Southern leaders—both those who had withdrawn and those who had remained in the convention—spent considerable time organizing meetings to endorse their activities at Charleston. In early June, Avery gave an account of the role of the North Carolina delegation at such a meeting in Charlotte.<sup>23</sup> During the second week of June the bolters met in convention in Richmond to promote unity among the delegations and to plan strategy for the Baltimore session. When the convention reconvened in Baltimore on the eighteenth of June all of the original delegates, except the Floridians, who came to watch but not to participate, and the South Carolinians, who refused to budge farther north than Richmond, were on hand. There were in addition, however, contesting delegations for the seats of most of the delegates who had seceded and the question of recognition of the delegations was to provide the only important issue at Baltimore.

Avery made his third and final speech to the 1860 Democratic Convention on the opening day of the Baltimore meeting. The North Carolinian rose to protest the shocking irregularity of the convention in its recognition of several contesting delegations from southern states. He argued that the delegations from the seceding states returned as representatives of the regular Democratic organizations within their states, that there was no precedent or law preventing their return, and that if the party hoped to succeed in the coming campaign the support of these states was essential. But his efforts were in vain for, when a vote was taken, the seceders were not allowed to return. And with that action the disruption of the convention was completed. The majority of the North Carolina delegation, along with most of the other southern representatives still in the convention and several

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<sup>23</sup> Charlotte *Western Democrat*, June 5, 1860.



sympathetic delegates from other states, retired at this time. Only three of North Carolina's delegates, Judge R. P. Dick, W. W. Holden, and J. W. B. Watson, remained in the convention and of these only Dick subsequently participated in the proceedings by voting. After their withdrawal the North Carolina delegates joined the other dissenters in their convention in Baltimore's Institute Hall. There Avery again served on the Resolutions Committee.<sup>24</sup>

Accusations of disunionist sympathies greeted the North Carolina delegates who had withdrawn from the convention on their return home. In a debate with Dick, who had remained in the original convention, Avery defended his course of action before the citizens of Charlotte in September. He had done nothing more than stand up for the rights of the South, he claimed, and if he was a disunionist on that account, then Franklin Pierce, Daniel S. Dickinson, James Buchanan, and others were disunionists also, for they stood on the same platform.<sup>25</sup> The election of Lincoln, however, caused Avery to alter his attitude and thereafter he became an avowed secessionist. In a letter written by Avery and Samuel P. Hill to Thomas Ruffin, December 7, 1860, he urged the calling of a state convention to consider North Carolina's course:

The present perilous condition of our national affairs, growing out of the election of a sectional candidate to the Presidency, upon the expressed ground of his avowed hostility to Southern institutions, and the prospect of immediate secession of several Southern states from the Federal Union, demands, in our opinion, the calling of a convention of the people of this state to consider what position she will assume in this emergency and whether she can, consistently with her own honor and safety, longer remain a member of the United States.<sup>26</sup>

Thus the political metamorphosis of another southern leader was completed.

<sup>24</sup> Baltimore *Exchange*, June 19, 1860.

<sup>25</sup> Charlotte *Western Democrat*, September 11, 1860; and Charlotte *North Carolina Whig*, September 11, 1860.

<sup>26</sup> J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh, 1920), 106-107.



Following North Carolina's secession from the Union, Avery was chosen as one of the state's senators to the Confederate States Congress, where he served for almost a year. In that body he was made chairman of the important committee on military affairs and was an earnest and active supporter of President Davis and the southern cause. In a deadlock in the North Carolina legislature in 1861, a compromise candidate was selected to replace Avery in the Congress and on February 17, 1862, his term ended. In 1864 he was made a colonel by Davis and sent to North Carolina to raise a regiment for the Confederate army. However, the earnest appeals of his aged father and his four brothers already in active service persuaded Avery to remain inactive. Avery, however, was to die for the cause of the South. In July, 1864 when Colonel Kirk led a party from eastern Tennessee in a raid into Burke County, Avery gathered a body of militia, gave pursuit, and attacked the marauders. In the progress of the battle Avery was wounded and on July 3, 1864, at the age of forty-eight, he died.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, July 18, 1926; Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, II. 536; *Charlotte Observer*, September 30, 1928; and Wooten, "The Avery Family."



## SOME ASPECTS OF NORTH CAROLINA PUBLIC POOR RELIEF, 1700-1860

By BENJAMIN JOSEPH KLEBANER

A system of tax-financed relief for the needy, administered by local units of government, was part of their English heritage which the colonists transplanted to the New World. The famous poor law of Elizabeth (1601) was the model for legislation in the settlements on this side of the Atlantic. North Carolina was no exception.

In accordance with an act of November 12, 1701, very likely the first poor law of the colony (unfortunately no copy of it is extant), the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish, Chowan Precinct levied a tax of twelve pence per tithable for the support of a pauper, in December, 1701.<sup>1</sup> Elizabethan influence is plainly shown in the 1755 "Act for the Restraint of Vagrants, and for making provision for the Poor and other Purposes."

Triennial elections for seven overseers of the poor in each county were required by the first poor law of the new state (1777). This appears to have been neglected, to judge by legislation passed in 1779, 1783, 1785, and again in 1787, reminding the counties of their duty.

For that matter, many duly elected overseers declined the honor, with the result that there was great distress among the poor "to the scandal and disgrace of society," in the words of the preamble to a 1781 law. The legislature's solution was to raise the fine for refusing to serve from £2 to £10 specie.<sup>2</sup>

Anyone who has examined the sessional laws of the period certainly could not accuse the General Assembly of neglecting

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<sup>1</sup> *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, I (Raleigh, 1886), xxv, 544. See also Roy M. Brown, *Public Poor Relief in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928). The first three chapters of this study cover the period discussed in this article. Guion G. Johnson, *Ante Bellum North Carolina. A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), Ch. XXIII, also gives a detailed treatment of the subject, based on original sources.

<sup>2</sup> For the laws referred to in the text, see *The State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, 1904-1906), XXIII, 435 (1755); renewed at five year intervals, the last in 1770; XXIV, 89 (1777); XXIV, 260 (1779); XXIV, 409 (1781); XXIV, 499 (1783); XXIV, 738 (1785); XXIV, 941 (1787).



the problem of pauperism. From 1785 through 1831, it was a rare year in which at least one measure dealing with local poor issues was not enacted. Occupying the attention of the legislature might be the tax rate in Bladen County, a poor-house for Nash County, or perhaps some problem connected with the election of a warden of the poor (as the relieving officers came to be called towards the end of the eighteenth century).

## II

Defenders of the institution of slavery pointed to the heartless treatment of paupers in abolitionist New England while they conveniently overlooked the fact that periodic auctions of the poor were found in the South as well. The letting out of paupers at public auction was made illegal in North Carolina only in March, 1877.<sup>3</sup>

To some extent at least the cruelty of the system was mitigated by the use of other relief methods in the case of certain paupers. For instance, because Andrew Rouse was not being treated properly, the wardens of the poor of Duplin County gave him the right to live with whomever was willing to take care of him at the rate agreed on at the 1804 hiring out. In Pasquotank two paupers were excluded from the July, 1829, auction of 32 others; these were given \$2.50 and \$2.00 respectively for their own support. The wardens of Carteret decided in April, 1810, to grant Elijah Crandall \$15 "to assist him the ensuing year [the money] to be furnished him by the Wardens as necessity may require." They would also allow a fixed sum to anyone taking care of a given pauper: ten of the nineteen poor on the March, 1818, list of Carteret were given allowances "to assist [the pauper] in maintaining himself." Moreover, under the auction system needy persons often fell into the hands of relatives. Absalom Strickland of Duplin County got \$36 in 1809 for his wife

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<sup>3</sup> Public Laws, Session 1876/77, Ch. 277, Sec. 2.



Sally; in 1808 Elizabeth Groom had been given \$35 to keep her mother and her own children.<sup>4</sup>

Counties using the vendue then did not apply it in each and every case. For that matter they did not follow the same system continuously. As alternatives, in communities without poorhouses, paupers might be given allowances in accordance with their need, or the wardens might enter into a contract with an inhabitant to care for a relief recipient. In Hyde County, for example, John Harris got \$30 "for support of self and family" (1850), while Pembroke Selby received \$24 for the care of her two grandchildren (1859). James Houston of Person County was given £6 at the April, 1794, meeting of the poor wardens, to help him support his family for the ensuing year, "his wife being disabled in her hands."

Joseph Weeks first appeared on the relief rolls of Carteret County in 1822, at \$20 a year. This allowance was continued until 1833, when it was reduced to \$15; it was cut to \$12.50 in 1834, at which rate it continued until 1837. He received a final grant of \$15 in 1838; the wardens decided—no reason is given—that he was "not to be allowed anything more hereafter."

North Carolina's poor law has never had a provision, such as was found in some other states and in the Elizabethan law, requiring close relatives (parents, grandparents, and children) to support a person unable to take care of himself. Despite this, Lincoln County's poor wardens cut off further allowances to Jacob Goulman (1826) because they felt his children could support him. In 1836 they ordered the treasurer to collect \$13.56<sup>1/4</sup> from David Troutman "for the maintenance of his mother as a pauper."

<sup>4</sup> Examples of poor relief practices are all taken from records of wardens of the poor. The author examined by county the following wardens' manuscript materials at the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh: Ashe, 1832-1855; Bertie, 1839-1851; Carteret, 1742-1843 (3 parts); Craven, 1841-1847 (2 boxes); Currituck, 1803-1862; Duplin, 1799-1817; Franklin, 1833-1886 (papers); Hyde, 1837-1868; Lincoln, 1820-1868; Northampton, 1773-1814; Pasquotank, 1807-1831; Perquimans, 1818-1868; Stokes, 1809-1925 (miscellaneous papers). I also examined at The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, the minutes of Orange County's wardens, 1832-1856 (owned by the department of rural-social economics), and those of Person County, 1792-1868 (in the Southern Historical Collection).



## III

A visitor to North Carolina at the time of the Revolution probably would not have found a single poorhouse, a distinction shared with Georgia alone among the thirteen colonies. Not until 1785 did the Assembly, taking the view that "the poor should always be an object of legislative attention," authorize a special county tax for the purpose of acquiring almshouses in Carteret, Chowan, Halifax, Nash, Northampton, Onslow, and Wayne. By 1831 all but eleven of the sixty-four counties then in existence had secured legislation enabling them to erect poorhouses. As a rule, at least two acts were passed before a county acquired an institution; a single act was sufficient in only twenty-three cases, while in the case of Pasquotank five acts, and for Duplin, Chowan, and Martin, four acts apiece proved necessary.<sup>5</sup> This special legislation was found useful despite the existence of a general law of 1793 which empowered counties to erect almshouses when two-thirds of the wardens of the poor agreed to this. The power to order the erection of institutions when deemed necessary was transferred in 1831 to the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions in each county. This brought an end to the long series of particular enabling acts. It should be noted that the legislature never made almshouses mandatory throughout the state. Diversity of viewpoints as to the expediency of this method of poor relief, here as elsewhere, barred the way to any infringement of local autonomy in this sphere.<sup>6</sup>

As in the other Atlantic states, North Carolina communities were interested in the almshouse as a device for reducing relief expenditures.<sup>7</sup> Humanitarian ends were also sought. An act for Pasquotank County explained that many of its

<sup>5</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*—1785, Ch. 18; Pasquotank: 1787, Ch. 55; 1790, Ch. 4; 1816, Ch. 110; 1827/8, Ch. 68; 1830/31, Ch. 62. Duplin: 1796, Ch. 71; 1807, Ch. 36; 1823, Ch. 89; 1824, Ch. 63. Chowan: 1785, Ch. 18; 1801, Ch. 83; 1823, Ch. 88; 1828/9, Ch. 136. Martin: 1787, Ch. 55; 1804, Ch. 84; 1818, Ch. 43; 1825, Ch. 70. For a complete list of county poorhouse acts, see the author's *Public Poor Relief in America, 1700-1860* (microfilm, Columbia University Library), p. 92. Counties without poorhouse acts were Ashe, Bladen, Cabarrus, Columbus, Greene, Haywood, Macon, Montgomery, Moore, Robeson, and Wilkes.

<sup>6</sup> *N. C. Laws*—1793, Ch. 17; 1831, Ch. 17. Report of Senate Judiciary Committee, quoted in Brown, *Public Poor Relief in North Carolina*, 34.

<sup>7</sup> See the preamble to *N. C. Laws*—1787, Ch. 25 (Craven); 1806, Ch. 60 (New Hanover); 1807, Ch. 35 (Cumberland); 1814, Ch. 70 (Wake).



poor had hitherto been ill-provided for. In Bertie, Hyde, and Martin a number of inhabitants had "subscribed considerable sums for the benevolent purpose" of erecting almshouses.<sup>8</sup>

By the mid-1830's—within half a century after the almshouse movement had begun in North Carolina—poor farms could be found "in the greater part of the counties."<sup>9</sup> In 1860 perhaps seventy of the eighty-seven counties had institutions, including Jackson, whose almshouse served also as the county jail.<sup>10</sup>

One way of keeping down the poor rates, it was anticipated, would be by the employment of the poor. In the words of an act for Pasquotank and Carteret:

each of the said poor inhabiting the said house as shall be capable of labor of any kind, shall be moderately employed and kept to such labor, and the profits thereof shall be applied to the support of the poor of the said counties.<sup>11</sup>

The paupers' occupations envisaged in the act for Lincoln County consisted of farming, gardening "and other employment of the like kind" for men, and spinning, knitting, sewing, and similar work for women.<sup>12</sup>

An inmate who refused to engage in moderate labor at the Person County poorhouse would be brought before the wardens of the poor and treated according to their discretion

<sup>8</sup> *N. C. Laws*—1816, Ch. 110 (Pasquotank); 1791, Ch. 33 (Bertie); 1792, Ch. 64 (Hyde); 1794, Ch. 49 (Martin).

<sup>9</sup> *Turner and Hughes's North Carolina Almanac for . . . 1838* (Raleigh, 1837), 31. I am indebted to Mr. Dillard Gardner of the North Carolina Supreme Court Library for this reference.

<sup>10</sup> The estimate is based on the assumption that every county which reported a poorhouse in 1869 had one by 1860. These counties are listed in: North Carolina Board of Public Charities, *First Annual Report . . . 1870* (Raleigh, 1870). Information on counties from which no report had been received in 1869 was filled in from the 1860 Census Schedules of Social Statistics, through the kindness of Mr. W. Frank Burton, State Archivist of North Carolina. Mr. Burton also compared the 1860 schedules with the eight counties which reported they had no poorhouse in 1869. In every case but Jackson and Onslow, no almshouse was reported in 1860. Jackson apparently decided on the more humane system of boarding out by 1869, in preference to using the jail for paupers. Lillington County, formed during the 1850's only to be absorbed by Harnett in the next decade, is assumed not to have had a poorhouse, as was also the case in Harnett.

<sup>11</sup> *N. C. Laws*—1790, Ch. 4. Many subsequent poorhouse acts referred to the "convenient and useful employment" of inmates. See 1791, Ch. 33; 1801, Ch. 83; 1804, Ch. 84; 1805, Ch. 58.

<sup>12</sup> *N. C. Laws*—1818, Ch. 120.



if the offender did not exhibit "a submissive spirit."<sup>13</sup> Orange County's almshouse had one guest who paid \$35 for his board in 1833. His guardian argued that his labor was worth his victuals and clothes, whereupon the wardens of the poor agreed not to charge him, if indeed this was the case; in the event that his labor was worth only a fraction of his keep, a *pro rata* reduction would be made. Some years later the wardens faced the problem of a pauper (then absent) who refused to work though able to do so. The superintendent was instructed to place him in solitary confinement on bread and water if he returned, until he expressed a willingness to work or to leave the poorhouse.

Not all counties were as persistent as Person and Orange in keeping their poorhouse inmates at work. Dorothea Dix, in her tour of North Carolina institutions for the purpose of investigating the treatment of the insane, noted that Beaufort County, for instance, needed an almshouse director who would insist upon labor from those able to engage in it.<sup>14</sup>

The superintendents so differed in character from one to another that a variety of conditions existed in the poorhouses under their care. Miss Dix was of the opinion that Halifax's institution was much in need "of competent and efficient superintendence." On the other hand Rutherford's superintendent was a favorite of the poor there, while Iredell County had a very efficient master and mistress; indeed its almshouse was in better shape than any other she had visited in the state, "a model of neatness, comfort, and good order."<sup>15</sup>

The duties of an almshouse superintendent are revealed in an agreement signed by Bertie County's wardens and Demby Ward in February 1840:

it is understood that he is to furnish the Poor House with wood cultivate all the tillable land about the place, bury the dead &

<sup>13</sup> Person County had a rule allowing the husband or wife of a pauper to reside at the almshouse with his (her) mate provided his labor covered the cost of keeping him, and the house was not crowded. Any surplus from the non-pauper's labor would be paid to him by the wardens. John Gennings was admitted under this rule, May 26, 1832.

<sup>14</sup> Dorothea L. Dix, *Memorial . . . submitted to the General Assembly of North Carolina* [November, 1848], in North Carolina General Assembly. House of Commons. Document No. 2, 1848/9, 24.

<sup>15</sup> Dix, *Memorial*.



furnish the coffins & do every thing else, that is required about the place, & for which he is to be paid One hundred & fifty Dollars.

One of the several ways of paying the superintendent involved offering the position at a public auction. In 1838 the poorhouse of Hyde County was kept for nothing. The following year the county had to pay \$42.25. These low salaries took into account the farm produce which the keeper could sell. Another method of payment was on a per capita basis, as in Lincoln County, where the job was taken at \$40 per inmate in 1840; in the late 1850's, \$70 was the rate.

One policy economy-minded communities with almshouses could adopt would involve compelling all of their poor to live at the institution, thereby discouraging would-be applicants. In innumerable instances, however, wardens of the poor did not resort to this tactic.

On the questions of continuing grants to paupers not residing in the poorhouse ("outdoor relief"), the law remained silent until 1827 when specific authority was given to the wardens of the poor of Pitt County to maintain paupers away from the almshouse. This was rescinded in 1828. Mecklenburg's wardens were instructed, also in 1828, to remove all the paupers in the county to the house, except those who "from bodily affliction or otherwise may be in such situation as to render it inexpedient to remove them." The poorhouse act for Lincoln County made it mandatory for the wardens to assign a pauper to a person offering to keep him for half of his cost at the poorhouse, while in Person and Franklin counties, a pauper might be given home relief at a cost not exceeding that of almshouse care, if a majority of the wardens of the poor approved it. Even after Nash's county farm had been opened, the wardens could give outdoor aid to persons they deemed to be "fit subjects" for it. The poorhouse act for Sampson County stated explicitly that the wardens could pro-



vide for the poor other than at the house "as they may deem equally humane and economical."<sup>16</sup>

Refusal of relief to persons not willing to enter Orange County's almshouse was reported to have resulted in severe hardship for many. An 1830 act authorized the wardens of Orange to give outdoor relief to paupers unable to labor who wished to remain with their young children, in an amount not exceeding the cost of their care at the poorhouse. The Orange County almshouse act of 1811 had not prohibited outdoor aid directly, but such was thought to be the intent of the law. The other special poorhouse acts likewise did not ban home relief explicitly, but it is possible that many wardens of the poor placed upon them the same interpretation as was given by the Orange wardens.<sup>17</sup>

Neither the general poorhouse act of 1793 nor the more detailed statute of 1831 mentioned outdoor relief at all. Plainly the matter was left to the discretion of the wardens.<sup>18</sup>

The records of Orange County indicate that its wardens did not confine their outdoor allowances to the special category named in the law. Thus, in March, 1845, ten paupers were receiving non-institutional aid, eight of whom were being cared for by other parties at \$10 a year. By April, 1846, sixty-eight outdoor allowances were made, compared with about half that number of inmates at the poor farm. Recipients included such cases as Willis Parish, who was "very poor," and had a large family; he was given \$15 for his idiot son of eleven (1843). Solomon Cate also got \$15 (1846) for

<sup>16</sup> Pitt: *Public Laws*, 1826/27, Ch. 88, Sec. 1; 1827/28, Ch. 156; Mecklenburg: 1827/28, Ch. 81, Sec. 3; Lincoln, 1828/29, Ch. 137, Sec. 6. On the other hand, the Lenoir poorhouse act (1828/29, Ch. 139, Sec. 3) directed the wardens of the poor to remove all paupers to the county farm, when it opened; Person and Franklin: 1831/32, Ch. 98; Nash: 1829/30, Ch. 104, Sec. 2; Sampson: 1830/31, Ch. 146, Sec. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Orange: *Public Laws*, 1830/31, Ch. 108; 1811, Ch. 84. Admission to the poorhouse was to be given "all such persons of either sex as shall be adjudged by the Wardens incapable through old age or infirmities to procure subsistence for themselves. . . ." The clause first appeared in the poorhouse act for Pasquotank and Carteret (1790, Ch. 4).

<sup>18</sup> *N. C. Laws*, 1793, Ch. 17; 1831, Ch. 17. The same was also true of the subsequent codes—Rev. St. 1837, Ch. 89; and Rev. Code, 1855, Ch. 86. Judge Matthias E. Manly, in the case of *Zedekiah Edwards vs. William J. Branch*, [52 N. C. Reports 90, 91 (1859)], stated that whether the paupers were to be relieved in an institution or at home was a matter which the law left for the wardens to decide, and "no court has a right to interfere."



himself and his family. In September, 1847, ten recipients of outdoor relief had their aid discontinued, but were offered admission to the poorhouse. A year later only eight cases of outdoor aid were listed, while the almshouse contained twenty-five inmates.

Carteret announced in 1843 that paupers who did not avail themselves of the "Privilege" of going to the county farm, would not receive any other relief. Bertie's wardens inaugurated a policy (1841) of requiring paupers to go to the house when there was more than one person in a family receiving assistance. Pasquotank County appears to have eliminated all outdoor aid when the almshouse was opened (1831). During a smallpox epidemic the house was filled up, and it became necessary to obtain special quarters for the care of the numerous applicants for aid. Sick paupers would be given a home-relief allowance under an 1850 ruling only if removal would endanger their lives. Yet, hardly three years later, \$15 was granted Joseph Tuttle for a three month period "in consideration of his extreme poverty and his unwillingness to come to the Poor House"; the allowance was renewed for several years thereafter. In 1854, Polly Foster was allowed \$4 a month for six months, and in 1857 Rhoda Sutton got \$6 for the quarter. The rule had clearly been breached.

From the date the almshouse in adjoining Perquimans County was opened (1835) until 1847 no outdoor relief was given. In 1847, though, five persons were receiving from \$4 to \$6 a quarter. As many as fifteen allowances were made in February, 1851, but generally the number was about seven.

The wardens of the poor in Lincoln County decided in October, 1820, that all paupers not being supported at the residence of their families, or not being kept for less than \$30 a year were to go to the poorhouse, except in "extreme cases"; those refusing to go, were not to get any other aid. This step was taken because for some time certain persons had been receiving public funds

whose friends are well able to support them, but finding they could impose on the Wardens have recd money for support of



Persons who they would not let go to the poorhouse and who they were unwilling to be separated from.

Three months later a new order was issued requiring all pensioners to repair to the almshouse. At a meeting of the board of wardens in January, 1822, it was agreed to give the keeper of the house \$75 a year per pauper (the rate to decrease if the number of inmates increased, and vice versa). At the same time, Jacob Goldman was given \$25 a year, as an allowance with which to buy grain and meat. In July, 1822, Abigail Bremen, a case of "Extreme distress," was given \$10 a quarter for her support, while Mr. and Mrs. Sutton were given \$5. Six paupers were boarded out in October, 1832, four of them with relatives. The 1829 act for Lincoln, making outdoor aid mandatory, when the cost was half of that in the almshouse, was ignored twenty years later; an order was unanimously passed (1849) discontinuing outdoor aid, but in some instances paupers too weak or too sick to be removed were assisted outdoors.

The minutes of the wardens of Craven and Hyde indicate that a considerable amount was spent in these counties also on outdoor allowances. Hyde began distributing provisions instead of money in the 1850's.

#### IV

Compared with the intricate provisions of many other states and of England, the settlement law of North Carolina has always been a model of brevity and simplicity. A person residing continuously for one year in a county has been the responsibility of that county's taxpayers when he becomes a pauper, according to every poor law since that of 1777. For the law in effect from 1755 to 1777 read "parish" instead of "county": the parish was the relief dispensing unit until the Revolution. At the same time, a person likely to become chargeable has always been liable to be removed to the county where he was last legally settled.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The settlement and removal provisions are in *N. C. Laws*—1755, Ch. 6, Sec. 5, 6; 1777, Ch. 7, Sec. 2, 22; *Gen. St.* (1943), Sec. 153-159, 160. One year's residence in the parish was made one way of gaining a settlement in Virginia in 1727, and in South Carolina in 1768.



So it was that the constable of Duplin County was paid £1/4s. (\$3), October 21, 1800, "for removing Charity Register a poor woman out of the County, who by remaining would have claimed Cetenship [gained a settlement]." When the constable of Jones County removed the two Oliver children to Carteret "where they belonged" Carteret's wardens reimbursed him in the sum of \$7 (1820). Hyde County paid \$20.80 in March, 1853, for "conveying Elizabeth Sawyer and her child" to Beaufort County. In the spring of 1797 a mother and her two children were removed out of Person County to Virginia. Many entries similar to these appear in the minute books of the poor wardens over the years.

The wardens were guarding the interests of the county not only when they ordered the removal of actual and potential paupers, but also when they helped needy persons move out of their county presumably to a place where the pauper could earn a livelihood or be supported by friends and relatives. Carteret offered Sarah Parisher \$20 instead of the usual allowance of \$10 in March, 1834, if she would move away during the year—but she chose to stay on. They were more successful in 1805 when, for the sum of \$25, Bartholomew Jesse agreed to go to the "Western Countries . . . and thereby disburthen the County." Pasquotank struck a bargain with one woman in 1829 whereby she was granted \$100 to enable her to move west; previously she had been receiving \$90 a year for herself and her children.

During the colonial period the complaint was heard that masters of vessels brought persons unable to support themselves into the province. The result was a great increase in the poor expenditures of the parish where they were left. One section of the 1755 poor law allowed the parish justices

to convene such Master of a Vessel before them and to take the Deposition of Witnesses concerning the Matter of the Complaint; and if on hearing the same, it shall appear to them, or any Two of them, that the Person or Persons brought into this Province has or have not brought with him or them sufficient Effects for his or their Support and Maintenance, and that he, she or they, is or are incapable of getting a Livelihood, by his, her or their Industry, such master of a Vessel shall, by the Judgment of the



said Justices, be obliged to give Bond, with Two sufficient Securities, to the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the Time being, in the Sum of Forty Pounds, Proclamation Money, with Condition that he will transport such Person or Persons out of this Province within Six Months from the Date of such Bond or at all Times thereafter indemnify every Parish within this Province from any Expence which they may be at, by Means of such Person or Persons being a Parish Charge; and if such Master of a Vessel shall refuse to comply with such Orders, it shall and may be lawful for the said Two Justices, by Warrant under their Hands and Seals to commit him to the Public Jail, there to remain until he shall comply with the same: . . .<sup>20</sup>

Perhaps the practice diminished after this. At all events, the 1777 law and subsequent poor laws had no such provision.

## V

Responsibility for the Negro poor was another subject of legislative attention connected with pauperism. Under a 1741 law Negroes could be freed for "meritorious Services" as adjudged by the county court. The counties found that these freed slaves frequently became paupers. For this reason an 1801 law stipulated that the master had to enter into a £100 (\$250) bond at the time of manumission that the Negro would not become chargeable.

A general emancipation act was passed in 1831 which gave a master the right to free any slave provided he gave a \$1,000 bond that the freedman would leave the state within ninety days. The only freed Negroes not required to depart were those over fifty years of age who had been emancipated for meritorious services. In such cases the owners had to give \$500 bond for their good behavior and to save the county from the expense of ever having to support them.<sup>21</sup>

That the law lagged behind current practice is evidenced by a £500 bond left with the Pasquotank County court, December 3, 1800, whereby Isaac Overman and his heirs agreed

<sup>20</sup> *N. C. Laws*—1775, Ch. 6, Sec. 7.

<sup>21</sup> *N. C. Laws*—1741, Ch. 24, Sec. 56; 1801, Ch. 1830/31, Ch. 9, retained in *Rev. Code* (1855), Ch. 86, Sec. 19, Ch. 107, Sec. 45, 46. Under 1715, Ch. 46, Sec. 18, Negroes could be freed for "honest and Faithful Service," but they had to leave the province within six months.



at all times hereafter [to] save harmless the Overseers of the Poor and inhabitants of the County . . . from all Costs Charges and troubles whatsoever for and by reason of the liberation of . . . [five Blanchards] . . .<sup>22</sup>

Free Negroes, of course, were among the recipients of public poor relief. Thus in 1846 Orange County apprenticed Andrew Jackson who had been "raised at the Poor House." Person County gave Mrs. Byasee \$60 for the support of two old Negroes for the year ending Easter, 1846. In 1807 Person's wardens, confronted with George Wallis's request for an allowance, decided to put him up on auction instead, whereupon "he withdrew him self & refused to become a Parishner."

Owners of old or infirm slaves would sometimes neglect them, permitting them "to go at large and become a common nuisance." A 1798 law gave the wardens of the poor the power and duty of providing for these unfortunates and charging their owners, if the masters did not assume their responsibility when notified to do so.<sup>23</sup> Thus Pasquotank billed the estate of John B. Mansaid at the rate of \$6.25 per month for the slave Easter who was at the county poorhouse (April, 1850). When it came to the notice of Carteret's wardens that infirm, blind Wanton was being completely neglected by the executors of Colonel Thomson's estate, the owners were ordered to furnish \$30 worth of necessaries for the year (1812), or the wardens would allot the sum out of county funds and sue the executors for reimbursement. A Negress, formerly the property of a deceased man who apparently left no heirs (or none able to support the slave), was given to Abraham Sikes together with a payment of five shillings by Carteret's wardens in 1801, in return for which Sikes agreed to support her for the rest of her life. Orange County's war-

<sup>22</sup> The file box in the State Archives, Raleigh, labelled "Pasquotank—Bonds. Miscellaneous Material . . . 1720-1861" has forty-four such bonds covering the years 1799-1819; most of these were made before 1806.

<sup>23</sup> *N. C. Laws*—1798, Ch. 13, retained in Rev. Code (1855), Ch. 86, Sec. 15. A person who had slaves likely to become chargeable could be required by the wardens of the poor to post a sufficient bond if he was about to move out of the county. [1801, Ch. 20, retained in Rev. Code (1855), Ch. 86, Sec. 19].



dens of the poor wrote (1838) to the owner of Caesar, who lived in another county, to take the slave who was likely to become chargeable "and provide for his comfort and support."

## VI

A contemporary commented (1850) that North Carolina's pauper system "is far from being free from imperfections of a grave character. It is at best but a clumsy contrivance of the law to keep the poor from perishing. . . ." <sup>24</sup> Despite this unfavorable characterization, a review of developments during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries impresses one with the seriousness of the attempts—however groping they may appear in retrospect—to improve poor relief procedures. Having assumed at an early date responsibility for the needy, the community grappled by one means or another with the problem of how to treat dependent poverty.

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<sup>24</sup> *Tarborough Press*, November 16, 1850.



## WILLIAM W. HOLDEN AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA

By HORACE W. RAPER

William W. Holden has long been considered as one of North Carolina's most controversial figures. Although born in obscurity in Orange County, 1818, he rose to become one of the state's leading and influential editors, a leader in four political parties, and chief executive of the state on two occasions. Through his editorship of the *North Carolina Standard* he built the Democratic party into the dominant party in the state and contributed to the popular acceptance of the right of secession. The refusal of the Democratic party in 1858 to make him its candidate for governor, for fear that he could not be controlled in the interest of class legislation, caused him to split with the party and the dominant aristocratic class.<sup>1</sup>

By 1860, Holden shifted from his militant stand on secession to a position of loyalty to the Union. The reasons for this shift are difficult to ascertain, but Holden personally felt that this was the only "right" course to follow. He had long prided himself on editing the only newspaper in the state that actually expressed the ideas and wishes of the people; and, being a political opportunist, he did not want to advance a cause which the people would not follow. In 1860 he felt that the people were opposed to secession, and even the election of Lincoln was not sufficient cause for the state to leave the Union. He cautioned, "Watch and Wait." He called upon North Carolina to act with the "Border States" as mediators or as peace-makers to prevent the overthrow of the national government. In fact, even after the secession of the Gulf states many North Carolinians had visions of a great middle confederacy composed of the border slave and border free states.<sup>2</sup> The bombardment of Fort Sumter, however, caused

<sup>1</sup> Edgar E. Folk, "W. W. Holden and the Election of 1858," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (October, 1944), 294-318.

<sup>2</sup> *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), January 9, 1861.



North Carolina to decide on secession, and Holden was one of the convention delegates assembled in Raleigh in May, 1861, who voted to take the state out of the Union.

Holden's Civil War career (his denunciation of secession, his Unionist activities, and his leadership in the formation of a "Peace party") has led historians to write about him in a prejudiced and biased manner. His actions and motives, however, need to be restudied for he was instrumental in the fight for individual liberty as waged by the state against the Confederacy. He was a Union supporter or a "Peace" man because he saw the futility of the war and felt it would be far better to make an honorable peace while possible, instead of being forced later to accept unconditional surrender. He further held that it would be far wiser for North Carolina, and all southern states, to overthrow the decadent political, social, and economic order and to build anew, creating a progressive state based on the rising tide of industrialism for the welfare of the masses, rather than for the privileged few. In this he was ten years ahead of his time, as he had been the outspoken leader of secession ten years before the people were ready to accept that idea.

Holden's repudiation of the secession doctrine after he had successfully educated the people to accept that doctrine was catastrophic to his Democratic party standing. His return to the support of secession in 1861 was dictated by the overwhelming pressure of southern opinion. There was little alternative for any man of earnest convictions of duty and high resolves but to join the southern forces or become a martyr. And Holden, as an old and experienced politician, realized his position and yielded. With his vote for the ordinance of secession he expressed manifestations of a cordial sympathy to the Confederacy as evidenced by his pledge of "the last dollar and the last man" in the state to the southern cause. All this, however, was doubtless influenced by the desire to regain the confidence of his former friends and associates.

According to his critics, Holden's career during the Civil War was ignoble and detrimental to the cause of the Con-



federacy. Be that as it may, Holden realized early in 1861 that his signing of the Secession Ordinance was not sufficient to regain for him his former position in the Democratic party. He was bitterly hated by the Democrats, who felt that he had deserted them (1858-1860), and was distrusted by the Whigs because he had separated from the Democrats. Nevertheless, he was not to be denied political leadership in the state. Slowly and quietly, he assumed the lead in rounding up the discontented elements in the state, and by 1862 he had organized a new party—Conservative—which wrested political control of the state by winning the gubernatorial contest. Among these discontented elements were those who had grievances against the Confederate government—men like William A. Graham, George Edmund Badger, Thomas Ruffin, Edward Joseph Hale, as well as Holden. These men felt that the Confederacy had been unfair in giving the major offices to less prominent men than themselves, and in discriminating against North Carolina in the distribution of major offices. One can only speculate as to how different the story might have been had Holden been given a high post in the Confederacy. Many alleged that the Richmond government was guilty of despotism by the passage of the Conscription Act of April, 1862; and the question was naturally raised: Was not the war fought to preserve state rights? Finally, Holden knew well that the voters usually placed the blame for military defeats and economic dislocations of war upon the government in power. Hence, he took advantage of the ill feelings aroused in those zealous for the state government and the Democratic party by the loss of Hatteras Inlet in August, 1861, the capture of Roanoke Island in February, 1862, and Elizabeth City and New Bern in March, 1862. The Conservative party was born through a union of all these discontented elements.

The death of Governor John Ellis in July, 1861, led to a demand for an election to fill out his unexpired term. Ellis had been succeeded by Henry Toole Clarke, Speaker of the Senate (the state did not have the office of lieutenant governor), but the Conservatives insisted that the office be de-



clared vacant and a successor chosen. Up to this point, the Democrats seemed to have been under the illusion that the people throughout the state were enthusiastic in their support of the Confederacy, for they had more or less tended to ignore the opposition of the Conservatives. Too late they realized the strength of their opponents. They abandoned their party name and began to call themselves Confederates; while at the same time they asked the people to maintain those in power so as to quell partisan strife in the midst of war.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the Conservatives won their demands, for the "Secession" Convention (which acted in lieu of the General Assembly until May, 1862) ordered that an election be held and that the governor should assume the duties of his office in September, 1862, instead of the following January.

The Conservatives had hoped to nominate William A. Graham, but he refused to become a candidate.<sup>4</sup> Other names were proposed as feelers to test public opinion—Holden, John A. Gilmer, Bedford Brown, Edwin G. Reade, and Colonel Zebulon Baird Vance.<sup>5</sup> Had the reaction toward Holden been favorable, no doubt he would have been the nominee, for he desired the office. However, he was passed over by the party council, for it realized the need of a more striking and popular candidate. Vance was accordingly nominated to oppose the Confederate candidate, William Johnston, president of the Charlotte and Columbia Railroad.

The Conservative-Vance campaign was managed entirely by Holden and Edward Joseph Hale of the Fayetteville *Observer*. It was they who persuaded Vance to accept the nomination while he was stationed with his North Carolina troops at Kinston, and Vance took no part in the campaign except to make a few speeches in the army.

Holden took the lead in attacking the Confederate party. He charged that Johnston's military title was gained among the pork and beans of the Commissary General's Department while he was at the same time drawing state pay as a member

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<sup>3</sup> *Weekly State Journal* (Raleigh), February 12, 1862, as cited in Richard E. Yates, "Zebulon B. Vance as War Governor of North Carolina, 1862-1865," *Journal of Southern History*, III (February, 1937), 46-47.

<sup>4</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, May 14, 1862.

<sup>5</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, May 17, 1862.



of the Secession Convention.<sup>6</sup> He attacked the inefficiency and corruptness of the Confederate party in state affairs, for failure to clothe the state soldiers, and for making "the government at Raleigh and the government at Richmond party machines to advance their own interests, to put honor on their backs and money in their pockets, and to gratify their hatred toward the late Union men."<sup>7</sup> Holden pointed out that the real issue in the war was the protection of slavery and that the non-slaveholders were to be sacrificed for the benefits of the slaveowners. The cry was also raised that it was a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight," and Holden denounced the Confederate conscription law, especially the "substitute" clause and the "twenty negro law."

Dissatisfaction with the war and disloyalty to the Confederacy were evident in the large numbers of deserters in the middle and western counties. General E. Kirby Smith was forced to send a detachment of troops to Madison County to maintain law and order. The outcome of the election was never in doubt, for the agitation of Holden and his followers was quite convincing. Holden had forged the many discontented elements into a strong political machine and Vance was easily elected with a majority double that of his opponent. The small vote for Johnston and the large majority of "peace men" elected to the General Assembly proved the strength of the newly formed party and showed that enthusiasm for the Confederacy was waning. The northern press hailed the victory as a Union victory over secession.

Holden has been castigated for his lead in the formation of the Conservative party, yet its very formation shows his political power and leadership abilities. He led the party from obscurity to leadership and state domination; and no one can ignore the fact that he, more than anyone else, brought about the election of "Zeb" Vance, one of the best known war governors of the Southern states.

There was a personal comradeship between Vance and Holden and a close bond between Governor Vance and

<sup>6</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, June 7, 21, 1862.

<sup>7</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, May 24, 1862.



Editor Holden, which made for united effort during the early days of Vance's administration. The early accord may be seen both in the election of Holden as State Printer by the General Assembly in November, 1862, upon the insistence of Vance,<sup>8</sup> and in counselling rendered Vance by Holden. Holden and Vance, however, were not long to remain friends and collaborators.

There are many reasons behind the split of the two leaders of the Conservative party. The formation of the Heroes of America (later known as the Union League) and the rise of the Peace Movement were the major factors, but the break really came because of an irrepressible conflict between two politicians. Holden, in his role of "party boss," failed to realize that Vance could not and would not be controlled by anyone. Holden thought Vance would adopt the Peace Movement as a resource to get better treatment from the Confederacy, but Vance refused to go along. Both were "peace men" but Vance stood for an attempt to make peace while acting in cooperation with the other Confederate states, while Holden proposed taking North Carolina out of the Confederacy, if necessary, and then making a separate peace with the national government. He argued that if the state had the right to secede from the United States, it also had a right to leave the Confederacy.<sup>9</sup> When Vance refused the Holden plan and supported the war cause instead, Holden set out to prevent the re-election of Vance to the governorship. Popular feeling seemed to support Holden, but much of this was self-made support by the *Standard*. Therein lies the explanation of Holden's defeat by Vance in the election of 1864.

Murmurs of discontent against the Confederacy in North Carolina were heard as early as July, 1861, but the first real evidence appeared in the fall meeting of the General Assembly in 1862. The Conservatives, having gained a majority in the General Assembly, proceeded to carry out a plan, devised by Holden, to replace all non-Conservative state

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<sup>8</sup> Vance to E. J. Hale, November 21, 1862. E. J. Hale Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

<sup>9</sup> *American Annual Cyclopedic* (1864), 589; and J. C. Schwab, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, 222.



officials.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, Vance was empowered to investigate the causes of arrest of the state citizens held by the Confederate authorities in their military prison at Salisbury.<sup>11</sup> The program was opposed to the centralization of power in the Confederate government, and Vance was very assertive of state rights. As Albert B. Moore writes, "His masterly leadership of the masses . . . made him the most dangerous man with whom Davis had to deal. His nimble wit and Lincoln-like intuition were more than a match for the methodical and unimaginative statecraft of the President."<sup>12</sup>

By the spring of 1863, rumors of peace and reconstruction became more than threatening gossip, for there was open talk on the streets in all cities throughout the state. Holden was much interested in such matters and maintained that four-fifths of the people were ready for reconstruction.<sup>13</sup> He further said that he was following the people in the movement rather than leading them, but as Governor Vance pointed out, "the driver sits behind the team and yet may be said to follow his horses."<sup>14</sup> The grounds for discontent may be found in the following charges: (1) that the Confederate administration was partisan in nature, for no one was appointed to the cabinet who had been a former Whig or Union Democrat; (2) that the Confederate government suppressed individual liberties by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; (3) that financial depression and the repudiation of Confederate currency caused great hardships upon the inhabitants of North Carolina; (4) that North Carolina had furnished more than her share of troops but her officers had not been justly promoted and the troops had not received their merited praise; and (5) that the Confederate government was infringing upon state rights.<sup>15</sup> It was felt that as a sovereign state North Carolina had seceded from the Union,

<sup>10</sup> J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 46.

<sup>11</sup> Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 47.

<sup>12</sup> A. B. Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*, 279.

<sup>13</sup> Vance to E. J. Hale. E. J. Hale Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>14</sup> Vance to Hale. E. J. Hale Papers.

<sup>15</sup> Horace W. Raper, "The Political Career of William Woods Holden With Special Reference To His Provisional Governorship," unpublished master's thesis, The University of North Carolina, 1948, pp. 36-37.



but Confederate conscription and tithing laws denied the state its rightful control over its citizenry. The tithing law was especially bitter to North Carolinians not only in terms of money and produce required, but also because a Virginian was appointed by President Davis to collect the tithes in the state. To partisan North Carolina this was unbearable. Likewise the state felt that its rights were interfered with by the impressment of men over age, and by the Confederacy's disregard of state court rulings upholding its citizens. Upon numerous occasions the Confederacy arrested state citizens who were suspected of disloyalty, without giving specific charges, and imprisoned them without trial. The John W. Irvin case, in which Secretary of War James Seddon ordered a decision of Chief Justice Richmond Rumford Pearson to be ignored, led to strained relations between Governor Vance and the Confederate government for almost two years.<sup>16</sup>

Disaffection and disloyalty to the Confederate cause increased during the early months of 1863. Chief Justice Pearson and Governor Vance gave aid to the movement through their fight for individual liberty. In December the General Assembly instructed Vance to secure the release of an Orange County minister, the Reverend J. R. Graves, who had been arrested as a spy and imprisoned in Richmond.<sup>17</sup> Vance secured the preacher's release and also that of others imprisoned in the Salisbury prison. Chief Justice Richmond M. Pearson felt that the conscription law was unconstitutional and granted writs of habeas corpus to secure the release of anyone arrested for desertion or disloyalty to the Confederacy. When in 1863 the impressment and tithing laws were passed, Vance joined Holden and other Unionists in crying aloud that "the Central Government takes our fighting men with one hand and a tenth of our substance with the other."<sup>18</sup>

In the meantime, Vance began to realize that something must be done, and on January 5, 1863, he wrote the Secretary of War that "the impunity which the deserters enjoy

<sup>16</sup> Yates, "Zebulon B. Vance," 61.

<sup>17</sup> *War of The Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. II, V, 794-795. Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.

<sup>18</sup> *American Annual Encyclopedia* (1863), 691.



and the contagion of their example is operating most ruinously upon the efficiency of the army, to say nothing of the injury to property and citizens.”<sup>19</sup> On January 26, the Governor issued a proclamation to the absentee soldiers in which he asked them to return to their posts and promised to “share the last bushel of meal and pound of meat in the State” with the army and homefolk. This failed to end the numerous desertions in the state. Many of the soldiers had left their command in Virginia, hoping to escape the hardships of war by having a quick peace won by the home folks. Many claimed that their actions had been induced by reading Holden’s *Standard*, which published accounts of public meetings throughout the state wherein resolutions had been adopted demanding that peace be negotiated. If the authorities at the helm of the government were not able to achieve this, the *Standard* exclaimed, state conventions should be held to work out an “honorable peace.”<sup>20</sup> Holden later denied the charges that he had encouraged desertions. “We have never written, or uttered, or printed a work designed or calculated to cause desertion. On the contrary, we have written and printed more, perhaps, to discourage desertions and to encourage volunteering than any Editor in the State.”<sup>21</sup>

Peace rumors spread quickly. Tennessee Unionists soon heard them and became hopeful that Union sentiment would gain control of North Carolina. Charles Dana, Assistant Secretary of War in the United States, after talking with Governor Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, wrote that North Carolinians “will seize the first opportunity to free themselves from the Confederate Government.”<sup>22</sup> Major General J. C. Foster wrote to Secretary of War Stanton that he had from private sources sufficient information to cause him to hope that North Carolina Unionists were ready to act “on certain contingencies,” and make a stroke for severance.<sup>23</sup>

Such reports reached Washington through the press. The Richmond authorities, too, were informed and President

<sup>19</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. I, XVIII, 821.

<sup>20</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, August 12, 1863.

<sup>21</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, February 19, 1864.

<sup>22</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. I, XXX, 183.

<sup>23</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. I, XXVII, 751.



Davis became so alarmed that he wrote Governor Vance asking if Holden's "treasonable action" warranted criminal prosecution. Vance was quick to reply that there was no cause to fear North Carolina action against the Confederacy and that "it would be impolitic in the very highest degree to interfere with Holden or his paper."<sup>24</sup>

The rapid spread of the peace meetings was evidently Holden's way of determining the pulse of state feeling. The attitude of Governor Vance was not definitely known, and Holden's actions may have been an attempt to prove to Vance that it would be popular to support the peace drive. Finally, Vance visited Richmond in August and from that time on he believed a "split with Holden is decreed by God. I have made up my mind to it and prepared for it any day, thou' I did nothing to 'precipitate' it. . . ." <sup>25</sup> Vance reasoned that Holden stood for submission, "reconstruction or anything else that will put him back under Lincoln, and stop the war—and I might add—punish his old friends and collaborators—the Secessionists."<sup>26</sup> Vance was afraid that Holden's efforts would give an erroneous opinion to the North and thereby defeat all efforts for peace except an absolute submission. Vance was a "peace man," but only on the basis of separation and independence.<sup>27</sup>

During July and August, 1863, the Heroes of America held more than one hundred peace meetings: sixty were reported in the *Standard* alone. It appeared that the meetings were spontaneous, but since there was such similarity in the resolutions there is little doubt that they originated from the same source, Holden and the *Standard*. The publication of such proceedings aroused bitter protests from the army. Over thirty regiments passed resolutions denouncing Holden and the meetings.<sup>28</sup> Later, on August 12, 1863, delegates from the regiments met in convention in Orange Court House,

<sup>24</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. I, XXVII, 751.

<sup>25</sup> Vance to E. J. Hale, August 11, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>26</sup> Vance to Hale, August 11, 1863.

<sup>27</sup> Vance to W. A. Graham, August 13, 1863. W. A. Graham Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

<sup>28</sup> Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 52.



Virginia, and issued a formal protest and urged the people to support the Confederacy.

Many ardent Confederate supporters began to demand that Vance stop Holden's actions. The Governor tried to get William A. Graham and Edward Joseph Hale to dissuade Holden from his course of action;<sup>29</sup> and when this plan failed, he drew up a public statement for publication concerning the peace movement. He showed the document to Holden before publishing it. Holden advised further consideration and also that others should be consulted. Accordingly, ex-Governors Graham and Gilmer, Edwin Reade, and Edward Joseph Hale were invited to Raleigh, on September 2, to discuss the controversy. At the meeting, Holden insisted upon the right of holding peace meetings without interference on the part of the state. Vance offered to keep silent if Holden would try to discourage the meetings, but Holden refused. Vance then prepared a very denunciatory proclamation, but toned it down at the insistence of Governor Graham.<sup>30</sup> On September 7, he urged the people to cease such activities as "were endangering the public peace and tranquility, as well as the common cause of independence. . . . Surely, you will not seek to cure the evils of one revolution by plunging the country into another."<sup>31</sup> Holden replied; "Let the people speak, it is refreshing to hear them."<sup>32</sup>

Two days later Holden was made to realize the maxim: "Those who sow the wind must reap the whirlwind." This was occasioned when troops from General Henry Benning's Georgia Brigade passed through Raleigh. One of the regiments (Colonel Wright's) decided to take Holden in hand, but not finding him at home they marched in a body to the *Standard* office. They proceeded to batter down the doors and destroy almost everything within reach. Cases of type

<sup>29</sup> Vance to E. J. Hale, August 11, September 7, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>30</sup> Vance to Hale, September 7, 1863; and Holden to C. J. Cowles, March 18, 1864, Holden Personal Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>31</sup> Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events, with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, etc.*, VII, 497-498. Hereinafter cited as Moore, *Rebellion Record*.

<sup>32</sup> Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 53.



were emptied on the floor and many of them flung into the street; the massive marble slabs of set type were turned over, throwing the type into a huge heap on the floor, and kegs of ink turned out or spilled over everything. For some reason, the press escaped injury, probably because it was in another part of the building. Governor Vance was called to the scene (Holden went personally to the Governor's Mansion to appeal for help) and was able to disperse the mob. Whether the action was inspired and led by the officers of the Georgia Brigade is not known, but Vance thought the officers secretly encouraged it. He therefore demanded that the officers be brought to trial for their participation, and hinted that General Benning himself had known of the forthcoming action and had condoned it. The following morning, a group of approximately forty Raleigh citizens under the direction of Mark Williams, a strong Unionist, formed a mob and in retaliation for the destruction of the *Standard*, completely destroyed the presses of the *State Journal*, pro-Confederate paper.<sup>33</sup>

The excitement caused by these two actions clearly affected Governor Vance. He had intervened in both outrages, and had it not been for his preventive measure another Raleigh paper, the *Progress*, would have also been destroyed. He wired President Davis not to allow additional troops to pass through the city, and threatened to withdraw or recall the state troops for the protection of their own state if future outrages upon the peace and dignity of the state were not checked.<sup>34</sup> A few days later another demonstration was made by troops from the 4th Alabama Regiment, but through the prompt appearance of Governor Vance and troops from the nearby Camp Gilmer, the *Standard* office was saved from being sacked again.<sup>35</sup>

Not all the enmity against the North Carolina peace movement was found in this state. John Syme of Virginia, a former

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<sup>33</sup> Moses N. Amis, *Historical Raleigh with Sketches of Wake County*, 139; and Hamilton *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 55. For Holden's account of the story, see the *Standard*, May 13, 1864.

<sup>34</sup> Vance to E. J. Hale, September 11, 1863. E. J. Hale Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>35</sup> Holden to E. J. Hale, September 11, 1863.



editor of the Raleigh *Register*, advocated mob action against the *Standard*. He established a paper in Petersburg, Virginia, and persuaded one Taylor of Montgomery County to introduce a resolution in the Virginia Senate to stop, by law, the circulation of the *Standard* in that state. The resolution was not adopted, but the Order of the Knights of the Golden Circle persuaded John Wooten, Commonwealth's attorney, to forbid its circulation. Even army postmasters were commanded to prevent the paper from being distributed to soldiers within Virginia.<sup>36</sup>

Mob violence changed Governor Vance from a partial supporter to a positive opponent of the peace movement. He felt that such action could only lead to anarchy or despotism. He was still willing to protect individual rights and he personally felt that Holden had not committed treason. "Should any newspaper in the State," he wrote Davis, "commit treason, I would have its editor arrested and tried by laws, which many of us yet respect."<sup>37</sup> He had hoped that the attack on the *Standard* would be sufficient warning to Holden to change his views, and that he could be "useful to the cause," but Holden remained firm.<sup>38</sup>

Holden fled to the country for the safety of his family during the height of mob violence, but upon his return to Raleigh he showed no alarm at the condemnation and notoriety he received after the sacking of the *Standard*. The notoriety merely publicized his peace activities further. Likewise, the fall elections made him bolder. Of the ten Confederate congressmen elected from North Carolina eight were new and at least five were pledged to obtain an honorable peace.<sup>39</sup> In the fall meeting of the General Assembly the "peace men" were able to make things "gloomy" for the Vance administration. No real trial of strength took place

<sup>36</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, October 16, 30, 1863.

<sup>37</sup> Vance to Jefferson Davis, September 11, 1863. Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, 499.

<sup>38</sup> Vance to E. J. Hale, December 1, 1863. Hale Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>39</sup> Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 55, lists five "peace men": James T. Leach, Josiah Turner, Samuel Christian, Dr. J. G. Ramsay, and George W. Logan.



between the two groups, however, mainly because of the influence of Ex-Governor Graham.<sup>40</sup>

Backed by this following, Holden declared that peace could never come through the Confederate government but only through individual state action, since President Lincoln would treat only upon unconditional surrender, while the Confederacy had sworn never to yield unless independence were granted. Peace, therefore, should be made while the South was in a position to bargain for terms, otherwise all the South would share a similar fate to that of Mississippi and Louisiana, where military rule reigned. In 1864 Holden summarized his views on peace in the following statement:

She (North Carolina) has a right to call a Convention and to hold it, and without being responsible for so doing to any power on earth. . . .

We believe that if the war should be continued twelve months longer negro slavery will be utterly and finally destroyed in these states, and that it will be impossible to reestablish the institution.—Its sudden destruction would involve the whole social structure in ruin. We believe that by the end of the period mentioned the rights of the states and the liberties of the people, by the very force of circumstances, to say nothing of the aggressive disposition and purposes of the government at Richmond, will have been blotted out, or will be at the mercy of the government. We believe that peace can never be obtained as long as we contend for Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and West Virginia; and that, in all probability, it can be obtained only by the sovereign states cooperating with the common government. We are, therefore, for a Convention, and for a cooperation with our sister States of the South in obtaining an armistice, so that negotiations may be commenced. . . . It would omit no proper steps to secure peace, and meanwhile protect the State against the encroachment of arbitrary power. It would see to it that the proud head of the State was bowed to no despot. It would insist that the civil law should prevail in all cases; and being in existence, if not constantly in session, it would have the right to speak and act for the State as a sovereign, and to demand that the Congress and the military shall respect that civil law and the inalienable rights of our people. . . . Is there any treason in these propositions? . . . We wish, first, to save human life and to pre-

<sup>40</sup> Vance to E. J. Hale, December 10, 1863. Hale Papers, State Department of Archives and History.



vent the impoverishment and ruin of our people; secondly, to prevent the sudden abolition of slavery, the blighting effect of which would be seen on this continent for generations; and thirdly, to prevent the extinction of the State sovereignties, which if it should take place, would reduce us to the condition of territorial dependents on the favor of some great central, despotic government. But why delegates to a Convention now? Because the State may be so occupied by the enemy as to render the election, at some future day . . . impossible. . . . North Carolina is true, and will be true to the Confederate government as it was formed, in its integrity and purity; but she would not be bound by a government which had lost its original character and had been perverted to despotic purposes against her own rights and the rights and liberties of her citizens.<sup>41</sup>

The argument of the "peace men" could not be and was not refuted, as Governor Vance himself realized. Accordingly, he wrote in December, 1863, to President Davis and said it would be impossible to remove the sources of discontent in the state unless the Confederate government made some efforts to negotiate. He concluded, "for the sake of humanity. . . . We might with propriety constantly tender negotiations. In doing so . . . our cause will be strengthened thereby."<sup>42</sup> He further felt that negotiations would silence the clamor of the Holden "peace men" and force them to take sides against the Confederacy, which they would be afraid to do as long as two armies were on the field.<sup>43</sup> Davis's reply was not comforting—"We have made three distinct efforts to communicate with the authorities at Washington, and have been invariably unsuccessful."<sup>44</sup>

By the New Year, 1864, peace agitation had reached its height in the state. It was reputed that the legislature adjourned so that its members could go among the people to agitate the calling of a convention to take the state out of the Confederacy. Resolutions by Holden and J. T. Leach were introduced by the latter at a peace meeting in Johnston

<sup>41</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, January 19, 1864.

<sup>42</sup> Vance to Jefferson Davis, December 30, 1863. *Official Records*, Ser. I, LI, 808-810.

<sup>43</sup> Vance to E. J. Hale, December 30, 1863. Hale Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>44</sup> Davis to Vance, January 8, 1864. *Official Records*, Ser. I, LI, 808-810.



County. After this meeting, a series of peace meetings were held in all sections of the state. Senator John Pool and Jonathan Worth were two of the principal Holden followers in the movement, although Worth was an official member of Governor Vance's administration. Worth felt that if the people would make known their desires Vance would "co-operate," otherwise he would not.<sup>45</sup> This movement, however, caused Governor Vance violently to oppose Holden and to be outspoken in his remarks: "I will see this Conservative party blown into a thousand atoms and Holden and his understrappers in hell . . . before I will consent to a course which I think would bring dishonor and ruin upon both State and Confederacy."<sup>46</sup> Holden warned that if Vance did not join in the movement by calling for a state convention in May, an opponent would be run against the Governor. Vance immediately broke with Holden. He regretted having to do this, and fearful that his decision would meet with disapproval, he considered declining renomination.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, he decided to stand for re-election and to follow a vigorous prosecution of the war. Holden, on the other hand, constantly maintained his friendliness to Vance and asserted his intentions of supporting him should he support the Conservative principles and peace policy.

The Richmond authorities were kept informed of the peace activities and, had the situation warranted it, the Confederate army would have intervened. Governor Vance advised as little use of military power as possible. The tone of the correspondence between Vance and Davis grew more unpleasant as it progressed because of personal animosities. Finally, President Davis declared that Governor Vance had overstepped the bounds of propriety, and requested that the correspondence cease. Vance published the correspondence in June, 1864.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Cornelia Phillips Spencer, *Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina*, 123-124.

<sup>46</sup> Vance to W. A. Graham, January 1, 1864. W. A. Graham Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>47</sup> Spencer, *Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina*, 124-127.

<sup>48</sup> *Official Records*, CVIII, 844-846; and Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 57-59.



On February 3, 1864, Davis asked the Confederate Congress for power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus to meet the "disloyal" element. He based his request on the facts that "public meetings have been held in some of which a treasonable design is masked by a pretense of devotion to State sovereignty, and in others is openly avowed. . . . Strong suspicion is entertained that secret leagues and associations are being formed. In certain localities men of no mean position do not hesitate to avow their disloyalty and hostility to our cause and their advocacy of peace, on the terms of submission and the abolition of slavery. In districts overrun by the enemy . . . citizens of well-known disloyalty are holding frequent communication with them, and furnishing valuable information to our enemies, even to the frustration of important military movements."<sup>49</sup> He pointed out that while there was good evidence that citizens were disloyal, the authorities demanded the release of disloyal persons because of lack of legal evidence. He was afraid that desertion would become the order of the day and that unchecked "bands of deserters will patrol the country, burning, plundering and robbing indiscriminately, and our armies, already too weak, must be still further depleted at the most imminent crisis of our cause, to keep the peace and protect the lives and property of our citizens at home."<sup>50</sup>

In February the *Standard* announced the passage by the Confederate Congress of the act suspending the writ of habeas corpus in cases (1) of treason or treasonable effort or combinations to subvert the government, of the Confederate States; (2) of conspiracies to overthrow the government, or to resist the lawful authority of the Confederate government; and (3) of persons riding or inciting others to abandon the Confederate cause, or to adhere to the enemy. At the same time, Holden maintained that the suspension of the writ was an infringement of civil liberties and contrary to civil law. He therefore suspended publication of the *Standard* indefinitely. "I felt that if I could not continue to

<sup>49</sup> William E. Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, 323-324.

<sup>50</sup> Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, 323-324; and Georgia Lee Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 126-129.



print as a free man I would not print at all, and I could not bear the idea of lowering or changing my tone. . . .”<sup>51</sup>

Vance, a skillful politician and campaigner, began early to prepare for his re-election campaign. Writing to Edward Hale of the Fayetteville *Observer* he spoke of his problem: “The convention question is to be my test and I am to be beaten if I oppose it. . . . My desire is to make a record showing every desire for peace except at the expense of my country’s ruin and dishonor; and I want the question narrowed down to *Lincoln or no Lincoln*, and I don’t intend to fritter away my strength on any minor issue. I advise you therefore to make no fight on the substitute questions—the country will settle that—on taxation, schools, or anything of that kind.”<sup>52</sup> He tried to reason out his opposition, and eliminated the possible candidacy of Judge Edwin Reade, Daniel Fowle, and Holden. He concluded that either General Alfred Dockery, Edward Jenner Warren, or Judge Thomas Settle would be the “Lincoln” candidate.

Vance began his bold and energetic campaign by invading the heart of the peace country. On February 22 he spoke at Wilkesboro,<sup>53</sup> a mountain village where desertion and resistance to the Confederate cause had run extremely high. This was followed by a speaking tour through Virginia, where he spoke to the North Carolina troops, and a return trip home by way of the central portion of the state. He allied himself to the war party, and announced the following platform:

The supremacy of the civil over military law.

A speedy repeal of the act suspending the writ of habeas corpus.

A quiet submission to all laws, good or bad, while they remain on the statute books.

No reconstruction or submission, but perpetual independence.

An unbroken front to the common enemy; but timely and repeated negotiations for peace by the proper authorities.

<sup>51</sup> Holden to Calvin J. Cowles, March 18, 1864. Holden Personal Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>52</sup> Vance to E. J. Hale, December 30, 1863.

<sup>53</sup> Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 60.



No separate State action through a convention, no counter revolution, no combined resistance to the government.

Opposition to despotism in every form and the preservation of our republican institutions in all their purity.<sup>54</sup>

On March 3, Holden announced his candidacy for governor in a special issue of the *Standard*. He claimed that it was not his wish to run. He felt, however, that Vance had left the Conservative party and had gone with President Davis and the "Destructives," and that if no one opposed Vance he would demoralize "the Conservative party, just as John Tyler would have destroyed the Whig party in 1842, if Mr. Clay had not exposed him."<sup>55</sup> Holden's card, presenting himself as a candidate, reads as follows:

#### TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA

In compliance with the wishes of many friends, I announce myself a candidate for the office of Governor of North Carolina, at the election to be held on the first Thursday in August next.

My principles and views, as a Conservative 'after the straightest sect' are well known to the people of the State. . . . They will not be changed.

I am not disposed, at a time like this, to invite the people from their employments, and add to the excitement which prevails in the public mind, by haranguing them for their votes. We need all our energies to meet the common enemy, and to provide means of subsistence for our troops in the field and the people at home. . . .

If elected I will do everything in my power to promote the interests, the honor, and glory of North Carolina, and to secure an honorable peace.<sup>56</sup>

The campaign was an open case. Vance sought re-election by contending that independence could be gained only through the support of the Confederate government. Holden, on the other hand, maintained that the state, acting as a sovereign body and through a special convention, should seek an early peace. Holden's editorial banner declared: "The Two Ways: Fight it Out. Zebulon B. Vance, Governor

<sup>54</sup> Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 60.

<sup>55</sup> Holden to Cowles, March 18, 1864. Holden Personal Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>56</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, March 3, 1864.



of North Carolina. 'Wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are Peace.' Solomon, Son of David, King of Israel."<sup>57</sup>

When Vance learned of Holden's opposition, he commented: "The man who has been deepest in my confidence and whom my friends have persisted in apologizing for, has at length showed his purpose."<sup>58</sup> Vance carried the campaign to the people throughout the state by his stump speaking, while Holden preferred to stay in Raleigh and wage his campaign through the *Standard*. From the beginning Vance was enthusiastic about his chances. The fact that there was no reliable paper in Raleigh, however, caused him no little concern, and led to the establishment of the Raleigh *Conservative* as the official organ of the Vance forces. In fact, Vance seemed to become more exuberant as the campaign rolled along; so much so, that it alarmed his friends for fear of over-confidence. D. K. McRae, writing to Edward Joseph Hale of the Fayetteville *Observer*, said: "Holden and his friends are working slyly, industriously, meanly to carry him through; and we tell you worriedly there is danger of their success, unless the most harmonious and hearty cooperation of all opposed to him can be effected. Governor Vance seems not to be aware of this—he is exuberant in confidence of his own strength, and seems to be more regardful of winning over Holden's friends, than of securing those for himself who differ with him on many points. . . ."<sup>59</sup>

During the campaign the state legislature met for a short two-week session; it was a crucial one for Holden and the "Peace Men." They hoped to set in motion a legislative call for a convention that would take the initiative in making a separate peace with the United States. The group was accused of having as its purpose the goal of taking the state out of the Confederacy, but this it steadfastly denied. The plan was a failure, although resolutions were adopted declaring it the duty of the Confederate government to treat

<sup>57</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, March 3, 1864.

<sup>58</sup> Vance to E. J. Hale. Hale Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>59</sup> D. K. McRae to Hale, April 26, 1864. Hale Papers, State Department of Archives and History.



for peace on the basis of independence. At the same time, Representative James Leach of the Third North Carolina District, probably the most active member of the peace movement next to Holden, introduced a similar set of resolutions into the Confederate Congress. They were not considered, but were immediately tabled. This decision was not in agreement with the wishes of the North Carolina Delegation for all but two voted against tabling the resolutions.<sup>60</sup> In May a plan to induce or require Holden to withdraw from the contest was begun, but he had refused to do so.<sup>61</sup> As late as July 19, Holden was writing in a confident mood: "The intelligence I receive continues to be of the most cheering character. I feel sure of a decided majority in the army. The minds of the people and soldiers are made up, and nothing will change them."<sup>62</sup> But by the closing days of the campaign, it was apparent that there was little hope for a Holden victory.

The election in the army was held on July 28, some two weeks prior to the regular state election, but the results of this first test were indicative of the August election. Vance received a large majority of the army vote, 13,209, out of 15,033 cast. Holden protested vigorously, claiming that fraud, despotism, and intimidation had been used to prevent a free election in the army. Writing to his son-in-law one day after the voting had taken place, but before he knew the final results of the army vote, Holden said:

You have no doubt seen or heard before this letter reaches you of the wonderful excesses of Governor Vance in the Army. My heart sickens at the memory of what occurred yesterday. Never before in the annals of American history did such voting take place. The Provost Guard of this place was marched up and voted under orders, and beneath the supervision of Confederate officials. All Holden men were summarily disposed of, in guarding the bridges in the vicinity and those who did vote have been sent to the Army in many instances. The Hospitals were filled with women who in some instances maligned the soldiers bit-

<sup>60</sup> Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 62-63.

<sup>61</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, May 20, 1864.

<sup>62</sup> Holden to Cowles, July 19, 1864. Holden Personal Papers, State Department of Archives and History.



terly, snatching the tickets from their hands, tearing them up and stamping upon the remnants. They then gave them Vance tickets. The surgeons also browbeat and abused the privates. There was no withstanding such censure. So the Holden men generally refused to vote, and some timid ones were forced to vote the other way. Colonel George Settle of Vance's staff engineered the whole matter. We have the proof. . . . How has the balance of the Army gone? If they have voted freely, we have no fears, if tyranny has been put upon them also, God only knows. . . . It is fraud and despotism. Where are our liberties? . . .<sup>63</sup>

Such charges were not without foundation. Two state soldiers explained their desertion on the grounds that they were not allowed to vote for Holden.<sup>64</sup> General Robert D. Johnston informed Vance that he had once made up his mind not to allow anyone in his command to vote for Holden, but later changed so as to allow oral voting on a free basis. Vance would have been victorious, however, even if there had been no intimidation in the army.<sup>65</sup>

The final vote showed that Vance was re-elected by a vote of 43,579 to 28,982.<sup>66</sup> Holden, although shocked and tremendously hurt, did not press his charges of fraud for he realized that there were no chance for the redress of such grievances. He found consolation only in letters from such friends as Robert Paine Dick of Greensboro, who wrote: "I was so perfectly astonished by the result of the recent election that I have not yet recovered from the shock. I can not account for so universal and so sudden a change in public sentiment. . . ." <sup>67</sup> Holden took his defeat without too much bitterness, but his peace efforts did not stop. By the autumn months the Confederate outlook was gloomy indeed, and Governor Vance expected war to end by 1865. Holden issued an address to the people of the state, declaring himself a

<sup>63</sup> Holden to Cowles, July 29, 1864. Holden Personal Papers, State Department of Archives and History.

<sup>64</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. I, XL, Pt. III, 598.

<sup>65</sup> R. E. Yates, "Governor Vance and the Peace Movement," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVII (April, 1940), 112.

<sup>66</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, August 17, 1864.

<sup>67</sup> Robert P. Dick to Holden, August 20, 1864. Holden Papers, Duke University Library.



friend of the state and Confederacy, although favoring every effort for peace on honorable terms.<sup>68</sup>

Holden's defeat may be charged to three principle reasons: (1) Holden had relied upon the popular cause of the peace movement to elect him, but the popular strength was not nearly so effective as it appeared in newspaper accounts; (2) Vance's administration had won the affection and gratitude of the masses because of his measures to relieve the suffering of the poor throughout the state and to outfit and arm the soldiers; and, (3) the fact that the secret society, The Heroes of America or Red Strings, whose aim was to lead the state back into the Union, reacted unfavorably for Holden.<sup>69</sup>

The exposure of the society of The Heroes of America was particularly destructive to the Holden forces and lost him many, many votes. There had been rumors early in the campaign that Holden was involved in a "Treasonable" organization, but since rumors were common campaign practices little was thought of the society until the Vance supporters published a full account of its activities on July 6, accompanied by a signed confession of the Reverend Orrin Churchill of Caswell County.<sup>70</sup> The society had established branches throughout the state and was ardent in its support of Holden. J. F. Johnson, one of the society members from Forsyth County, went to Washington and initiated President Lincoln, Benjamin S. Hedrick, and others into the state organization. Holden was accused of being not only a member of the society but also in the pay of the North—an accusation which many of the people came to believe because of the effectiveness of the state press against him.<sup>71</sup>

During the fall meeting of the state legislature, the "peace men" continued their efforts for a reconciliation with the Union. The following resolutions were introduced in the Senate by John Pool:

<sup>68</sup> *North Carolina Standard*, August 17, 1864.

<sup>69</sup> Raper, "The Political Career of William Woods Holden with Special Reference to his Provisional Governorship," 47.

<sup>70</sup> Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 63.

<sup>71</sup> Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 63-64, 130-132. For a full account of the society, see J. G. de R. Hamilton, "Heroes of America," *Publications of the Southern Historical Association*, XI (January, 1907), 10-19.



Resolved, That five commissioners be elected by this General Assembly, to act with commissioners from the other states of the Confederacy, as a medium for negotiating a peace with the United States.

Resolved, That each of the other States of the Confederacy be respectfully requested to create a similar commission, with as little delay as practicable and to cooperate with North Carolina in requesting President Davis, in the name of these sovereign states, that he tender to the United States a conference for negotiating a peace through the medium of these commissioners.

Resolved, That the Governor make known to each of the other states of the Confederacy this action of the General Assembly of North Carolina, and endeavor to secure their cooperation.

Resolved, That whenever five of the States shall have responded by the appointment of commissioners, the Governor communicate the proceedings, officially, to President Davis, and request his prompt action upon the proposition.<sup>72</sup>

The resolutions were referred to a committee, which submitted two reports. The majority report favored adoption while the minority opposed. A sharp debate followed on the open floor, but the resolutions were finally beaten down by a close vote of 24 to 20. In the lower house another peace resolution failed to carry. This resolution proposed that President Davis appoint "peace commissioners" to deal directly with President Lincoln. This failed since it was realized that Lincoln could not receive commissioners without recognizing the existence and validity of the Confederacy.

The peace movement was never suppressed in North Carolina, for the central and western sections of the state were filled with deserters in 1865, and the people continued their clamour for peace. There was no abatement in the disloyalty to the Confederacy,<sup>73</sup> although the movement was not organized in a formal sense as it had been earlier. Those behind the movement probably realized that by 1865 formal organization was not necessary, since the defeat of the southern armies would bring about the attainment of their goal—reunion with the United States. Holden, meanwhile, suspended publication of his paper, but did not abandon his work for peace.

<sup>72</sup> *American Annual Cyclopaedia* (1864), 588-590.

<sup>73</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. I, XLVII, 1250-1255.



## THE VICE-ADMIRALTY COURT OF ROYAL NORTH CAROLINA 1729-1759

By CARL W. UBBELOHDE, JR.

Royal government in the Carolinas was perhaps as orderly in arrangement as that of any of the overseas dominions of the Hanoverian monarchs. At the time the provinces were transferred from the Lords Proprietors—South Carolina in 1719 and North Carolina in 1729—the Crown had been administering colonial governments in North America for a century. Some vestiges of John Locke's elaborate "Fundamental Constitutions" lingered, but for the most part the governments of the two colonies were shaped to fit prevailing conceptions of model royal provinces.

The framework for governing colonial North Carolina was hierarchical and orderly. The governor, the council, the general assembly and the common law courts varied but little in pattern from other royal colonies and were, if anything, less cluttered with anomalies. Somewhere in the background, sometimes distinct, but more often lost in the turmoil of a frontier society, was the vice-admiralty court. This court, designed to administer law "maritime and civil," played a dual role in the North Carolina port towns. It was, in one capacity, the arbitrator of all conflicts that concerned the ocean commerce of the province. It was also the agency which heard and determined cases involving infringements of the British Navigation Acts.

Colonial North Carolina never became an important commercial center. Her coastline was too obstructed with dangerous reefs and her inlets were too shallow or full of sandbars to allow her to compete successfully with either Norfolk in Virginia, or Charles Town in South Carolina. Nevertheless, coasting vessels and the larger ships and snows of the West Indian and European trade visited her port towns in ever increasing numbers during the eighteenth century. The five legal entry ports, Currituck, Roanoke, Bath Town, Beaufort,



and Brunswick were part of a maritime world. In their economy of salt-water commerce the vice-admiralty court was as important as the common law courts were to the land speculators and inland farmers.

The records of the vice-admiralty court, although scattered, are sufficient to trace the major activities of the court during the first thirty years of royal government. The story they tell requires some revision of the traditional description of that court. Because the court employed civil rather than common law, because no jurymen were called to judge their peers, the vice-admiralty court has been viewed as the ugly duckling of the provincial legal structure. Charles Lee Raper in his *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government*, asserted that "This court was in fact not a provincial institution. It was at no time under the control of the officers of the province."<sup>1</sup> Nothing could be less true. The vice-admiralty court was as much a local institution, and as much embroiled in domestic politics as were the common law courts. Like the common law courts, its officers were locally appointed, and to a large extent it concerned itself with local problems.

This suggests a second aspect of the colonial vice-admiralty jurisdiction. The bitter quarrel between the officers of the common law courts and the judges of the vice-admiralty courts during the early years of royal North Carolina has been interpreted as a miniature crusade for the "native rights of Englishmen."<sup>2</sup> It is true that the petitions and prohibitions of the time ring with such sentiment. But these accounts usually ignore the local political scene and so ignore reality. When a local politician presided over the vice-admiralty court it was natural for the court to become involved in political scraps. And when the Chief Justice of the colony was a politician in an opposing camp it was inevitable that friction between the two courts should arise.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Lee Raper, *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government* (New York, 1904), 150.

<sup>2</sup> Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, 1943), IV, 256-257.



In 1729, when the Proprietors surrendered the charter of the second of the two Carolinas to the Crown, the vice-admiralty court of North Carolina had been in existence some thirty-two years.<sup>3</sup> On paper its history reached even further into the past. John Locke's "Fundamental Constitutions" of 1669 mentioned an "Admirals' Court . . . to try cases belonging to law-merchant," but it was never established.<sup>4</sup> Maritime cases were tried in the general court until 1697 when, as a part of the general reorganization of the agencies for enforcing the Navigation Acts, vice-admiralty courts were erected in all of the North American colonies. The Lords Proprietors fought the movement which suggested increased royal interference in their granted preserves. In common with the agent of Connecticut and the proprietors of Pennsylvania and the two Jerseys, they protested that ". . . all suits . . . may . . . be brought and prosecuted in the Common Law Courts and yt the erecting Courts of admiralty would have occasioned Salaries and other great and expensive Charges."<sup>5</sup>

The protestation was to no avail. North Carolina was included in the jurisdiction of the governor of Virginia in his commission to establish a vice-admiralty court in June, 1697.<sup>6</sup> Despite the objections of the governor and council of North Carolina the Proprietors could ill afford to risk an outright refusal, and informed the American officers that it would be better ". . . at this time to suffer it, than to give any occasion of a dispute."<sup>7</sup>

In reality, the North Carolina situation was more foreboding for the future than undesirable at the moment. Henderson

<sup>3</sup> The vice-admiralty court of South Carolina was established earlier. In April, 1691, a judge and a register for such a court were appointed by Charles Hedges, judge of the High Court of Admiralty of England. William L. Saunders (ed.), *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1886-90), I, 491.

<sup>4</sup> "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, Drawn Up By John Locke, March 1, 1669," Sec. 41, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 195.

<sup>5</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 471.

<sup>6</sup> "Proceedings of the Councill Concerning the Bounds Between Virginia & North Carolina Anno Dom 1699," May 2, 1699, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 505; Francis Nicholson to Thomas Harvy [sic], May 3, 1699, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 510; Edward Hill to —, March 10, 1697/8 in Microfilm Collection of Early State Records (State Historical Society of Wisconsin), North Carolina, F. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Amy to Thomas Harvey, September 3, 1698, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 491.



Walker was commissioned judge of vice-admiralty, and other officers for a court were appointed by Governor Harvey. This rendered the Virginia governor's commission valueless in North Carolina. Nothing further could be done until Walker died and left the vice-admiralty bench vacant. Governor Harvey informed Governor Archdale of South Carolina "... that there was no vacancy & soe at present [he had] put a stop to that Matter. . . ." <sup>8</sup>

It is possible that no ordinary admiralty case from North Carolina was ever tried in the Virginia court.<sup>9</sup> In 1704 a sloop, *The Pamlico Adventure*, was seized at Pamlico for breaking bulk before entry. A petition from the master of the sloop was forwarded to Robert Daniel, the deputy governor of the province, asking that a court of admiralty be called to try his case.<sup>10</sup> This suggests that either Walker still lived, or that a successor had been named without raising the question of jurisdiction. Records of an appeal from the decree of a vice-admiralty judge to the provincial Court of Delegates in 1712 substantiates this belief.<sup>11</sup> By 1724 the North Carolina Council was assisting the governor in appointing officers for a vice-admiralty court. At a meeting on April 2 of that year the Council noted that Daniel Richardson, late judge of the court of admiralty and attorney general, had died, and commissions were given to Edward Moseley as judge, Thomas Boyd as advocate, and Robert Forster as register of the vice-admiralty court.<sup>12</sup>

Seven men held the office of judge of the North Carolina vice-admiralty court in the thirty years between 1729 and 1759: Edmond Porter, Edmund Gale, John Hodgson, Joseph

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Harvey to John Archdale, July 10, 1698, in J. R. B. Hathaway (ed.), *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, III (January, 1903), 36-37.

<sup>9</sup> Disputes between Virginia and North Carolina officials over admiralty jurisdiction did arise, however, in 1719 when the "Blackbeard" piracy case was moved to a Virginia court. Governor Spotswood to Lord Cartwright, February 14, 1719, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 326; "Council Journals," April 3, 1719, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 329-330; Governor Spotswood to the Lords of Trade, May 26, 1719, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 338-339; Samuel A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1908), I, 200-201.

<sup>10</sup> Microfilm Collection of Early State Records.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Henry Smith, *Appeals to the Privy Council from the American Plantations* (New York, 1950), 196.

<sup>12</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 520.



Anderson, Francis Corbin, Henry McCulloch, and William Ross. With the exception of Henry McCulloch they were all appointed by the governor and council. The procedure was, in theory, that the governor and council could fill vacancies when they occurred, but the appointments were subject to review by the High Court of Admiralty of England. In 1743 Joseph Anderson suggested to the register of the High Court that since the governor had appointed him judge he would be pleased to have a commission from the English court.<sup>13</sup> This practice of applying to the English court evidently vanished, for in 1767 Governor William Tryon wrote that the court consisted of a judge "... appointed by the Governor, a Register and a Marshal appointed by the Judge, and all hold [office] during pleasure."<sup>14</sup>

The vice-admiralty judges appointed surrogate, or deputy, judges for the distant ports. During the early years when governmental activities centered in the Roanoke-Edenton district, the court was held at the courthouse in Edenton. As time passed, and the Cape Fear region developed and surpassed the older district, surrogate judges sat at Wilmington. When the government moved to New Bern the major activities of the court moved with it, and surrogates were then appointed for the northern districts.<sup>15</sup>

The officers of the court were paid only by fees which were established by the General Assembly. Unlike the common law courts the vice-admiralty court did not sit according to scheduled terms, but was called whenever cases arose. These were few. Records of only sixty cases are extant for the thirty years from 1729 to 1759. Joseph Anderson in 1743 claimed that the judgeship was a "place . . . not worth soliciting for."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Anderson to Samuel Hull, November 1, 1743, in Microfilm Collection of Early State Records. Henry McCulloch's commission, dated December 6, 1754, from the High Court of Admiralty of England is printed in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 617-621.

<sup>14</sup> William Tryon, "A View of the Polity of the Province of North Carolina in the Year 1767," Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 482-483.

<sup>15</sup> For a surrogate's commission, see that of William Ross to Jasper Charlton, May 27, 1757, for the ports of Roanoke, Currituck, and Bath Town, in Microfilm Collection of Early State Records.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph Anderson to Samuel Hull, November 1, 1743, in Microfilm Collection of Early State Records.



However, the office of judge had certain advantages. For one thing, it was possible for the judge to obtain desirable commodities from the sale of confiscated goods. Joseph Anderson, in directing his surrogate at New Bern to settle his expenses for a trip to New Bern from Edenton and back to try the prize case of the schooner *Harra My Juda* in 1748-49, claimed his expenses as 180 pound bills. But he told his deputy, who was to be present at the sale, that he would prefer "... linnen for myself Mrs. Anderson and Children . . . [or] any sheeting Linnen . . . [to money] unless it be Cash."<sup>17</sup> It is not uncommon to find that the judge purchased the major part of the forfeitures at the public auctions held to dispose of condemned goods.

The other officers of the court were of much less importance and were often deputed on the spot for single cases. James Craven held the office of register for many years, but other men often acted as his deputy. The office of marshal was also exercised by a variety of individuals. The marshal's duties were sometimes hazardous, but more often consisted of routine serving of summonses and citations, posting notices for trials, and conducting sales of condemned ships and goods.

The advocate of the court, when one was in residence, prosecuted cases for the Crown. Often the attorney general of the province was commissioned as advocate. Lawyers practising in the province served as proctors, that is, trial lawyers, for the parties bringing or defending causes. As late as 1743 the dearth of such professional men in the colony caused Judge Anderson to apologize for the form in which records were drawn. When the decree against the ship *Success* was appealed to the High Court of Admiralty of England he wrote that

... when it comes to be considered how few we have here that understand the forms and practice of Civil Law Courts the want thereof will the more readily be past over & excused; I must confess had the proceedings been taken before myself I would have endeavoured to have sent them in a much more

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<sup>17</sup> Joseph Anderson to Dr. Samuel Saban Plommer, October 26, 1748, in Microfilm Collection of Early State Records.



regular manner and in a better dress; the port where this Seizure was made is upwards of 200 miles distant from this place [Edenton] where I reside and where all the Kings Ordinary Courts of Justice are held.<sup>18</sup>

Apologies like Anderson's were seldom necessary for the Carolina court had little contact with the High Court of Admiralty in England. After the governors had established their power to name the vice-admiralty judges, cases of appeal formed the only tie between the two courts. The procedure of appeal was simple. The local judge determined what causes could be appealed to the High Court. After receiving security from the appellants, the judge forwarded the documents of the case to the English court. That tribunal, in turn, commanded the local court to halt all action on the case until it had been tried in England. When this had been done, and a decree issued on the appeal, the local court was directed to carry out the provisions of that decree. In prize cases the appeal went to the Commissioners of Prizes in England rather than to the High Court of Admiralty.

The local court attempted, whenever possible, to adjust matters to meet the convenience of persons involved in litigation. In 1755 Robert McCordy, the master of the sloop *Ranger* of Boston, wrecked his vessel at Corebanks. At his request Judge Henry McCulloch condemned the sloop and ordered a public sale so that McCordy could take the proceeds to the owners in Boston. McCulloch first ordered the sale at Edenton, but the captain of the *Ranger* successfully petitioned him to allow the auction to take place near Corebanks to save the expense of moving the sloop to Edenton.<sup>19</sup>

In 1755 Peter Payne, the collector of Port Roanoke, died shortly after libelling the sloop *Nelly* for illegal importation of foreign rum. Judge Francis Corbin allowed the owners of the sloop to enter into a bond and promise to abide by the decree of the court when it was possible to proceed in the case. In this way the owners secured the release of their vessel and were able to conduct their business during the three

<sup>18</sup> Joseph Anderson to Samuel Hull, November 1, 1743, in Microfilm Collection of Early State Records.

<sup>19</sup> Microfilm Collection of Early State Records.



years which ensued before Surrogate Jasper Charlton acquitted the vessel.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, in 1747, Samuel Scollary gave 24 pounds sterling as security when his pettiauger was seized by John Hull, the collector of Roanoke. The trial was postponed three months to allow time for evidence to be brought into the colony, and during this time Scollary had the use of his small vessel.<sup>21</sup>

The sixty cases for which evidence has been found concerning North Carolina in the years 1729-1759 fall naturally into three categories. The most numerous, twenty-three in number, were prosecutions for violations of the Navigation Acts. This percentage was much higher than in most of the other North American provinces.<sup>22</sup> The second most numerous, were cases that might be termed ordinary mercantile cases. Under this category should be listed eleven cases of seamen's wages, five involving wrecked and salvaged ships, a case involving charges of a pilot, and a request for an appraisement of a vessel. The third category, much smaller in number than the other two, was that of prize causes. In the years under consideration, these totalled only six. Finally, there were eight recovery cases brought in the year 1730 during the Burrington-Everard struggle.

Thus the work of the court in these years was about evenly divided between what might be called "imperial" cases involving violations of the Navigation Acts, and "domestic" cases concerning local maritime problems. It would, from this evidence, be quite incorrect to term the court a royal institution that never played a part in domestic provincial affairs.

The most turbulent years of the North Carolina vice-admiralty court were those from the time of Edmond Porter's commission as judge in 1728 until his discharge from office in 1732. During this time the court often formed the scene for the struggle which was being waged between two factions for control of the province. Sir Richard Everard replaced George Burrington as governor of the province in

<sup>20</sup> Microfilm Collection of Early State Records. The rum was condemned.

<sup>21</sup> Microfilm Collection of Early State Records.

<sup>22</sup> Andrews, *Colonial Period of American History*, IV, 241.



1725. The replacement was not at the request of Burrington, and once out of office he used every available means to regain his position.

When the Crown took over the province in 1729 it decided to continue all officials in office, but before the year was over, largely because of his good relations with the Duke of Newcastle, Burrington was assured of again becoming governor of North Carolina.<sup>23</sup> The struggle for power that ensued between Everard and Burrington aligned the political figures of the colony into two camps. Judge Porter was no exception. His relations with Everard, at times, had been friendly, but perhaps foreseeing the future, he attempted to keep from alienating Burrington. While Burrington was in England, Everard used the vice-admiralty court in an attempt to ruin his enemies by bringing informations and libels for the recovery of money from earlier condemnations. Evidence of eight recovery cases from the year 1730 has survived. Five of these cases were between the governor and John Lovick, four for the recovery of the king's third from condemnations of ships and goods, and one for the recovery of the king's tenth from whale oil and bone. The other three cases dealt with whale oil recoveries, one each against William Smith, William Little, and David O'Sheal.<sup>24</sup>

At this time Judge Porter was willing to allow Everard the use of his court in the political battle. His support of the governor, however, soon ceased. When accusations of disloyalty to the Hanoverians were publicly levelled against Everard his followers quickly dropped away. Within a few months Burrington had secured the governorship. At first Porter was on friendly terms with the reinstated governor. He was among those listed in Burrington's instructions as a member of the Council.<sup>25</sup> The honeymoon was unfortunately short. Burrington's personality and his handling of such explosive provincial problems as the disposition of lands, fee

<sup>23</sup> Marshall DeLancey Haywood, "Burrington, George," *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, (1929), 327-328.

<sup>24</sup> "Council Journals," March 4, 1731, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 214; Microfilm Collection of Early State Records.

<sup>25</sup> "Instruction For Our Trusty and Welbeloved George Burrington Esq'," Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 91; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 508-509.



rates, rent rolls and currency exchange resulted in antagonizing Porter and most of the members of his council. Within three months of his taking office he was also in open collision with the chief justice, the attorney general, the secretary of the province, and the lower house of the legislature.<sup>26</sup>

Porter's conduct of his court was unhappily not without blemish. He had earlier incurred the wrath of some of the men who now supported the governor by hearing cases which without any doubt lay outside the jurisdiction of his court. In 1728 even Everard had complained of Porter's summary proceedings in the case of *James Trotter v. Samuel Northey*. Judge Porter allowed Trotter, who was an innkeeper, to libel Northey for a bill he had run up at the tavern. Although the debt was contracted on land, Northey was master of a vessel and for this reason alone the case was admitted in the vice-admiralty court. Northey promptly appealed to the chief justice, Christopher Gale, for a prohibition to halt the admiralty proceedings. Porter disregarded the common law court order, and jailed Northey for not paying the bill and the costs of the trial, which Northey claimed to have been fifteen times the tavern score. Northey then appealed to Governor Everard who released him and transmitted the records of the case to England with the comment that he was confident that the Board of Trade would have "... a very tender regard for the preservation of the Com: Laws and the rights and libertys of the subject and the Englishman's Privileges of Juries."<sup>27</sup>

Burrington set out to check this jurisdictional imperialism by personally taking part in the management of the vice-admiralty court. He attended trials held by Porter and on one occasion called the judge's attention to the fact that the court

<sup>26</sup> Raper, *North Carolina*, 41-42; Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I, 225-226, 233-234.

<sup>27</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 757-762, 817. From this case, Porter earned the title, "abominable extortioner," and an uncomplimentary comparison with Judge Jeffries by nineteenth century historians. See Hugh Williamson, *The History of North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1812), II, 31; and Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* (Fayetteville, 1859), II, 206.



was to meet only when he agreed to allow it. Within a short time the two men had quarreled openly.<sup>28</sup>

Charles M. Andrews analysed this struggle as "between the two jurisdictions [civil and common law], during which the relations between the vice-admiralty court and the Governor and Chief Justice became . . . strained. . . ." <sup>29</sup> But this explanation takes no account of the personal struggle for power which Burrington was waging; nor does it indicate that the vice-admiralty judge was also an uncooperative member of the governor's council. As for the chief justice, he had little to lose by enhancing the power of his court at the expense of the vice-admiralty jurisdiction.

Probably the basic cause for the antagonism lay in the continuing quarrel over the disposition of lands in the province. Porter was exposing Burrington's methods of land grabbing which he later claimed saved the Crown from losing a half-million acres of North Carolina real estate. By his opposition to "filling up old obsolete blank warrants" he alienated himself from his seat at the council table.<sup>30</sup> In turn, Burrington capitalized on Porter's unpopular activities as admiralty judge to force him from the council. On January 7, 1731, at the hour when Porter planned to try a case at the courthouse in Edenton, a group of Burrington's men moved into the room, set up a mock judge in the chair, and held a gay revel with dancing and drinking. Porter, fearing for his life, fled the place.<sup>31</sup>

In May William Little introduced to the council a long paper containing a series of articles of complaints against Porter's handling of his admiralty business. Here was recited in words ringing with praise for the common law courts a sordid story labelled the record of Porter's misconduct of the

<sup>28</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 509-510.

<sup>29</sup> Andrews, *Colonial Period of American History*, IV, 256.

<sup>30</sup> Edmond Porter to Alured Popple, August 15, 1733, abstract in *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series: America and West Indies (1733)* (London, 1939), 161; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 7.

<sup>31</sup> "Narrative upon Oath of Edmond Porter Esq<sup>r</sup> relating to his Complaints against Captain Burrington . . .," Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 508, 511-513; George Burrington to the Duke of Newcastle, July 2, 1731, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 148; Microfilm Collection of Early State Records.



court as it appeared to his political enemies.<sup>32</sup> The council did not act upon these complaints until January, 1732. On the twentieth of that month it suspended Porter from the bench and instituted proceedings to remove him from its own ranks. This was done the following day.<sup>33</sup> The governor and council then appointed Edmund Gale, a councilor of their camp, to the judgeship. In 1736, after Gabriel Johnston had replaced Burrington as governor, Porter regained his position as vice-admiralty judge. He acted then only three years and upon his death John Hodgson was given the position by Johnston and his council.<sup>34</sup>

After Porter's death the vice-admiralty court never again became a subject for political attack. In the early year of the colony the lack of men qualified by training to hold many of the provincial offices made it necessary for some men to hold several positions. Thus both Edmond Porter and Edmund Gale sat on the governor's council. John Hodgson, Porter's successor, was an influential member of the General Assembly and had been its speaker in 1729. As time passed and more lawyers came to reside in the province, multiple office-holding became less common. After 1749 only Henry McCulloch held additional offices during his tenure as vice-admiralty judge, and his term as judge of the court was short. It is not only coincidence that the stormy days of the vice-admiralty court were those in which the principal officer also held other important governmental posts. Not only were there few protests against the court, but there were almost no appeals for the rights of jury trial or "native rights of Englishmen." When the vice-admiralty judge no longer sat on the council, or otherwise engaged in political activities, quietness bordering on obscurity settled around the North Carolina court.

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<sup>32</sup> "Council Journals," May 12, 1731, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 224-232.

<sup>33</sup> "Council Journals," January 19, 20, 21, 1732, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 404, 406-411; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 330.

<sup>34</sup> "Council Journals," January 22, 1732 in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 414; "Council Journals," October 14, 1736, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 223-224; "Council Journals," March 6, 1739, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 345.



# LISTEN TO THE EAGLE SCREAM: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE FOURTH OF JULY IN NORTH CAROLINA (1776-1876)

FLETCHER M. GREEN

[*Concluded*]

## PART II

Let us revert to the profound influence that the expansion of political democracy, the development of party machinery, the direct election of public officials, and the widespread participation in politics by the people, which ushered in Jacksonian Democracy, had on the celebration of the Fourth of July. More people participated in the activities of the day, and the ceremonies took on greater political significance. The people began to express their preference for candidates and their views on public issues in their voluntary toasts, and even the regular toasts began to have a direct partisan flavor.

Strangely enough North Carolinians did not display much interest in the institution of slavery. At least only three toasts were discovered that bore on the subject *per se*. One expressed the hope that the Colonization Society's "endeavors to establish a colony of Free Blacks in Africa would be crowned with success."<sup>68</sup> An extreme proslavery man of Salisbury toasted "William Lowndes of South Carolina: the able assertor of the rights of the Southern States" in his opposition to the restriction of slavery in Missouri.<sup>69</sup> And in 1825 a bold antislavery man proposed "Freedom to the slave."<sup>70</sup>

But politics was a different matter. Everyone seemed to want to express his views here. Hoping to secure greater influence of the people in the nomination of candidates one western North Carolinian proposed that "The tomb of King

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<sup>68</sup> Raleigh Star, July 7, 1820.

<sup>69</sup> Salisbury Western Carolinian, July 18, 1820.

<sup>70</sup> Charlotte Catawba Journal, July 12, 1825.



Caucus . . . forever remain hidden, like that of Moses, lest the followers thereof might there worship instead of going to the holy temple of American Liberty.”<sup>71</sup> In presidential election years great interest was displayed in the candidates. Andrew Jackson was most popular but John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and even Martin Van Buren were also toasted. One person who evidently looked upon the followers of Jackson as poor, filthy Democrats expressed the hope that Jackson’s friends might “always possess health of body, peace of mind, a clean shirt, and a sixpence.” Another offered a toast to Jackson that some people in 1952 would have thought appropriate for one of the candidates. It was as follows: “Americans in the choice of your Presidents, beware of military chieftains, and let the usurpations of Caesar, Cromwell, and Napoleon be ever fresh in your memory.”<sup>72</sup> One, who recognized Jackson’s services on the field of battle but feared his statesmanship, declared that the people of “the United States owe [General Jackson] a debt of gratitude, but God forbid that the debt should be paid by placing him at the head of the Nation.”<sup>73</sup> At a Fourth celebration in Tarboro in 1832 there were six toasts for Jackson, two for Van Buren, and two for Clay and one against him.<sup>74</sup> A double barrelled toast proposed at Carthage reads as follows: “May the friends of General Jackson be as millions and the enemies of Henry Clay as ten millions.”<sup>75</sup> At the same meeting Clay was toasted as “the Champion of the West and Polar Star of the Senate.” Samuel Barringer summed up the attitude of the anti-Jackson North Carolinians in 1837 when he drank to “The honest and deluded people of the American Republic,” and called upon “the great and good Ruler of the Universe [to] send a safe and speedy deliverance from the late and present humbugging and expunging administration.”<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Salisbury *Western Carolinian*, July 13, 1824.

<sup>72</sup> Salisbury *Western Carolinian*, July 13, 1824.

<sup>73</sup> Tarboro *Free Press*, July 25, 1828.

<sup>74</sup> Tarboro *Free Press*, July 10, 1832.

<sup>75</sup> Fayetteville *Journal*, July 18, 1832.

<sup>76</sup> Salisbury *Carolina Watchman*, July 15, 1837.



The Whigs of the Tippecanoe Club of Salisbury really took over the Fourth in 1840. In obedience to its call the most immense crowd of people that had ever been congregated in North Carolina, assembled in Salisbury, "*Twelve Thousand* is the number officially reported by . . . the Grand Marshall of the Day." These people came from Guilford, Iredell, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg, Lincoln, Stokes, Davidson, Davie, and Rowan counties. A procession formed at the race ground and marched in platoons of eight to Factory Grove one and one-half miles distant. "Banners waved: Trumpets sounded: The cannon spoke forth—musketry responded—Ladies waved their white handkerchiefs from the windows." In the parade was a log cabin drawn by six white horses. A barrel, marked "Hard Cider," was lashed behind. The toasts, the oration, the speeches were distinctly partisan all for "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" and none for "Van! Van! the used up man." Only the reading of the Declaration of Independence reminded the participants that it was really Independence Day. The celebration continued until midnight when "all was hushed. It was now the Sabbath."<sup>77</sup>

North Carolinians also played state politics at their Fourth of July celebrations. James S. White of Concord toasted his "Representative in Congress—H. W. Connor—A Tree without fruit. But where little is given, little is required! All we ask of him is never to be a candidate again."<sup>78</sup> Another voter at a Fourth celebration expressed the hope "That our Representative in Congress stay at home next session and feed his father's cattle for the Charleston market."<sup>79</sup>

But North Carolinians displayed greater interest in national problems during the Jacksonian period than in congressional and presidential candidates, if the number of voluntary toasts they offered is a true indication. It should be remembered, however, that issues were closely related to President Jackson's administration. Burton Craige of Salisbury castigated "The self-styled American System: By Corruption

<sup>77</sup> Salisbury *Carolina Watchman*, July 10, 1840.

<sup>78</sup> Salisbury *Carolina Watchman*, July 15, 1837.

<sup>79</sup> Charlotte *Catawba Journal*, July 17, 1827.



it was begotten, by *Corruption* it has been nursed, it is itself *Corruption*. The Father, the Nurse, and the Offspring must and will be buried in the same grave, dug by an incorruptible people."<sup>80</sup> Another paid his compliments to the Woolen's bill by saying, "We, the people, are not gulled by the sophistry of Philadelphia meetings nor [will we be] fleeced by Boston monopolists."<sup>81</sup> A native of Orange County hoped that "Agriculture and Commerce—moral supporters of a free republic . . . [would] never be sacrificed at the shrine of manufacturers."<sup>82</sup> Many preached the good old doctrine of hard work as the way out of economic depressions. As one put it, "Better Times! To bring about which let every man exert himself to promote industry, economy, and good morals."<sup>83</sup> There was little or no support for protective tariffs among North Carolinians during the Middle Period.

There was general support for federal aid to internal improvements as expressed in the Raleigh toast "May success attend every practical scheme which has been formed for opening water communications and roads in the interior of the Country."<sup>84</sup> But when President Jackson vetoed the Maysville Road bill majority opinion seemed to support a Tarboro toast that the veto was "a sure guarantee that under his administration the Federal Union will be preserved."<sup>85</sup>

North Carolina public opinion was divided as respects the controversy between state rights and unionism over nullification, but unionism was by far the stronger. Of the thirty toasts at one Fourth celebration twenty-one favored unionism and only two favored state rights. Representative of state rights is the following: "The Sovereignty of the States. . . . The powers of Congress being only delegated, are of necessity subordinated and not sovereign powers."<sup>86</sup> Union sentiment was much more strongly expressed. "Nullification," cried one, is "the child of South Carolina, may it

<sup>80</sup> Salisbury *Western Carolinian*, July 11, 1831.

<sup>81</sup> Charlotte *Catawba Journal*, July 17, 1827.

<sup>82</sup> Hillsboro *Recorder*, July 10, 1822.

<sup>83</sup> Raleigh *Minerva*, July 7, 1820.

<sup>84</sup> Raleigh *Star*, July 7, 1820.

<sup>85</sup> Tarboro *Free Press*, July 9, 1830.

<sup>86</sup> Tarboro *Free Press*, July 9, 1830.



wither and blast on the soil of its birth."<sup>87</sup> An extreme Unionist indeed must have penned the following: "Our Country and the Union of States;—Palsy to the brain, and leprosy to the hand of those that would attempt a separation."<sup>88</sup>

There were only a few toasts on the Bank issue and those were divided. At Stantonsburg a bank supporter proposed, "The United States Bank—may it be rechartered, after every species of opposition from the President and his adherents." An opponent responded, "The United States Bank—may it sink into oblivion." Another, associating the bank fight with the preservation of the Union, declared, "Gen. Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, the profound jurist and able statesman—may his collision with the Bank and Senate, like all his martial efforts, prove successful; and his bold declaration ever remembered 'The Union must and shall be preserved.'"<sup>89</sup>

In the 1840's and 1850's the chief political concern of North Carolinians, as of the people of the nation at large, revolved around the related issues of the Mexican War, slavery in the territories, and the threat to the Union. Judging by the tenor of the voluntary toasts given at the Fourth, North Carolinians were overwhelmingly pro-union in sentiment; certainly they spoke out openly against secession and in favor of the Union. Year after year at their Fourth of July celebrations they toasted the Union and its perpetuity. In 1844 a Raleigh meeting cheered the sentiment, "*The Union*, May it indure forever." And an orator fervently exclaimed, "May God avert so horrible a calamity as the destruction of the Union of these states. Nothing can justify it."<sup>90</sup> The next year Wilkesboro citizens drank to "The Union of the States—As one, they are great and growing, free and happy, abhorred be the plotter of disunion."<sup>91</sup> At Gold Hill a toast officially approved declared, "The Union of the States—May the arm be palsied that would strike a blow to disunite them."<sup>92</sup> When the threat

<sup>87</sup> Fayetteville *Journal*, July 18, 1832.

<sup>88</sup> Charlotte *Catawba Journal*, July 15, 1828.

<sup>89</sup> Tarboro *Free Press*, July 11, 1834.

<sup>90</sup> Raleigh *Standard*, July 10, 1844.

<sup>91</sup> Salisbury *Carolina Watchman*, July 26, 1845.

<sup>92</sup> Salisbury *Carolina Watchman*, July 17, 1846.



of secession had been averted by the Compromise of 1850 a Fourth of July crowd cheered vigorously and enthusiastically the regular toast, "The Compromise of the Slavery question—Conceived in the spirit which led to our Unnion [sic], it will secure peace and concord to the family of States."<sup>93</sup> The same crowd cheered ten voluntary toasts to the Union, of which the following is typical. "The Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

But North Carolinians were by the mid 1850's beginning to fear that disunion would come. The editor of the *Raleigh Standard*, commenting on the spirited celebration of July 4, 1854, said: "We sincerely trust that next Independence Day may bring along with it less of fanaticism and disunion, and more of the spirit of justice and patriotism among portions of our fellow-citizens of the non-slaveholding States." In 1856, however, the same editor declared: "We think we may safely say that the celebration of Friday last was the most animated and extensive one that ever took place in Raleigh, to commemorate our National Independence; and one that was more generously participated in and enjoyed than any of late years. . . . Nor do we think that a fear for the Union—a dread of the abandonment of the principles of the Constitution—or a suspicion of the abnegation of the truths of the Declaration of Independence, contributed in any degree to arouse the patriotic emotions of our people. It seemed to be a congregation of freemen for freedom's sake . . . an outpouring of joy and thanksgiving for the blessings and privileges inaugurated on the 4th of July 1776."<sup>94</sup>

As events moved into secession and war the attitude of southerners toward the Fourth underwent a slow but subtle change. Several towns in North Carolina—Hillsboro, Tarboro, and Wilmington—failed to make plans for, or to hold, formal exercises in 1859 and 1860. An editorial in the *Raleigh Standard*, July 5, 1861, on "The 4th of July" said, "This revered day passed off with but little notice in the South. Here

<sup>93</sup> Staunton (Va.) *Spectator*, July 10, 1850.

<sup>94</sup> *Raleigh Standard*, July 8, 1854; July 9, 1856.



[in Raleigh] no public demonstration was had whatever." Such celebrations as were held consisted of military parades, prayers, and the reading of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence and the National Declaration of Independence. The crowds were more serious than theretofore, and totally lacking in hilarity and the festive spirit. The people of Watauga held "a serious meeting on July 4, 1861." Some 650 people gathered to watch the home guard drill for two hours, to listen to an oration on "The Impending Crisis," and to cheer long and loudly the following poem:

For forty years now past and gone,  
We bore the tyrants rod;  
We wanted nothing but our own,  
Nor thirsted for their blood.  
We strove for peace in every way,  
Because we thought it right;  
But since that peaceful day is gone,  
We're now resolved to fight.<sup>95</sup>

When the Civil War actually began southerners debated whether July Fourth should be "recognized and observed by the people of the Confederate States." The editor of the *Wilmington Journal* summarized the argument about as follows. Some contend that southerners took as large, if not a larger, part as northerners in proclaiming and winning independence; hence the South is as "much entitled as the North can be, to retain the day as an anniversary in her political calendar." Since the South has "as much right to the honors and glories of the first revolution as the North she is obligated to assert the right . . . to . . . share in *that* as much as any other portion of the common heritage, and should therefore . . . adhere to the 4th as a demonstration of our intention to assert all the historical prestige that attaches to the Southern portion of the first revolution."

Those who opposed the continued celebration of the Fourth took the position that that day "belongs to the history of a union which no longer exists." Since the States comprising the Congress which declared independence in 1776 were at

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<sup>95</sup> Raleigh *State Journal*, July 24, 1861.



war and now constitute two nations they could not meet together to celebrate the day. Hence an "observance would be only a form without vitality." Indeed the Declaration had now become a part of past history and, "like the English *magna charta* . . . laid down principles in which the whole world has a deep interest." The South, therefore, was not called upon to celebrate its observance in any peculiar way.<sup>96</sup>

The editor of the *Journal* thought the best plan would be to stop all public celebrations for the duration of the war. "When Peace comes once again these things will regulate themselves." The editor of the *Raleigh Register* saw the matter in a different light. He could see "no reason why the birth of Liberty should be permitted to pass unheeded wherever Liberty has votaries. . . . The conduct of the North in trampling the principles of 1776 under foot and throwing ashes on the memory of its forefathers is no sufficient reason [said he] for a failure by the South to recognize and celebrate the Fourth of July as the anniversary of the most glorious human event in the history of mankind. . . .

The accursed Yankees are welcome to the exclusive use of their 'Doodle' but let the South hold on tenaciously to Washington's March and Washington's Principles and on every recurring anniversary of the promulgation of the Declaration, reassert the great principles of Liberty."<sup>97</sup>

The view of the Wilmington editor rather than that of the Raleigh journalist was followed. Southern towns ceased to celebrate the Fourth other than to fire a salute of eleven instead of thirteen guns and to close their stores. There were no parades, no dinners, toasts, orations, or fireworks. One soldier in camp showed his disdain for the day by entering in his war diary: "July 4th. This day being the anniversary of the Independence of the celebrated United States, I made my first attempt at washing my own clothes."<sup>98</sup>

Conditions after the War were not conducive to the renewal of the celebration of Independence Day by southern

<sup>96</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, June 27, 1861.

<sup>97</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 3, 1861.

<sup>98</sup> A. F. Drake, *Civil War Diary*. Manuscript in the possession of W. Magruder Drake, Chapel Hill, N. C.



whites. Newspaper editors, however, discussed the day and aired southern reactions. In 1866 the editor of the *Wilmington Daily Journal* in a long editorial, titled "The Fourth of July," analyzed the southern position. He declared that no people ever took an oath of allegiance "in better faith and with nobler intentions" than southerners took the oath required of them in 1865, and "Today the South would have been glad to have united with the North in honest and grateful rejoicings of this national holiday." But they were not permitted to do so. Instead, said he, "Their cheerful concessions were responded to by renewed exactions, evincing by degrees a determined purpose to degrade them." Southern leaders whose deeds "illustrated the mighty power of true patriotism . . . must be denounced by their own people as traitors, or, dead, their memories must be dishonored and their blood despised."

The war, said the editor, had been over for more than a year but on the Fourth "thousands of *loyal* tongues" in the North "will utter execrations against England's tyrant, as their chosen readers, with faultless articulation, read from the Declaration of Independence, that immortal document of our old *rebel* forefathers, how swarms of officers have been sent to harass the people and eat out their substance; how standing armies in times of peace, have been kept among them without their consent; how they have been subjected to a jurisdiction foreign to the constitution and unacknowledged by their laws; how taxes have been imposed without their consent; how they have been, in many cases, deprived of the benefits of trial by jury; how their charters have been taken away and their most valuable laws abolished; how the civil government has been made subservient to the military; how their seacoasts have been ravaged, their towns burnt, and the lives of their people destroyed; how domestic insurrection has been excited among them; and how their petitions for redress, in the most humble terms, have been answered by repeated injury."

And, continued the editor, "Throughout the length and breadth of the prosperous North, will countless multitudes, . . . blinded by the completeness of their success, respond with



fanatical zeal to each separate count in the terrible bill of indictment, and denounce as disloyal and traitorous, those who might suggest that the substitution of 'the present Congress' for 'the present King of Great Britain' in that remarkable paper, would be but 'submitting facts to a candid world.'"

Knowing all these things, the editor concluded, the southern people, "whose self-respect has not perished with defeat," cannot welcome "the Fourth of July with senseless uproar and pretended rejoicing. They know and appreciate all that is implied in the due observance of this day. . . ." They will do all that duty requires in order to be permitted to join with those of the North "as worshippers of Constitutional liberty," but they cannot and will not sacrifice their honor. "To-day, then, should be passed by our people in dignified silence. Rejoicings will be but the shallow pretences of cowardly natures; complaints are the welcomed echos of radical hate."<sup>99</sup>

North Carolinians agreed with the editor. The observance of the Fourth "was indeed a quiet one." Except for "the usual excitement shown by the freedmen on all holidays, no exhibition of feelings was given vent to by the people of Wilmington. Even the merchants kept their places of business open. There was no jubilee, no expression of joy, no national activities, which could not be expected of a people who have no cause for rejoicing, apart from the present nationality, and who are yet excluded from a place in the Councils of the nation. . . ."<sup>100</sup> Similar neglect of the day was reported in most towns of the state. A Salisbury paper laconically reported, "The Fourth of July—Proclamation of General Amnesty" by President Johnson.<sup>101</sup> In Raleigh B. E. Moore delivered an oration to the freedmen in which he said it "would be inappropriate" for him "to deal harshly with Great Britain" before the assembled freedmen because "that great country emancipated all her slaves thirty years ago."<sup>102</sup>

Some southern cities, however, did observe the day in 1866.

<sup>99</sup> *Wilmington Daily Journal*, July 6, 1866.

<sup>100</sup> *Wilmington Daily Journal*, July 6, 1866.

<sup>101</sup> *Salisbury Watchman and Old North State*, July 4, 1866.

<sup>102</sup> *Raleigh Standard*, July 11, 1866.



In Nashville, Tennessee, there were parties, picnics, and excursions of all kinds. The Radicals invited everybody to their celebration "without distinction to race or color." But the "Yankees and Freedmen . . . didn't harmonize very well [and] some four or five of each . . . were killed." Parson William G. Brownlow and Judge Leonidas C. Houk both delivered orations. The latter declared, "There are but two parties in the United States—the patriots (or radicals if you will call us so) and the traitors or rebels, and Andy Johnson is the leader, abettor, and supporter of the latter." An ex-Confederate officer who was present on the occasion said: "all the late Confederates" attended the celebration, but "We didn't observe the day because we have any peculiar love or respect for it but because the undying, the never to be forgotten, Yankees said we wouldn't."<sup>103</sup>

The Negroes, northern Radicals, and native white Unionists—all those affiliated with the Republican party—of North Carolina celebrated the Fourth in 1867. But few Conservatives or Democrats joined in. In fact it would not be far from the truth to say the celebrations were Republican rallies. The Democratic press commented adversely on them. The *Charlotte Times*, after dwelling ironically on the rebel spirit of the authors of the Declaration of Independence, said; "This parchment roll still stands, a monument to the memory of its author and signers, and in direct contravention to the acts and doings of the mighty men who now bear sway." The *Raleigh Sentinel* said: "The advent of the anniversary is hailed rather with feelings of sadness than with peans of joy. The Declaration still lives, but its vital ideas are vanquished." And the *Wilmington Journal* expressed the view that "it would have been pleased if General Sickles should have ordered a reading, by his officers, soldiery and subjects, of the Declaration of Independence. There are some wholesome lessons taught in that document, by which the commander himself might profit."<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> James Horace Wilkes to Elizabeth Wilson, July 5, 1866. Letter in possession of Edward M. Steel, Jr., Gaffney, S. C.

<sup>104</sup> *Raleigh Standard*, July 10, 1867; *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 8, 1867.



In the early 1870's the celebrations were again following the general pattern of pre-Civil War days. Cannon were fired, the Declaration of Independence was read, and there were processions, prayers, martial music, and orations. But dinners, toasts, and evening balls were lacking.<sup>105</sup> More and more, however, the participation in the exercises was limited to Negroes.<sup>106</sup> The editor of the Hillsboro *Recorder* pretty well summed up the attitude of southern and North Carolina whites toward the Fourth in the centennial year in two editorials. In the one he said: "The whites of the South have no interest in this day. The suggestions of the freedoms fought for and won by a whole people's united efforts have no charms for those who feel themselves conquered, and, in many parts of the South, still subject to a conqueror's capricious rule.

The day may come, but is not now, when it can again be a nation's holiday."

In the second editorial, titled "The Hundredth Year of Nationality," the editor declared that the nation's prosperity had been "secured at the expense of constitutional principles." The nation "is now undoubtedly weakened in those fraternal bonds which once made the hearts of its whole people beat as one. . . . Theoretically one and indivisible, a portion of it is still sought to be governed as conquered territory, and the fires of hate are still fanned to consume it. Therefore the Southern people now look upon the fourth of July with halting interest and doubting patriotism, because it recalls the gaining of an independence they cannot exert and a perfect Union they cannot enjoy.

. . . As the Centennial of the birth of a free people, it is accompanied with so much contrast and contradiction of the family of States that we wait developments before we can accept it as the real time and the field for thorough conciliation and fraternization."<sup>107</sup>

Feeling as they did southerners abandoned any pretense of celebrating the birthday of the nation. Furthermore the

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<sup>105</sup> Raleigh *Standard*, July 7, 1869.

<sup>106</sup> Wilmington *Daily Journal*, July 5, 1867; Hillsboro *Recorder*, July 8, 1874; July 7, 1875.

<sup>107</sup> Hillsboro *Recorder*, July 8, 1874; July 5, 1876.



Civil War changed the attitude of the North toward the day. The preservation of the Union, the triumph of nationalism, and the death of state sovereignty brought a new sentimental reverence for the Constitution. The abolition of slavery by constitutional amendment also placed righteousness on the side of the Constitution. Hence, more and more, the nation shifted emphasis from the Declaration of Independence to the Constitution of the United States, and the old time Fourth passed into the limbo of history.

What, one might ask, was the general significance of the Fourth of July celebrations? In addition to mirroring the political issues of the day, as seen in the above descriptive account, an analysis shows that Independence Day had important and specific bearings on the life of both the state and the nation.

North Carolinians used the Fourth to foster a greater love for the state and to stimulate the development of the state in the interest of the well being and happiness of the people. Their orations and toasts emphasized the part played by the people of North Carolina in the movement for independence, and lamented the fact that historians had not paid more attention to the state's contributions to national development. One toast to the Declaration declared that the flag of independence was "First unfurled in the fields of North Carolina, it floated for a while as the pennon of a small but gallant band, shedding inspiration wherever the gleamings of its folds were seen; [and] when amplified and enlarged by other hands it spread itself to the world. . . ." <sup>108</sup> In the 1830's it became a regular part of the exercises in North Carolina to toast the Mecklenburg Declaration and its author, Dr. Ephraim Brevard, and to read that Declaration often in advance of the national Declaration. <sup>109</sup> A Raleigh citizen toasted "The History of North Carolina. Unwritten because the historian grew diffident of his ability to chronicle her glory"; <sup>110</sup> and a Tarboro orator chose as his theme, "North Carolina . . .

<sup>108</sup> Hillsboro Recorder, July 11, 1839.

<sup>109</sup> Charlotte Miner's and Farmer's Journal, July 12, 1834; Hillsboro Recorder, July 10, 1844.

<sup>110</sup> Raleigh Standard, July 10, 1844.



and the many wrongs done her by historians." He condemned especially the refusal of some historians to accept the authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration.<sup>111</sup>

Some of the Fourth speakers decried the fact that North Carolina was known as the "Ireland of the Union" and the "Rip Van Winkle State." They declared that the state's "independence and consistency of principle" should give her pre-eminence among the states. Concrete proposals for raising the standing of the state are found in the toast, "A system of general instruction: the development of our internal resources: the pure and able administration of justice: Let these be the cardinal objects of the policy of North Carolina."<sup>112</sup> "The Old North State," a twelve stanza poem "written expressly for the Fourth of July" in 1846, expresses love, patriotism, and loyalty to the state. The first stanza reads as follows:

North Carolina! I will toast to thee,  
Thy honor and name may not fall:  
Peace and happiness may'st thou always see.  
Death to him whom thy name miscalls.<sup>113</sup>

The July celebrants emphasized three lines of development designed to advance the prosperity and happiness of the people. These were internal improvements, constitutional revision, and education. They were zealous advocates of developing the economic resources of the state and saw a close relationship between skilled labor and internal improvements to this problem. Hence they demanded "American workshops" that would "make us commercially independent, as we are politically free." And they toasted "Mechanism—a science, the sublimity and grandeur of which, is only comprehended by the enlightenment of its votaries"; and "The mechanic Arts: may they be so fostered . . . as to enable us to be independent . . . for any article we require."<sup>114</sup> But it was internal improvement projects to which the people looked most

<sup>111</sup> Tarboro *Southerner*, July 10, 1858.

<sup>112</sup> Raleigh *Register*, July 8, 1825.

<sup>113</sup> Tarboro *Free Press*, July 15, 1846.

<sup>114</sup> Raleigh *Minerva*, July 7, 1808; Raleigh *Standard*, July 7, 1841; Fayetteville *Observer*, July 11, 1848.



for economic progress. A Charlotte crowd on July 4, 1825, gave six cheers and a three gun salute to the toast, "The Opposers of Internal Improvements. May they receive the anathemas of an enlightened [citizenry]." <sup>115</sup> A few years later a Fourth crowd, in the same city, toasting "Internal Improvements," enquired: "While other states are marching onward, shall North Carolina suffer her energies to slumber, and her resources to lie dormant?" <sup>116</sup> North Carolina still lagged behind, and in 1841 the people were still pleading with the state authorities: "Give us a judicious system of Improvements, and North Carolina will rank, as she should rank, among the first of the States." <sup>117</sup>

In the early days, the state constitution was highly praised by the Fourth of July celebrants. In 1810 Raleigh citizens drank to "The Constitution of the State of North Carolina—Beneath its powerful and protecting wings, the poorest citizens sits in safety 'under his vine and under his fig-tree,' and none can make him afraid." <sup>118</sup> But by 1820 western North Carolinians were bitter because of the system of representation and restricted suffrage. A Salisbury July Fourth celebration demanded "A Convention of the free people of North Carolina—Justice imperiously demands it." The next year they expressed their sentiments in "The Day—can our fellow citizens in the East have forgotten that their brethren in the West are the descendants of the men of '76." This was followed by "A Convention of the People of North Carolina—Peaceable if we can . . . forcible if we must." <sup>119</sup> Western North Carolinians received some concessions on representation in 1835, but they continued to demand free suffrage. On July 4, 1852, an Asheville crowd bitterly condemned John Keer, the speaker who had opposed any further extension of the suffrage. They charged that he had said "in plain English, a negro, stud horse, or jackass are as much entitled to representation in the Legislature as a POOR WESTERN MAN." <sup>120</sup>

<sup>115</sup> *Charlotte Catawba Journal*, July 12, 1825.

<sup>116</sup> *Charlotte Catawba Journal*, July 8, 1828.

<sup>117</sup> *Hillsboro Recorder*, July 8, 1841.

<sup>118</sup> *Raleigh Star*, July 5, 1810.

<sup>119</sup> *Salisbury Western Carolinian*, July 18, 1820; July 31, 1821.

<sup>120</sup> *Raleigh Star*, July 7, 1852, quoting *Asheville Times*.



There is no question, however, that North Carolinians put most emphasis on education as a means to advance the progress, prosperity, and happiness of the people. In the early days, before the state gave any support to education, the Fourth celebrations toasted "The Arts and Sciences," and expressed the hope that they might be improved and cultivated. One such toast reads as follows: "The progress of useful knowledge. May the arts and sciences be cultivated with success, and their great end be directed to the improvement of social happiness."<sup>121</sup> After the State University was chartered, but before its doors were opened, Raleigh citizens drank a toast to "The University of North Carolina—May it prove the nurse of science, and the guardian of freedom."<sup>122</sup> After its opening the University was toasted every Fourth of July by groups all over the state. It was proclaimed "the parent of science and patriotism," the "nursery of science the shield of our political freedom," and "The Pride and Ornament of the State."<sup>123</sup> A native of Orange County in 1822 expressed the hope that the people of the state would "learn to appreciate its value"; and a citizen of Charlotte declared that it ought "to be the glory and hopes of the church." By the 1840's "The University with the Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies" were declared to be "Pre eminently the Pride of the State," and "The University Magazine" was "An additional light on the hill of science."<sup>124</sup> But the most fulsome praise was given the University in a toast at Halifax, "The University at Chapel Hill: Rome from her seven hills, boasted of the diffusion of knowledge and power; from the hill just named, North Carolina and many of her sister States, have seen and felt the rays of science and useful knowledge."<sup>125</sup>

The people showed an interest also in other educational institutions. In 1797 they toasted the University and "all other literary institutions." Raleigh citizens in 1811 drank to "Learn-

<sup>121</sup> *Wilmington Chronicle and North Carolina Weekly Advertiser*, July 17, 1795; *Raleigh Standard*, July 9, 1794.

<sup>122</sup> *Halifax North Carolina Journal*, July 6, 1795.

<sup>123</sup> *Halifax North Carolina Journal*, July 9, 1798; *Raleigh Star*, July 26, 1811; *Charlotte Catawba Journal*, July 12, 1826.

<sup>124</sup> *Hillsboro Recorder*, July 10, 1822; *Charlotte Catawba Journal*, July 8, 1828; *Raleigh Standard*, July 7, 1841, and July 10, 1844.

<sup>125</sup> *Tarboro Free Press*, July 25, 1828.



ing the support of virtue, virtue the pillar of freedom."<sup>126</sup> By the 1820's North Carolinians were not satisfied merely with "The University of North Carolina and all other literary institutions of the State" as they had been in 1797; they now toasted specific institutions, including the "Roanoke Literary and Scientific Institution," and they called for aid to "Literature Arts and Sciences," "Our University and Schools," and "Free Schools."<sup>127</sup> In the 1830's North Carolinians began to put their trust in public school education, and in 1841 a Fourth of July toast proclaimed that "the general diffusion of Education among the people is the birthright of Liberty."<sup>128</sup> "Common Schools," cried one Fourth of July celebrant, "When the school master is abroad the foes of Freedom tremble."<sup>129</sup> Some Fourth of July exercises actually centered around public school work. The July 4, 1847, celebration in Nutbush District, Granville County, consisted of an examination of the pupils of the public school taught by Danbridge B. Hillard, witnessed by about four hundred ladies and gentlemen, the reading of the Declaration of Independence, and a barbecue enjoyed by the school children, their parents, and assembled guests. The toasts and the oration extolled the virtues of public education.<sup>130</sup>

For the nation as a whole the celebration of the Fourth nurtured loyalty, patriotism, love of the Union, and a veneration of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It gave the people an opportunity to express their missionary zeal to spread democracy and representative self government throughout the world, and to express their sympathy and support for revolutionary groups trying to establish independence. It also gave them a chance to hear the American eagle scream defiance to the enemies of the United States and to proclaim their manifest destiny to dominate the western hemisphere.

<sup>126</sup> *Halifax North Carolina Journal*, July 10, 1797; *Raleigh Star*, July 5, 1811.

<sup>127</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 10, 1812; *Tarboro Free Press*, July 17, 1829; *Raleigh Minerva*, July 9, 1813; *Raleigh Star*, July 7, 1820; *Charlotte Catawba Journal*, July 12, 1825.

<sup>128</sup> *Hillsboro Recorder*, July 24, 1841.

<sup>129</sup> *Raleigh Standard*, July 10, 1844.

<sup>130</sup> *Raleigh Register*, July 21, 1847.



The desire to share their ideas and happiness with others caused Americans to hold out welcoming arms to exiles from other lands. "Our Country," cried one North Carolinian, "Dear Columbia, hail! A sanctuary for the good and a sacred asylum for the persecuted. May thy land be sacred to science and devoted to religion; and may Liberty always crown the spot of independence."<sup>131</sup> Even more generous were Americans with their sympathy and support for people in foreign countries who were trying to gain independence and establish republican governments. They toasted "Parliamentary reform to Great Britain and Ireland," "Permanent freedom and peace to the Republic of France," "The Republics of France and Holland may their renovated governments be as happy to them as ours has been to us," and "the unfortunate Poles."<sup>132</sup> Americans sympathized especially with South America. "May she" said one North Carolina toast, "shortly emerge from a state of wretchedness and slavery, and taste the blessings of liberty and independence with her sisters of the North."<sup>133</sup> Another toast to "Our Republican Brethren of Spanish America" prayed that "wisdom and valor would combine to insure their Independence." When Colombia had secured her independence North Carolinians toasted "The New Republic of Colombia—We hail the birth of a Sister of the South—May her future be as prosperous, as her struggle has been glorious." Pride was also expressed in "The Patriot General Bolivar may his future conduct be such as to merit the envious appellation of the Washington of South America."<sup>134</sup>

North Carolinians also displayed great interest in the Greek struggle for independence. They drank toasts to "The Cause of the Patriot Greeks—May they be as successful in their struggles, as the heroes of the American Revolution, in subduing their enemies and erecting a free government."<sup>135</sup> Naturally the Turks and the Holy Alliance, as enemies of the Christian religion and republicanism, were anathema to

<sup>131</sup> Raleigh *Minerva*, July 11, 1817.

<sup>132</sup> Halifax *North Carolina Journal*, July 10, 1793; July 6, 1795.

<sup>133</sup> Raleigh *Star*, July 26, 1811.

<sup>134</sup> Salisbury *Western Carolinian*, July 11, 1820; July 9, 1822.

<sup>135</sup> Salisbury *Western Carolinian*, July 9, 1822.



Americans. The Holy Alliance was characterized as "the nightmare of Europe," and its members as "the Cyclops of Despotism." North Carolinians expressed the hope that "Liberty and Christianity [would] defeat the Turks and the Holy Alliance."<sup>136</sup> When Grecian independence was virtually assured, a Lincolnton, North Carolina, Fourth assembly drank to "Modern Greece; a little dim, beclouded star rising in the east; may it borrow its light from the Western Sun."<sup>137</sup> Nor were North Carolinians unmindful of "Irish Emancipation," and "the Poles fighting for freedom."<sup>138</sup>

But Fourth of July celebrants were not altogether unselfish in their devotion to the cause of freedom. There were among them "Big Americans" who often expressed the doctrine of manifest destiny. Some toasts proclaimed a desire to acquire specific territory—Canada; "The Floridas . . . [which] will ere long form a part of the American Republic";<sup>139</sup> Cuba; Texas; even the Central American states. Others seem to have been delivered merely that the people might hear the eagle scream, the following, for instance: "The Eagle of the United States—may she extend her wings from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and fixing her talons on the Isthmus of Darien, stretch with her beak to the Northern Pole."<sup>140</sup> A variant was: "The American Eagle—May she stick her beak in the North Pole, fan the Atlantic and Pacific with her wings, and switch her tail feathers over the Southernmost tip of South America." The expression of such ideas caused South Americans to begin to regard the United States as the Colossus of the North. And occasionally a North Carolinian would warn the people of the United States that they must curb their lust for power and new territory if they were to remain the leader of moral forces among the nations of the world.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>136</sup> *Washington National Gazette*, July 11, 1823; *Salisbury Western Carolinian*, July 8, 1820.

<sup>137</sup> *Salisbury Western Carolinian*, July 21, 1829.

<sup>138</sup> *Charlotte Catawba Journal*, July 21, 1836; *Tarboro Free Press*, July 9, 1845.

<sup>139</sup> *Raleigh Star*, July 7, 1820.

<sup>140</sup> Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), 412. The variant appeared in the *Nashville, Tennessee, Banner*.

<sup>141</sup> *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 15, 1856.



The most significant feature of the Fourth celebrations was that they nurtured loyalty and patriotism. Everywhere Independence Day served as a symbol of unity and nationalism. North, South, East, and West, even in distant lands, Americans gathered to read the Declaration of Independence and to pledge anew their allegiance to the flag. Daniel Webster expressed this sentiment in an oration in Washington when he said: "This anniversary animates and gladdens and unites all American hearts. On other days of the year we may be party men, indulging in controversies, more or less important to the public good; we may have our likes and dislikes, and we may maintain our political differences, often with warm, and sometimes with angry feelings. But today we are Americans all; and are nothing but Americans."<sup>142</sup> A North Carolina orator put it more emotionally. He said: "With what wild tumultuous throbbings of pleasure does the blood bound through the hearts of American freemen, as this glorious day dawns upon this land of freedom. . . . O, what rays of light does the annual return of this great Western Jubilee of liberty send, far, far into the dark spots of oppressed distant lands."<sup>143</sup> A North Carolina editor declared that the Fourth "is calculated to perpetuate those principles which rocked the cradles of our Independence, and nursed it into manhood."<sup>144</sup>

Finally, Americans were possessed of a missionary zeal to spread democracy and self-government throughout the world. They firmly believed they had a good thing and, like the Communists of today, they were anxious to share it with others even to the extent of forcing it upon them. Toasts, orations, and editorials on the Fourth said as much. Of hundreds of such toasts the following are representative. "The Principles of the American Revolution—Destined to revolutionize the civilized world." "May the pure principles of humanity extend their influence throughout the globe." "All Mankind! May every branch of the great family participate

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<sup>142</sup> *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster, National Edition. Illustrated with Portraits and Plates*, 18 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, & Company, 1903), IV, 297.

<sup>143</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, July 11, 1845.

<sup>144</sup> *Salisbury Western Carolinian*, July 4, 1820.



in the blessings of freedom and peace." "The political voyage of mankind—May their destination be true republicanism. May the World be freed from every enemy of the rights of man." And, "The Nations of the Earth—May they soon have the peace liberty and blessings we have."<sup>145</sup>

An orator, urging his hearers to spread the American gospel of democracy and republicanism, said: "And let us remember that we are acting not merely for ourselves, but for the oppressed of all nations, who are looking to us for an example of wisdom and virtue, which may be to them a pillar of cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night to guide and cheer them onward. Are we not at this moment the mark and model for all the world? Do not greyheaded statesmen, learned writers and eloquent orators, constantly point for proof and illustration to these United States?"<sup>146</sup> These toasts and orations were not empty, meaningless phrases but the sincere expressions of loyalty by a generation that was not ashamed of its patriotism.

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<sup>145</sup> *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, July 26, 1845; *Halifax North Carolina Journal*, July 17, 1793, and July 9, 1794; *Fayetteville North Carolina Minerva and Advertiser*, July 9, 1796; *Raleigh Minerva*, July 11, 1817.

<sup>146</sup> David L. Child, *An Oration Pronounced Before the Republicans of Boston, July 4, 1826* (Boston: Josiah B. Clough, 1826), 39.



LETTERS OF YOUNG NOVELIST:  
CALVIN HENDERSON WILEY

EDITED BY RICHARD WALSER

[*Concluded*]

WILEY to KINGSBURY

Henderson, N. C. Jan. 11th, 1848.

Dear Captain:

I promised you when I was in Oxford<sup>38</sup> that I would, from time to time, drop you a line on "the portance of my travel's history." Well, Sir, after a hard drive & a cold ride I succeeded in making this port about 6 P.M. on the first day & took lodgings at the Montezuma Inn, kept by my worthy friend J. B. Debnam Esq.<sup>39</sup>— Having arrived just in time to be too late for the cars going Northward, I found I should have to sojourn in this place till this evening; & as I therefore have some leisure on my hands & have taken a turn about the City, I feel disposed to enlighten you somewhat thereupon.

Judging by the blue-ness of my companion's nose, or pathologically as Dr. Williams<sup>40</sup> would say, or Mythologically as Joel Strong<sup>41</sup> would have it, or sentimentally as I prefer it—that it to say by the great depth to which my spirits had depressed in consequence of the distance thrown between me & Oxford & *its pleasant vicinity*—I say, judging in any of these ways I should suppose that Henderson is about 47 miles or upwards from Oxford. If we form our opinions by the appearance of the place itself we would suppose it to be still further off for there are here visible indications of the near vicinage of the end of the world, while Squire Peter Reavis<sup>42</sup> who is gloriously drunk might sit for the picture of "the last man."

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<sup>38</sup> Wiley had returned from the North and was now setting out on a journey of eastern North Carolina to gather material and atmosphere for his second novel.

<sup>39</sup> The Montezuma Inn, once located in the heart of Henderson on what is now known as Williams Street, was an old residence used by the Debnam family for a limited number of paying guests. J. B. Debnam, many of whose descendants live today in Vance County, died about 1879. For this information I am indebted to Mrs. Henry Davis, wife of Debnam's grandson, and to Irvine B. Watkins, both of Henderson.

<sup>40</sup> That this may be Rev. Samuel A. Williams of Oxford, who was noted for his wisdom, is the conjecture of Dr. Elizabeth G. McPherson, Assistant in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

<sup>41</sup> Joel Strong has not been identified.

<sup>42</sup> Owner of a tavern in Henderson.



He is, however, *not* the last for there are a few more like him & hence I have concluded that the ultimate generation have made their appearance in this place & that it should be called "The City of the latter-day-ites."

———. Business is dull this morning, Willie Mangum<sup>43</sup> being the only person to be seen on Stock-Exchange & Bernard Fulda's<sup>44</sup> parrot chattering all alone. There are few public buildings of importance if you except the liquor shop on main street & the "Arcadian Academy," a neat log building situated in a pleasant grove of pine black-jack. Christmas has been over for several weeks & the whole place wears that air of gloom consequent upon long-continued & high festive occasions, & as no meat is to be seen on the table of the denizens I conclude that the winter lent has just set in. The Sandy-Crackers are at present quiet but it is said that old Falkner has published a *pronunciamiento*, & he & his followers are threatening an invasion, having blazoned on their banners the popular motto, "Perish every Grocer who has "No Lie" above his Bar." This threatened outbreak has caused a rapid decline of—ticks & ascension of *ticklers* & it is even said that bed-bugs are getting scarce. — I shall mingle but little in Society while here, tho' "the Author of *Alamance*" has been reverently saluted by all the men & peeped at by the maidens as if he were a tawny lion just broke loose from a Menagerie—He has had to roar "Just a little" to gratify the natives but he has not shook "the dew-drops from his mane."—

I can hear nothing from the books & fear that they will not reach Oxford before you leave. Folks pester & annoy me exceedingly by enquiries, as if I carried "*Alamance*" in my pocket. Why the deuce don't they send for them? Every-soul here wants it, & yet no-body ever thought of sending for it.

Remember me to Ben & Bill &c &c & to T. E. Sen.<sup>r</sup> & family,<sup>45</sup> & especially to Miss—Lucy Neal.<sup>46</sup> Tell her that at "each remove" from her, "I drag a lengthening chain;" & that distance but softens her beauty & endears her memory. "Fair as the earliest beams of eastern light," she beams in the Heaven of my mind like the first Aurora of Persian skies, too soft & dreamy

<sup>43</sup> Willie Person Mangum, Jr. (1827-1881), nephew of the famous senator, attended the University of North Carolina with Kingsbury. His father, a Hillsboro lawyer, had a large practice in Granville County. In this letter Wiley may be referring to Senator Mangum.

<sup>44</sup> Owner of a store in Henderson.

<sup>45</sup> Insufficient for identification, though "Bill" is probably either Wm. D. Heflin (see above, n. 36) or William R. Wiggins (see below, n. 61).

<sup>46</sup> Heroine of Wiley's *Alamance*. According to Kingsbury this character was the fictitious embodiment of "the image that filled his [Wiley's] earliest fancies in the sunny and sinless days of boyhood, the guileless and enchanting creature, who has been ever present to his imagination." Review of *Alamance* in *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), December 22, 1847.



for earth & not dazzling enough for Heaven. Confound it! it [is] too cold to write prettily, for who can indite sentiment when his teeth are chattering & his fingers as stiff as a pike-staff? Let me try again: tell her [two undecipherable words]! that's a sneeze—tell her—(wait till I blow my nose)—tell her to take [care] of herself I'm coming back again—and tell every body to hold on—

Your friend,

C. H. Wiley

*I forgot my envelopes.*

[on back:]

I have opened this letter to say that I have just received information which requires my presence in Raleigh. This information is no more nor less than a fat fee, & therefore I shall take the over-land rout to the East.

#### WILEY to KINGSBURY

Edenton, Jan'y 23rd, 1848.

My dear Captain:

Do you wish, in the first place, to hear of my travels? Of all the modes of locomotion in this world where men have not wings commend me to the stage-coach when the said coaches are new, easy & commodious, the roads level & smooth, the horses, four in number, gentle & spirited, & the drivers jolly & honest with strong wind-pipes & melodious horns. When to this you add an ever-shifting scenery, good hotels & a good appetite, "you can travel." Well, from Raleigh to Goldsborough I came in the line of that prince of Stage proprietors E. P. Guion:<sup>47</sup> at G. I tarried one night, saw the rail-road & a devil of a big bill. Next night I lay in New Berne 70 miles distant—Monday at 4 A.M. I was on the road to Washington: & Monday night was in Plymouth. Same night I came in a boat to Edenton. Edenton I left on Wednesday, took dinner in E. City & that night supped at the house of C. L. Esq.<sup>r</sup> of Camden.<sup>48</sup> Yesterday I left Camden, dined in E. City & got here last night.

Every feature in this country is new to me: turpentine trees, swamps, pocosins, fisheries & black-waters. New-Berne especial-

<sup>47</sup> "DIED. At his residence near this city, on the 27th ult, Capt. E. P. GUION, long and well known as a good citizen and the affable proprietor of the Eagle Hotel. His remains were interred on the 28th with Masonic honors."—*The Weekly Raleigh Register*, November 9, 1859. Judging from Wiley's letter, Guion also owned a coach line.

<sup>48</sup> Cornelius G. Lamb, influential citizen and large landowner whose residence not far from Camden Court House was one of the most pretentious ante-bellum houses in the section. Information from Jesse F. Pugh of Camden.



ly interested me, being the oldest looking town extant, & isolated from all the rest of the world. It & the State have as little to do with each other as it & Liberia & a stranger from Granville was a curiosity as great as a stranger from Timbuctoo. I saw there some interesting relics of the past, & in fact the novelty of the scenes, thro' which I have passed have filled my mind with a world of new ideas. I am truly glad Graham did not accept that sickly effusion of an exhausted & wearied brain "Star of the West,"<sup>49</sup> & if Providence favor me the public shall have a treat. New scenes give freshness & vigor to the mind & I expect ere long, from the pages of my memorandum book, to speak into life forms that will live & have a name among men. The stage coach is a great place for meditation, especially on a clear, moon-light night, when you sit solitary, gliding thro' dark forests of pine & listening to the wild, sweet notes of the coachman's horn.

What a morning is this! The air is soft & balmy; on one side of me stretches out the white sheen of Albermarle's [*sic*] level waters, dotted over with an occasional snowy sail & bounded by the far off dim & misty shore, & on the other is the fair "Town of Eden": the birds are singing their most jocund songs, the church bells are mingling their sacred sounds together, & the streets are thronged with noiseless troops of well-dressed men & women & rosy-cheeked maidens.

Now's the time to write: now's the time for sentiment & sentiment I would pour out, fresh, warm & gushing as I feel it, were not my pen so mean, my paper so dirty, my arm so sore, my head so hot & heavy, my table so high & my chair so low, my room so smoky & my pipe constantly falling off the stem. These are sore trials to an author: this is my last sheet, with nothing between it & the table, & the fragrance of a cooking-house is wafted to my nostrils. What then can I do? What can I write to convey to you a faint impression of my feelings? to give you a taste of the celestial harmony to which my heart is now attuned? in a word to warm your heart & expand your soul with that glorious Promethian heat with which I am now on fire?

Imagine if you please that the minds of Homer, Virgil, Socrates & Cicero, Milton, Shakespeare & Sheridan, Scott, Burke & Pitt, Sterne, Hume & Byron, Irving, Dickens & Eugenia Prism<sup>50</sup> have been distilled together into a sort of intellectual nectar, a dew of paradise: that it has been casked & sent round

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<sup>49</sup> Evidently an unpublished manuscript of Wiley's.

<sup>50</sup> A concocted, fictitious name to indicate a very proper, prim female author.



to the Indies, decanted & bottled for seventeen centuries: that with a company of ingenuous youths, refined & jolly, generous & brave, learned & sentimental, you are driving the corks & in the security of some far-removed banquet-hall drinking to my health, & then you will be receiving the out-pourings of my heart as I could wish to send them to you. After this extravaganza I will come down to *terra-firma*. Gracious! how chill is the air, how cold & damp the ground in these lower regions! However, it is our native earth & among its senseless clods will be our final resting place. —

I have, in all places, been treated with respect, but in this place the principal citizens are extremely kind. I have just given audience to some of the "select," & could not wish more kindness.

Where I shall next locate is uncertain as yet. I have to go to Gates<sup>51</sup> & after that may continue my homeward route, for while my person has fattened my purse has gone into a galloping consumption. I wish to visit Wilmington & Fayetteville, but this business of traveling by stage costs money & a great deal of it. Still you may address me at Fayetteville & if I do not go there I will have the letter sent to Oxford. I wish to hear from you, & will write to you soon again. Already my health is twenty *per cent.* better than when I left home & I am a new man in mind & body— May I not get the blue horrors again as I return to the anxieties of life, & to an intercourse with the little souls of—some folks.

Excuse this: it is my last sheet & Sunday, & I have a wretched pen.

Your friend,

WILEY to KINGSBURY

Wilmington, Feb. 2nd 1848

My dear Captain:

Since I wrote to you last I have traveled upward of 500 miles, been to Gatesville, to E. City again, to Norfolk, Petersburg & this place. If you will take any good map you will see my route from E. City—

How much have I seen, how much have I *thought* since we parted! Travel excites the brain as much as it warms the blood, & as you can't read or talk many a bright, profound & original idea is awakened for a moment & then passes into the oblivion of the un-remembered & un-recorded past. To avoid this hereafter I have latterly been keeping a memorandum book & hope

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<sup>51</sup> Village in Gates County, some forty miles from Edenton. Perhaps Wiley has Gates County itself in mind here.



that my fair mental visions will not hereafter come & go like the clouds over the face of the Heavens, leaving not a trace behind. I say the *fair* ones; in good sooth these are much like angel visiters [*sic*] & the record of their appearance will be brief indeed. Still, if the jolting of the cars & stages does not strike out scintillations of intellect, the excitement produces most delightful sensations & it is my opinion that the highest mortal good is the consciousness of "getting along." Not *driven* along like the poor brute who is knocked *down* with the but of the whip & cut *up* with the lash: but, master of your own motions, and having the power, with electric speed, to carry out your purposes. And as the purposes of the great are often sublime from obscurity; that is, are vague, misty & undefined, the best thing such a man can do is to get into the cars or on board a steam-boat & keep moving till the road runs out. Here's a dish for you! My head is yet spinning from the motions of the cars, my hand is tremulous & my eye-lids heavy. I have been up two nights—have just come to a halt after being on the road since seven o'clock yesterday morning & having traveled 360 miles on one stretch. You must know, that, in earnest, I am not in a mood for composition.

Besides: I have just met with some old cronies: & above all, the mail is about to close. I write now simply to let you know where I am & to say to you that I hope by Tuesday next to be in Fayetteville. This letter will hardly reach you before then, tho' it may. Do not fail to let me hear from you at that place.

To-morrow is my birthday. God grant I may live the next year more righteously & be more successful. I am *sobered* for life; that is, I have taken my position is [*sic*] a rational & responsible man, set here to do something for himself & for his fellow beings. I shall, I presume, write fictions till I get well to do in the world & then—& then look out!

The Life of Clay (this is between us), The Philosophy of Life, Creator & Destroyer &c &c may be looked for. This last I wish to write for the world, for all posterity. It is to contain my philosophy. But I cannot explain it now.

Adieu!

Your friend,

WILEY to KINGSBURY

Wilmington, Feb. 5<sup>th</sup> 1848

My dear Captain:

Since I wrote to you I have taken a stroll about the city & seen the "lions." My reception here has been cordial & I feel under obligations to the citizens of this spirited town. Almost



all the young people here have read "Alamance"; so in New-Berne, & 50 copies were sent for at Edenton while I was there. In Norfolk & Petersburg the booksellers told me excellent news & said they never had any book to sell so rapidly. Farther news I must defer until I get to Fayetteville.—I wish you to do me an important favor & feel confident I could not apply to a more active, ready & intelligent servitor.

1<sup>st</sup> Apply to the Secy of the Historical Society & get from him every thing you can relative to the early history of N. C. If you cannot do better get some one to copy important documents & I will give 25 cts per page of foolscap closely written. Perhaps they would loan.

2<sup>ndly</sup> Call on Gov. Swain<sup>52</sup> & look over his "annals." Get all the anecdotes, legends, facts & documents which he has concerning the counties & towns on Albermarle & the Cape-Fear.

3<sup>rdly</sup> Get acquainted with Mr. Archibald Hooper<sup>53</sup> whom you will find full of intelligence, a living chronicle of the past. Either you or Mr. Brown<sup>54</sup> can, in a respectful way, apply to him for reminiscences of the men & events before & during the revolution. If he will unfold himself he can aid me most materially & indeed I know of no one who can render me better service.

Please attend to these things & let me hear from you often. Let Mr. H. give you sketches of the men & manners of the Cape-Fear; the legends, anecdotes, tragedies & traditions with which his retentive memory abounds.

It is my purpose to write a Novel<sup>55</sup> of broader scope & more elaborate finish than "Alamance," & to illustrate it with notes historical, biographical & geographical. Direct your next letter to Oxford & let it be full.

In haste,

Your friend,

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<sup>52</sup> David Lowry Swain (1801-1868), governor of North Carolina (1832-1835), president of the University of North Carolina (1835-1868), was interested in procuring North Carolina historical data for preservation.

<sup>53</sup> Archibald Maclaine Hooper (1775-1853) of Wilmington was well known for his historical writings. In 1848 he was living in Chapel Hill with his son, Professor John DeBerniere Hooper (1811-1886).

<sup>54</sup> Probably Ashbel Green Brown (1821-1906) of Granville County, who was associate professor of Greek at Chapel Hill from 1844 to 1865. For this clever conjecture, I am indebted to Professor Roger P. Marshall, Raleigh.

<sup>55</sup> Later titled *Roanoke*.



# LIFE IN THE SOUTH.

A COMPANION TO

## UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

BY C. H. WILEY,

(OF NORTH CAROLINA.)

AUTHOR OF "ALAMANCE," ETC., ETC.

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EMBELLISHED WITH FOURTEEN BEAUTIFUL ILLUSTRATIONS.

From original designs drawn expressly for this work,

BY DARLEY, AND ENGRAVED BY LESLIE & TRAVERS.

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**Philadelphia:**

**T. B. PETERSON No. 98 CHESNUT STREET.**

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**Plate IV**

**SENSATIONAL TITLE PAGE**

**OF FIRST AMERICAN EDITION (1852) OF ROANOKE**



B. A. KITTRELL<sup>56</sup> to KINGSBURY (at Chapel Hill)

Oxford Feb 14th 1848

. . . Mjr. Wiley has not yet returned and I begin to think it doubtfull whether he intends returning again or not, but I suppose he has not yet made sufficient "attainment" to the "Lamb." The last that I heard of him was that he was at Gates court house hunting out *material* . . . .

WILEY to KINGSBURY

Fayetteville, Feb: 16<sup>th</sup> 1848

My dear Captain:

I can easily see how it is that travellers give such contradictory accounts of the same place. We are almost certain to judge of a place favorably or unfavorably according to the humor which we are in when at it; an illustration of which truth I have just experienced in my own case. At eleven A.M. to day I arrived in this ancient Town after a most tedious, fatiguing & soul-worrying voyage up the Cape-Fear. Two whole days & night we were on the river in a little freight steam boat, some twenty five passengers all crowded into a small hole, inhaling a variety of unpleasant odors, sleeping none, standing all the time & eating the coarsest food. The Captain was polite & attentive—especially to me whom he mistook for some distinguished character. We had ladies, young, pretty, lively, musical ladies, a guitar & a fiddle; but a brass band & a legion of female angels would not tempt me again to try the comforts of a freight-boat. Well: I was weary, sleepy, irritable: it was cloudy & moist, the street very muddy, & the hotel one mile from the landing. On my way up I got your letter & by the time I had finished its perusal my mind was fixed on an immediate departure. Fayetteville was a wretched place & I could not endure it; but before two hours had rolled away the servant had announced at least a dozen of visitors, & lo! a new sun had risen on the Town of Flora McDonald! Among these visitors were some strangers & among these strangers the bookseller in this place—a gentleman who had sold so many copies of "Alamance" that he met me like a brother. I am now at home, playing the agreeable & said by all to "look like a smart man." Every one here—even my landlord has read "Alamance." Tavern keepers generally have been surprised to see me so well treated, but I could not enlighten them. I often thought, "if you could only know that an author is under your roof"! Now I am with one who knows the

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<sup>56</sup> Benjamin Kittrell was one of the large Kittrell family living in Granville County in 1848.



fact, & what is more who is always quoting Ben Rust.<sup>57</sup> Immortal Ben! If the veritable Ben, my old client, were to travel in N. C. what a crowd would he attract!

You wish to know why the tone of my letters changed from gay to grave. Are you not more grave in the evening than you were in the morning? Is the old man as gay as the young? We commence the day—we begin a study—we start in a profession—we enter life bouyant with hope & happy from an overflow of animal spirits & an ignorance of the unsatisfying nature of those enjoyments at which we aim. Before we reach them, our spirits have evaporated, our energies failed: we see, feel & taste them, & now that only which can make us happy—uncertain, vague expectation, is gone & we are wiser & sadder. This may have been one reason for the fancied change in my feelings; another may be found in your own friendly fears. I have not, I assure you, offered myself at the shrine of any female divinity—I did not intend to do it, & do not now intend to do it. The ladies universally have smiled a kind & sincere welcome to the Author of “*Alamance*,” & looked & acted, every one like a heroine. Whether the recollection that a chiel [*sic*] “was amang them taken notes,”<sup>58</sup> had, upon their tempers a mollifying effect, it is not for me to say: I am always happy at being well received & never stop to enquire the cause—. But besides: no lady can sadden me. Understand me: it takes something more than mere disappointment in a love affair to affect my spirits seriously. Ought not a man to grow wiser as he gets older? And is it not a discovery of wisdom that “all is vanity”? But laying aside all these causes of dejection, or apparent dejection, the most immediate one which has affected the tone of my epistles, is yet to be mentioned. I have, at last, got the whole frame-work of my next Novel in my mind. It has at last assumed a shape & it occupies much of my thoughts & of my time. The introduction I have already written & wish I could daguerrotype, from my mind, the whole book at once. It is unpleasant to write on a subject which is complete in your mind; it is like copying & the labor of writing is not beguiled by the pleasure of conception. This will be my predicament while manufacturing my next work—

As to the profits to be expected I feel little disposed to speak. The prospect is gloomy enough, but still I will have my reward. I shall occasionally make a friend like yourself; I shall forget

<sup>57</sup> Character in *Alamance*.

<sup>58</sup> See poem by Robert Burns, “On the Late Captain Grose’s Peregrinations Thro’ Scotland”:

“A chield’s amang you takin notes,  
And faith he’ll prent it.”



myself, forget the vanities of the world & feel a consciousness of doing good. I am satisfied it is the will of God I should live & die a poor man & have manly resolved to be contented with such a lot. No man could make a better use of money; no man has struggled harder for independence: but a wonderful fatality follows all my efforts.—

I cannot deny it, my spirits fall as I approach home. When I get there I shall feel that I am again in the world; again surrounded by beings who worship only at the shrine of money. The Oxford people are as good as any other people; but with them & among them I live. They wear, to me, their every day dress of character & thus when there I must be ever seeing griping avarice, petty jealousies, rivalries, hatreds &c &c— Oh that I could be always traveling & ever-seeing human nature in its holy-day costume! —The principal people here, as well as elsewhere have already shewn me that they mean kindly toward me: indeed old men, as well as young are remarkably respectful & attentive. I could, if I saw you, tell you many anecdotes about the Author of "Alamance" while on his travels—. Some of my friends here tell me that every body here praises my book except your cousin C. P.<sup>59</sup> who has won for himself the ill-will of several. Oh my Russell!<sup>60</sup> If I don't praise them they won't praise me, that's certain. I cannot say when I'll leave here.

I remain

Your friend,

W. R. WIGGINS<sup>61</sup> to KINGSBURY

Washington Pa. Feb. 18th 1848.

. . . I was sorry to learn from your letter, that, Maj Wileys—book did not meet with that favour in N. C. which it deserves. It is popular here. A few copies was sent to our book store—& were sold as soon as received—I had given probably an exaggerated—statement of it & its *author*—for some of my credu-

<sup>59</sup> C. P. Kingsbury. Of him, T. B. Kingsbury writes: "He became Brigadier General and died in Brooklyn when he was 63 years old. He was born in N. Y. State in 1818. He was my most gifted Kinsman, first cousin." This note was subsequently appended to a letter to T. B. Kingsbury from C. P. Kingsbury, dated from U. S. Arsenal, Fayetteville, November 11, 1847; in Kingsbury Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

<sup>60</sup> Lord John Russell was prime minister of Great Britain (1846-1852).

<sup>61</sup> William R. Wiggins, from Oxford, attended the University of North Carolina (1848-1849). He was a lawyer, and in 1850 a member of the State House of Commons. According to a note subsequently appended to a letter from Wiggins to Kingsbury, December 23, 1848, Wiggins "removed from Oxford to Texas about 1852 and was assassinated at Rusk, Texas, about 1853 or 1854." See Kingsbury Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.



lous friends believe him to be the greatest man "out" before it was issued from the press— There is certainly one great merit about it—which is so seldom to be found in modern novels—originality—both in the style & plan—I read your "review" of the book in the Standard<sup>62</sup>—& concur with you in every particular. When Papa sent me the Standard—he marked under "Van Winkle" TBK<sup>63</sup>—I had a few evenings before been talking with the "belle of our town" about it—(I had sent it to her to read—) she was pleased—with it generally—particularly with Lucy Neal's character or rather that character represented as Lucy Neal—"What a pity it was that she died &c" all remark—I sent the paper—which contained your criticism of Alamance—to her afterwards—with a short description of your self—the Carolinians in general—etc with what I tell them & the preface to Wileys book—they believe us to be—a "queer crowd—". . . .

## WILEY to KINGSBURY

Oxford, March 11th 1848.

My dear Captain:

Your last letter admonished me to be more careful in my future espistles to you; and yet I shall not profit by the hint.

Did you ever sit for your likeness? If so, you will recollect how much you were tempted to make ugly faces; & thus, if I knew I were sitting for my moral portrait I should be certain to exhibit to posterity a very distorted likeness. I cannot take pain with letters; I have no time to spend in polishing them—

The favor which you asked was beyond my power, for I arrived here too late to attend to it. Of course since I got here I have been intensely engaged. When you call on me again I hope to be able to be of service to you; & let me say in passing, that it will always give me pleasure to aid you or benefit you in any manner I possibly can. My means, moral, mental & fiscal are not extensive, but I have the will of a prince: especially am I liberal of intellectual favors such as you ask.

I feel proud of the approbation of your president; indeed I am more sensible of his good opinion than you can imagine. Almost from every section of the Union, & from many distinguished men I have heard favorable opinions & immense numbers of the book have been sold.

It is my wish to be ready for the press again by the first

<sup>62</sup> *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), December 22, 1847.

<sup>63</sup> Later, a "Fitz Van Winkle" was a disturbing critic of Wiley's *North Carolina Reader*. The matter of identity is presented by Howard Braverman, "Calvin H. Wiley's *North Carolina Reader*," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX (October, 1952), 512.



of May, but I will have to work hard. Three fourths of my time—the parts of it too when I am most *bright*—are given to the public. I am bored worse than ever & Heaven only knows what I shall do.

I did not dedicate, or will not dedicate my new book to Gov. S.<sup>64</sup> The scenes will all be laid in the east & it will have an eastern name; but I wrote the preface some time ago & in it there is an allusion to the president. [I] hope he will excuse me for it for I could not forego the opportunity (an excellent one) of giving him a touch. My *third* book I propose to locate in the west & then we will see what can be done for “Buncombe.”

If I cannot get “Roanoke” out by June, I shall delay its publication till the Fall; in fact I ought to be at least six months upon it. But alas! I have to compromise with fame on account of my poverty. I do myself gross injustice & my only consolation is the hope that I will make money enough by a few mean books to enable me to write better ones. At present money & money only is all I can think about.

Oxford, to idlers & loafers, is as dull as usual: indeed I hardly know what are the present topics of conversation in any circle here. I am now buried from the world, having resolved to average more than 10 pages per day of original composition. All this in addition to my other duties!

I am greatly indebted to you for your kindness & hardly know how to express my sense of my obligations. I certainly shall always cherish the grateful remembrance of the hearty manner in which you have seconded my attempts to succeed in the world & whether I rise or fall, or whatever betide, you shall be one of my dearest friends.

Please excuse me for having delayed this so long & remember my situation.

Let me hear from you as soon & as often as you can.

Very truly,

Your friend,

J. G. SHEPARD<sup>65</sup> to WILEY

Fayetteville, March 21st 1848<sup>66</sup>

. . . I was very desirous to see you while here that I might interchange kind sentiments with a young professional brother

<sup>64</sup> David Lowry Swain. See above, n. 52.

<sup>65</sup> Jesse George Shepard (1821-1869), a Cumberland County politician and judge, attended the University of North Carolina during some of the same years as did Wiley.

<sup>66</sup> Wiley Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.



and college mate—and tender my very cordial thanks for the pleasure I had found in reading the adventures of “Ben Rust and Uncle Corny.” If you will allow me to say so, I consider Ben—the best character in “Allemance” and I take this occasion to congratulate you upon the success and good feeling which I believe have attended the publication of your book. Ben is a genuine character—and will be remembered by your readers as long as any one—whose history is chronicled in “Allemance.” But Uncle Corny and the Widow! & Jack Nipper!!<sup>67</sup> I enquired about your books as you requested—but the owners of the “Rowan”<sup>68</sup> could give me no tidings of them. We of the Cape Fear, will look for your next work with great interest. Success to your name and your—*pocket* . . .

H. W. HUSTED <sup>69</sup> to WILEY

Raleigh June 4, 1848<sup>70</sup>

. . . I understand Reade<sup>71</sup> will not go on to the Pha. Convention—and as you are his alternate I presume you will wish in giving your vote to reflect the will of our party in the Old North. . . .

[Discussion of candidates.]

I hope you may make your everlasting fortune by your new publications—but ought you not to eschew the ephemeral form in which Alamance appeared? —There is no *profit* in that—and I am almost sure that if Alamance had been done up in Calif. you would have sold in our State nearly as many. . . .

ROBT P. DICK<sup>72</sup> to WILEY in Oxford

Greensboro, June 10, 1848<sup>73</sup>

[After Dick tells of his approaching marriage.]

I should feel much gratified to see you present on that occasion. If you can quit your Books and “magic pen,” I should like much to be honored by the presence of the Author of Alamance.

<sup>67</sup> A villainous character in *Alamance*.

<sup>68</sup> A steamer at that time plying the Cape Fear River between Wilmington and Fayetteville.

<sup>69</sup> Major Hiram W. Husted (1801?-1868) was a prominent Whig leader of Raleigh. See the *Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh), December 22, 1868. In the 1840's he was editor of the *Whig Clarion* (Raleigh).

<sup>70</sup> Wiley Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

<sup>71</sup> Edwin Godwin Reade (1812-1894) of Person County, lawyer, later politician and judge.

<sup>72</sup> Robert Paine Dick (1823-1898), Greensboro lawyer and political figure, married Mary E. Adams, of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, in 1848.

<sup>73</sup> Wiley Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.



This invitation is prompted by friendship yet I must confess that I am somewhat influenced by selfish motives. The young Ladies of that section of country have some curiosity to see you, and a great anxiety to form your acquaintance . . . .

#### WILEY to KINGSBURY

Philadelphia, June 19th 1848.

Dear Captain:

It has been so long since I wrote to you last that I hardly expect this epistle to meet with a very cordial reception. The truth is I heard that it was probable you would leave Chapel-Hill & I did not know where a letter would find you. In addition to this, I have, to use a sporting phrase, been on a strain ever since I left home & when I feel unsettled I never like to write to my friends.

My second Novel was not quite half finished when I left home, & in consequence of the injunctions of the physicians here, I abandoned the undertaking for the present. Dr. Jackson<sup>74</sup> has seriously admonished me not *to do any thing* for several months & I feel satisfied that it is important for me to follow this advice as far as I can. I had a political pamphlet with me, & this I wish to make profitable. J. R. Chandler,<sup>75</sup> Robert Morris<sup>76</sup> & others have examined it & say they like it better than any thing of the kind they have ever seen, & I am now waiting for the organization of Committees. I wish to sell it by the wholesale, & hope to realize something considerable from it. God only knows what will be the result.

I heard recently that you were in Oxford & I resolved at once to write to you & let you know my "whereabouts" & "what—abouts." In this City of brotherly love it is possible that I may remain several weeks longer, tho' I am anxious to go to the Seaside. I have made friends—a select circle, with whom I can pass my time pleasantly enough when I wish to enjoy Society. An ex-M.C., two professors in the medical Colleges, three editors, one literary & two political, & a few medical students are my chief visiting acquaintances. My fellow-boarders are all agreeable, one being a Native of Egypt & brother of Mr. Gliddon<sup>77</sup> the author, another chymist in the Mint, another an episcopal parson, & the others ladies, mostly elderly, who belong to

<sup>74</sup> Probably Dr. Samuel Jackson (1787-1872), prominent Philadelphia physician.

<sup>75</sup> Joseph Ripley Chandler (1792-1880), editor, author, co-editor of *Graham's Magazine* (1843-1849).

<sup>76</sup> Robert Morris (1818-1888), author of books on Freemasonry.

<sup>77</sup> George Robins Gliddon (1809-1857) wrote *Ancient Egypt* (1843).



the old families. For exercise I lounge about Fair-mount<sup>78</sup> & go on steam-boat excursions, & for fun I go, at rare intervals to the Theatre. I think I have pretty thoroughly explored Philadelphia; its Curiosities, environs & people & am beginning to long for new scenes. I am of the impression that I know more of this place than some of the old inhabitants & I keep constantly moving. The houses, the theatres, Asylums &c &c have little interest for me. Man, Nature rather is my study & Nature in all her phases I wish to see. My health improves steadily—my weight now is 146, & I wish, when I return, to weigh 160. So much for myself, a subject of which, as it is the least interesting, I wish to write first & be done with it.

What are *you* about? Are you really in love with S. A.?<sup>79</sup> If you are not I will advise you, hereafter, as to the proper course to be pursued towards the other sex by one of your age: experience makes us wise. If you are in love advice will now be thrown away. Most people when in such a predicament will listen to advice, but I have rarely seen one who would profit by it.

What is every body doing? How are "Cousin E.V.T.,"<sup>80</sup> Miss Fanny & Miss Mary Ellen?<sup>81</sup> What is Bill Wiggins<sup>82</sup> about & how is Major McLanahan?<sup>83</sup> Remember me to these latter as also to Bill Heflin<sup>84</sup> and George Middleton.<sup>85</sup> I shall not ask you to present my regards to the ladies. The Oxford ladies are as good & fair & intelligent as any other ladies, but I cannot rely on their friendship. They like me in prosperity; in adversity—in my adversity—they find it easy to forget me. They can doubtless do without me, & certainly I can "make out" without them. I wish them no harm—I speak well of them & may write well of them, if ever I write of them at all, but I shall not stake my happiness on their friendship. I have, in my travels, discovered that Oxford is not the centre of the world & that there

<sup>78</sup> A park of the Schuylkill River, now wholly within the city limits of Philadelphia.

<sup>79</sup> Sallie Jones Atkinson, whom Kingsbury married in 1851.

<sup>80</sup> The *Raleigh Register*, April 14, 1852, reports: "Died, near Oxford, Granville County, on the evening of the 3rd inst., in the 22nd year of her age,—Miss Eliza V. Taylor, daughter of John C. Taylor, Esq." A lengthy obituary follows, written by the "Rector of the Parish," who records that her "death was the termination of a protracted illness. . . . [S]he was kind and tender-hearted . . . ; she had ever an ear for the tale of woe, a tear for scenes of distress." The Taylors and the Wileys were, actually, cousins.

<sup>81</sup> These first names are insufficient for identification. One may suppose they were young ladies of the village.

<sup>82</sup> See above, n. 61.

<sup>83</sup> William Smith McLanahan (1795-1858), extensive property owner of Granville County, is buried in the old Oxford Cemetery.

<sup>84</sup> See above, n. 36.

<sup>85</sup> George B. Middleton was a pupil in the Oxford Male Academy in 1836.



are several other places besides. Still I have friends there—friends in both political parties & these I shall ever remember. My heart is set on this object: this year to achieve my independence & then “the world is all before me where to choose.” My soul is now absorbed with money projects & if I do not go home with full pockets it will not be for want of well-laid plans, diligence, watchfulness & never-ceasing anxiety. Please—write to me soon—Remember me to the old gentleman & family & to George Wortham.<sup>86</sup>

I remain

Your friend,

WILEY to KINGSBURY

Philadelphia, July 11th, 1848.

My Dear Captain:

My letters to you are, in one respect, like angels' visits; but in another & more important particular there is no analogy. Angels have, generally, visited the earth on happy missions, Coming to announce glad tidings or to rescue mortals from some impending danger. Alas! my letters, tho' few and far between are like visitors from the infernal regions, sent to terrify & distress & casting the dismal shadows of their countenances on the hearts of all beholders—. You think me neglectful do you not? Listen, or rather read:

For I long time I have been struggling to prevent a crisis in my pecuniary affairs. No man, in N. C., can begin any profession as I began the law & support himself: in other words no man can start without a cent, a book, or a friend, & make money enough to buy book, clothes, pay rent, board, &c &c. Not one in a hundred, in any state, make any thing at the Bar for years. Well I had to go in debt: duns, to one of my sensitive nature, are exceedingly annoying, intolerable & depressing in their influence. Have you not observed a great change in me? Do you not recollect when I was lively, full of a certain sort of wit &c &c? For years my spirits have been depressed by debt. I have actually been cowed, & been ashamed to assert & maintain my proper position in the world. I have shrunk into myself & while the world thought I was not coming up to my early promise I knew what I was about. *I found that fame was exceedingly inconvenient to a poor man if he was honest*, & I determined to bend all energies of my soul towards one object.

<sup>86</sup> George Wortham (1823-1883), Oxford lawyer, was caricatured by Robert W. Winston in *It's a Far Cry* (1937) as an old Confederate colonel.



My great aim has been to become independent, & then—ah then would I have astonished ever you. Chains of frost have long been about my heart: oh how would my soul have expanded with freedom!

Well, I turned author; my first book cleared me nothing. By this my long slavery had made me so desperate I could not wait for a gradual liberation; I wished to clear my prison at a bound. I thought of a thousand different ways & finally hit on one; one which was to do good as well as to benefit me—. I would not make money any other way—.

I composed a political pamphlet that I thought calculated to do good & which, I hoped, would be every where read. Unhappily this very year old parties were to be broken up, & every thing in a political way turned topsy-turvy. *There has been among the Whigs no organization; no combined effort, no spirit.* The very best critics had passed the very highest eulogiums on my pamphlet *declaring it the best thing of the kind they ever saw*; so said they all, & they were not a few. I did not care to sell it by retail, nor did I care for newspaper puffs, & therefore I have held it back waiting for the moving of the waters. I find at last there is no chance to sell it or any other political document by wholesale, & finally therefore, I have given up the enterprise & leave it with the publishers to do what they can for themselves. I will go home; I will at once tell my creditors I cannot pay them; I will let them sell all I have & then I will try a new & better field. I ought, long, long ago, to have left N. C.; but the truth is, while I owed a dollar I would not leave it unpaid. At first my great desire was to pay fifty dollars which I owed & then get off; to shew myself an honest man, in the world's sense, I have remained in sight of that creditor until he is now only one of a hundred. I would to God I had, six years ago, traveled & seen the world. I have been cribbed up until my notions became narrow & peculiar, my energy failed, & my health too & I was becoming helpless—I ought, long ago, to have known what I now know: but never mind, better late than never. As I said, I will honestly & boldly face my creditors, & tell them I must leave them. I am a proud man, prouder than you think & that word *fail* is to me the most horrid of any in the language; add to this my extreme sensitiveness & my knowledge of the human heart & you may imagine What a hell my mind is in. With the world money is honor & inability dishonesty: steal & be rich & you will be esteemed honest; give every one his due & be poor & you will be a swindler because your honesty has kept you from having money to pay your debts. Such is the world; such the tribunal which is



now to Judge of a fallen man whose heart, soul, thoughts, have been ever in a high, pure empyrean of honor, honesty & philanthropy, far, far above the ken of that world which will condemn him. I have long looked for this crisis; & hence the tinge of thoughtful melancholy which has dashed my gayest moments. Well, I have been economical, industrious, moderate & charitable to all; I will see if these will be put to my credit— —.

(1.) As to other matters of more general interest, I may as well tell you, once for all what has become of (Roanoke), my second Novel. As you perhaps know, my heart was deeply interested in this work & for a variety of reasons: 1st, I wished to improve on "Alamance" which I examined as an artist examines the rough model of his intended work. I examined it to see defects and was sure that I could do better next time. 2nd I had more materials for my second work than I had had for my first; and besides the desire of illustrating, in the lives of the characters, my notions of human life &c, I wished to throw some light on the history of my native state, & to rescue from fast coming oblivion the memory of some of her great & gallant sons.

The State—God bless the Old North & all its sons & daughters—the state applauded my crude & humble effort, & my gratitude is, perhaps, the strongest of all my feelings. I desired to shew my people that their confidence, their generous confidence, was not misplaced; & I desired, above all things however feeble my ability to render an immortal tribute to their sterling worth. Providence, however, has otherwise decreed. Last spring, when the work was about half finished my health, from confinement & over-exertion, failed me & is not yet restored. I brought my manuscripts with me expecting soon to be able to resume my task; but I have found that it is easier far to destroy than to recruit one's constitution. Eminent physicians here have scolded me sharply for my hitherto total neglect of myself & bade me, on pain of early decrepitude not to resume my vocation as an author, for a year at least.

Did the good people of North-Carolina know how much I regret my inability to fulfil their expectations & gratify my own desires in regard to our Common Mother, & did they know how painful an infliction this inability in itself is, I'm sure they would not only forgive me but sympathize with me.

Brief and unhappy as is earthly existence it costs us dearly; it must be maintained by never ending toil & care. We are put to hard shifts simply to obtain a living; and it may be that on this account I will be compelled to leave North-Carolina. If I do, wherever I go & whatever be my fate, the tenderest recol-



lections of my native state shall accompany me through the Journey of life; & when the last, mortal struggle comes, I could wish to close my eyes amid the scenes of my early youth & to be wept for only by such people as the manly, honest sons & chaste & simple daughters of my own Carolina. (2.)

Do you not now see why I have written so seldom? Such strong & such generous friendship as yours is not soon forgotten or lightly prized by me; & not a day passes but what I think of you. I have witnessed many strange & some grand scenes since I saw you; I have been in many famous & many interesting places, & at all of them you were with me, in the spirit; or rather I should say, I was with you. But I have been stretched on a rack of anxiety & expectation & have not therefore been in the mood to write to any one. I have still been hoping for the good time coming until at last there is no longer reason to hope. I have not told you have [half?] the causes of bitterness which I have: God only can know the anguish of my heart. It has borne up manfully so far; I will still try to stand erect tho' I have cause enough of suffering to unman a regiment—.

I have traveled a great deal this summer. I have been twice to Boston; twice to New-York; to Albany, Cape-May &c &c. In a few days I shall set my face homewards, & of what happens to me then I will give you due notice. This letter, long as it is, is intended for a history merely. It is a confidential, & friendly, tho' simple & familiar account of my own matters & intended to enable you to understand my movements. Hereafter I will not have to write auto-biography & will be, therefore, more interesting—. I have no doubt but Manly<sup>87</sup> is beaten; that freehold test is behind the spirit of the age. When you wrote me that rich democrats were going against Reid<sup>88</sup> I thought it was a game [?] Case with our Candidate; no one could make such an issue with me. The Whigs, I thought, were silly, but being a poor man, I did not care to open my mouth. Never was there a more indefensible law than that freehold one; but I have not now time to write of politics. *I will only say from present appearances Taylor<sup>89</sup> is utterly used up.* I Judge not by our elections; N. C. is safe. I hope things will change.

<sup>87</sup> Charles Manly (1795-1871) was the successful Whig candidate for governor in the campaign of 1848.

<sup>88</sup> David Settle Reid (1813-1891) was the defeated Democratic candidate for governor in 1848.

<sup>89</sup> Zachary Taylor (1784-1850) was President of the United States (1849-1850).



Remember me kindly to every friend I have in your circle of Society & correspondents. I saw Seaton Gales<sup>90</sup> in New-York & he requested me to remember him to you. Please now remember me to him, & furnish him, for his paper, an extract from this letter. Give the extract as one from a private letter from the Author of "Alamance" & tell the date &c &c. Leave out the word "Roanoke," & if I may suggest, let the extract begin at figure (1.) & end at (2.). This will be simplest & the easiest way for me to inform my expectant friends of what I am about.

I remain,

Your faithful friend,

C. H. Wiley

P. S. None of my letters are fit to see the light, for I cannot take pains with this kind of composition. I hope the extract alluded to is sufficiently decent to escape the censure of the S.P.'s,<sup>91</sup> a very sharp race.

#### SEATON GALES to KINGSBURY

Raleigh, August 23rd '48

. . . And poor Wiley! I met him one day in the streets of New York, and he looked the very picture of hopeless despondency. And so he leaves the "Old North" for good! Success attend him—prosperity be his handmaid. He seems to be one of those silver arrows shot from the capricious bow of Fortune, that fall by the way-side—unable to penetrate amid the cold and selfish speculations of the World. I have but very little personal acquaintance with him—yet I like him much for your sake. When you write to him, give the kindest wishes one of who *really* wishes him well. . . .

#### W. R. WIGGINS<sup>92</sup> to KINGSBURY

Oxford N. C. Nov 1st 48

. . . Major C. H. Wiley is once more in Oxford, he arrived here this morning. I haven't seen him, yet, but understand that his health is very very little improved. . . .

<sup>90</sup> This son (1828-1878) of Weston R. Gales succeeded his father as editor of the *Raleigh Register* in 1848.

<sup>91</sup> The meaning of Wiley's abbreviation is not clear, though he evidently has his critics in mind.

<sup>92</sup> See above, n. 61.



# ROANOKE;

OR,

## "WHERE IS UTOPIA?"

BY C. H. WILEY.

AUTHOR OF "ALAMANCE," ETC., ETC.

EMBELLISHED WITH FOURTEEN BEAUTIFUL ILLUSTRATIONS.

FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS.

DRAWN EXPRESSLY FOR THIS WORK, BY DARLEY.

Philadelphia:

T. B. PETERSON & BROTHERS,  
306 CHESTNUT STREET.

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*University of North Carolina Library*

Plate V

AMERICAN EDITION (1866) OF ROANOKE  
FOR FIRST TIME USING ORIGINAL TITLE

[ 571 ]



## WILEY to KINGSBURY

Oxford, Nov. 17th 1848.

My Dear Captain:

I am once more in my old Office. I arrived here a little more than two weeks ago & since my arrival have been quite unwell with a cold which has tried itself upon me in every possible form. I have had *Cholera Morbus*, then something like Whooping-Cough, then bilious fever, & now sore throat. Of course I have not been able to do much; & of course I had much to do. I am thus minute that you may see why your two welcome letters of September last have not been sooner answered. When I write to a *bore* I write in haste & I cannot rest until I have dispatched him—when I write to you I wish to go about it at my leisure. But I will, at last, have to be in a hurry.

After I wrote to you in Philadelphia I contributed a good deal of matter to the *Post*<sup>93</sup> & *Courier*<sup>94</sup> & to a new Magazine<sup>95</sup> about to be started. I was compelled to do this to raise means & as I wrote to please the Editors & their readers, not myself, I do not care for my friends to see the articles.<sup>96</sup> At last I got nearly ready to come home, & then, on a Sunday, I took out from my trunk, the written part of "Roanoke" to commit it to the flames. Before doing so I glanced over some chapters which I wished to preserve; a parent's yearnings came over me & I could not destroy my child. I resolved to publish in a Magazine & collect something out of my labors, & next day went to see my friend J. R. Chandler.<sup>97</sup>

Graham had, in the mean broken & his interest in the Magazine past into other hands, among them, Chandler's. Mr. C. gave me a letter of introduction to Sartain & Co. who are going to start a new Magazine to be called "Sartain's Union Magazine."<sup>98</sup> It was thought best to try the New Magazine first as it might give the best prices—. The Publishers introduced me to their Editor, Professor Hart<sup>99</sup> of the High School, a gentleman eminent as a critic, scholar & lecturer, & withal a very clever gentleman; & Mr. Hart carried me to his house where I read to him what I had written of "Roanoke." He looked severe at first

<sup>93</sup> *Saturday Evening Post*.

<sup>94</sup> Probably the *Philadelphia Morning Courier*.

<sup>95</sup> *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, formerly *Union Magazine of Literature and Art*.

<sup>96</sup> Two short stories by Wiley appeared in *Sartain's Union Magazine* for January, 1849: "The Haunted Chamber; or, How They Chose a May Queen in the School of Parson Cole" and "The Poor Student's Dream; or, The Golden Rule." They are, as Wiley knew, of inferior literary quality.

<sup>97</sup> See above, n. 75.

<sup>98</sup> Published under this title, 1848-1852.

<sup>99</sup> Abraham Hart (1810-1885) of the Philadelphia publishing firm of E. L. Carey and A. Hart.



& I was alarmed—gradually his brow relaxed, then he smiled, then he laughed, & looked deeply interested by turns. He told me that he considered my Novel more original, fresh & American than any thing he had seen, & that parts of it, for sterling interest, wild scenery, & truthfulness to Nature he had never seen equalled. That's what he said & he is a man of few words—he saw the publishers & the publishers agreed to give me four dollars per printed page & one third of all the subscription which my novel brings to the Magazine. I contracted to finish it by the 1st day of Jany next or go back, for by that time they wish to announce it. I cannot finish it by then; I have too many cares on my mind. I will soon wind up my business here; then I must pay my parents a visit & after that I will have little time left to write. I must go back;—the work will be announced as soon as I return; & besides this, I can write better in Philadelphia, I can blend recreation with labor & I can operate all over the Nation where I have friends. On this account I have applied to our electors to be appointed Messenger to carry the vote of N. C. to Washington, & you'll see that I'll [now?] succeed. If I don't I may lose my contract.

To-morrow I wish to start to Guilford—thence I'll go to Raleigh.

Will you not, for the present, excuse me from the task which your request makes an obligation? I'm overtasked just now.

I'll hereafter give my opinion at length in regard to your choice of an occupation. I hope I'll see you soon; if I don't I'll write certain.

I remain very truly

Your friend,

C. H. Wiley

P.S. Look in any late no. of the Sat. Ev. Post for an advertisement of Sartain & Co. I have just seen it. *Nov. 21<sup>st</sup>*.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Wiley's date is incorrect. The Sartain advertisement appears on page 3 of the issue for November 18, 1848. One paragraph reads: "The publishers respectfully announce also, that besides having secured the services of the best talent of the country, as regular contributors, they have purchased the manuscript of a Novel by C. H. Wiley, Esq., of North Carolina, embodying many of the early traditions of the Carolinas and Virginia. The publication will commence in the March No. and completed [*sic*] during the issue of the Nos. for 1849. The publication of the Novel will in no way interfere with the usual variety of the Magazine, as extra pages will be issued if it is found necessary. The proprietors of Sartain's Magazine have marked out for themselves an independent course in the publication of their Magazine, without any reference to other Magazines now published, and when their plans shall have been fully made known, they feel confident a liberal and discriminating public will appreciate their efforts."



J. P. KENNEDY<sup>101</sup> to WILEY [at Oxford]Baltimore, Nov. 18, 1848<sup>102</sup>

My dear Sir

Although it gives me pleasure to hear from you, I grieve to learn your solicitude in regard to the small obligation I have placed you under—the more especially for the adversity to which you refer. Pray then no more of it. I assure you it would never be remembered by me, if you did not recall it. And now that you may be perfectly easy on that point, let me beg you to keep the small fund which it was my happiness to be able to put into your hands, until, what I hope will not be long in reaching you, a more prosperous day shall come, and then that you will repay the debt to me, by giving the amount of it to any good and worthy man of letters who may fall in your way in a time of need. You cannot do me a greater favor than to apply this fund in that way, whenever your convenience and the necessities of a fellow craftsman in our idle trade may furnish you a proper opportunity.

I shall be very glad to receive your new work to which you allude, and I can assure you with great sincerity that you have all my good wishes in your success.

Very truly

My Dear Sir

Yours

To .....<sup>103</sup> from WILEYPhiladelphia, Dec. 24th, 1848<sup>104</sup>

Dear Sir:

The most interesting subject, perhaps, to every man is himself, & to this rule I do not profess to be an exception. At least I persuade myself that my "whereabouts" & *what-about*s are matters not unworthy of being known; & in this belief I shall take the liberty of saying a few words concerning them.

<sup>101</sup> John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870) of Baltimore was at this time well known in both literary and political circles. His famous *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835) was the first novel employing a partial North Carolina scene. Another young writer to whom he offered his patronage was Edgar Allan Poe, to whose "Ms. Found in a Bottle" (1833) Kennedy awarded first prize in a short-story contest. This previously unpublished Kennedy letter has up to now been overlooked. Doubtless Wiley called on Kennedy while making the rounds to establish literary acquaintances.

<sup>102</sup> Wiley Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

<sup>103</sup> It is not known whether any copy of this unaddressed, unfinished letter was ever posted.

<sup>104</sup> Wiley Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.



I am busily engaged, preparing for the press, my second work, the publishers wishing it to be complete before they begin to publish. The first number may be looked for on the 1st day of February next; & to those interested it may be gratifying to know that it will be illustrated with engravings. The Publishers, under the promptings of their critics, have manifested a very liberal spirit, employing such designers & engravers as I recommend. Darly,<sup>105</sup> [*sic*] the best comic designer in the U. S. has been engaged & will, on Monday next, commence studying my work so as to imbue himself with its spirit; & his designs will be put into the hands of the best wood engraver in the City. There will be at least two engravings in each number, & some twenty or twenty five in all—— . . . .

[Wiley continues in good humor and good spirits, describing the happy throngs in Philadelphia on Christmas eve. All is pleasant; all are smiling. He concludes this excerpt with a discussion of the word *Yankee* and finally decides that “to any people the Yankees are those who live North of them, in a colder climate & on a more barren soil.”]

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<sup>105</sup> Felix O. C. Darley (1822-1888), famed American artist and author, illustrated Wiley's *Roanoke* with fourteen drawings.



## BOOK REVIEWS

North Carolina: The History of a Southern State. By Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 676. \$7.50.)

This latest book by Lefler and Newsome begins with the first explorations and efforts at settlement in North Carolina and ends with "Politics, 1948-1953." No phase of the state's history is neglected, from John Cabot to Governor William B. Umstead. The authors' coverage (thirty-nine chapters on the years to 1900 and seven since that date) is amazingly full. Their book has been designed for both popular and school uses; they have made no attempt either to build up or tear down North Carolinians or their state; they have not sought to "revise" history; rather, they have written a straightforward and unbiased account of their subject, and they have incorporated the results of the work of old and modern scholars. Lefler's own *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries* has been put to excellent and appropriate use.

The authors have not detached North Carolina from its setting. The state, as it should be, is the center of attraction; the subtitle, *The History of a Southern State*, is also very pertinent, for an account of North Carolina separated from its surrounding area would be incomplete indeed. The state is presented in its national setting, with special attention to politics and economics, all of which results in an approach refreshing and enlightening. North Carolinians themselves, for example, are explained as being different from other southerners in some of their attitudes and actions, but southerners nevertheless in other regards and Americans as well.

Five distinct eras of North Carolina's history are presented: the colonial, the early national to 1830, 1830 to the Civil War and Reconstruction, 1877 to 1900, and the twentieth century. Each era contains a discussion of economic, political, and social life. For example, the state's economy—agriculture, manufacturing, mining, and transportation—is analyzed and is described on the basis of state, regional, and national importance. State politics is also tied in time after time with



national politics. The reader who is a North Carolinian, a southerner, or an American—or all of these—can not help but appreciate the authors' masterful approach and presentation of their subject. Every reader will benefit from the Lefler-Newsome book. Facts and interpretations are included; the style is clear and excellent; the end result is a study long needed and one which should serve as a model for histories of other states. North Carolina has had a full and intriguing history, of which the reader will find the best account by Lefler and Newsome. Despite Professor Lefler's modest statement that he and the late Professor Newsome began preparation of their book only five years ago, their study represents many years of research and work.

Weymouth T. Jordan.

Florida State University,  
Tallahassee, Fla.

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*The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant.* Edited with an Introduction by Richard J. Hooker. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 1953. Pp. xxxix, 305. Index and end maps. \$5.00.)

Presbyterians, Baptists, and Episcopalians will wince at many of the sharp statements in the sermons and journal entries of Rev. Charles Woodmason, who had been a merchant and office holder in his Majesty's Royal Colony of South Carolina, but after the repeal of the Stamp Act became a zealous itinerant minister of the Anglican church in the backcountry. Pine Tree, later Camden, was his headquarters after 1766. Horrified at the prospect of the "Sectaries" winning the province, he traveled through sleet and rain, sometimes with fever, to reach those who would listen. Sometimes thwarted by rival ministers or by their flocks, who wanted nothing to do with "a spy of the King" or an exponent of the Church of England, Woodmason became vindictive. Occasionally, a Quaker, a Baptist or a Presbyterian surprised him by measuring up to most of his standards for a Christian gentleman, and



he stopped his tirades long enough to ponder the individual man. Woodmason thundered at the wickedness of the people in language more like that of John Knox than John Wesley. He was also caustic regarding those who lived at ease in Charleston or in London and who failed to send more devoted and able ministers to save the backcountry for king and church.

Richard J. Hooker, the editor, has written two excellent introductions for the major divisions. One portrays Woodmason, evaluates his journal for 1766-68 and his sermons, and summarizes the outstanding social and economic aspects of the period. A high regard for the duties of an editor kept him from using many quotations or filling in details. Therefore, a desire to read the documents is stimulated and will be found most rewarding to the social historian. For many, the twenty-five page Introduction to the Regulator Movement in South Carolina, along with over a hundred pages of Regulator documents, will be more important. As a result of Professor Hooker's careful work, the Rev. Mr. Woodmason joins the ranks of Rev. William Tennent, William Henry Drayton, and Dr. David Ramsay as interpreters of the life and thought of South Carolina on the eve of the American Revolution.

Students of the effects of the frontier will profit from a case study of Woodmason, the city man of some culture who pleaded for more of the institutions of civilization in order that the frontier might not throw the king's subjects into barbarism. Woodmason became one of the most forceful interpreters of the backcountry to Charlestonians and to men in high places in England, because association with frontiersmen had brought an understanding of the need for local courts and churches, voting places close at hand, roads, schools, reasonable taxation, and fair representation. He realized the proximity of revolution in North and South Carolina and tried to direct reactions to real grievances into the lawful form of forthright petitions and resolutions. He did not hesitate to report that North Carolina Regulators were prepared to defend and support South Carolina Regula-



tors if the need arose. New light has been shed on the background of the American Revolution and the subsequent alignments during the civil war between Patriots and Loyalists. The director of The University of North Carolina Press and the Institute of Early American History and Culture deserve congratulations for publishing the documents with the editor's ample notes, a useful map, and index.

Robert C. Cotner.

The University of Texas,  
Austin, Texas.

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Family Letters of the Three Wade Hamptons, 1782-1901. Edited by Charles E. Cauthen. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1953. Pp. xix, 181. \$5.00.)

The Hamptons of South Carolina made important contributions to history—at least according to the southern definitions of that term—over a longer period of time than any southern family that has lived south of Virginia. They distinguished themselves in military service, in politics, and in the accumulation of wealth in land and slaves. Had their activities been in the arts or the sciences they would not have been recognized as important persons; for only in the twentieth century have Southerners learned to praise artists, scientists, and writers. As late as 1901 the University of South Carolina made a list of distinguished graduates made up entirely of statesmen, soldiers, and lawyers.

Wade Hampton I was precious to South Carolinians. He was the hero of the Revolutionary battle at Eutaw Springs and was a venerated if unsuccessful general in the War of 1812. He owned so much land along the Gulf coast that he was reputed to be one of the richest men in America.

Wade Hampton II preferred making governors to being one himself. He used his inherited wealth for two purposes which made him a legend among South Carolinians: he dispensed a lavish hospitality, and owned a string of race horses.

Wade Hampton III was a wealthy slaveholder and planter in three states, a mighty hunter who killed bears with his own hands, a fighter in the cause of the Confederacy who



did not avoid single combat, the redeemer of his state from carpetbaggery and negroism, and the champion of the values of the past against an indiscriminate democracy.

The great defeat of 1865 destroyed the economic supports of the Hampton dynasty, but South Carolinians still think of it as the greatest family the state has ever produced. It would rank in southern annals along with the Randolphs and the Lees but for the obtuseness of certain members of the Lee family who could not recognize greatness southern-style from the region below Virginia.

Previous attempts to write adequate appreciations of the Hamptons have failed because of the paucity of the family's literary remains. The Hamptons did not write much, and most of what they did write has been destroyed through carelessness or fire. Mr. Cauthen has to some degree remedied this deficiency. Herewith he publishes for the first time 177 Hampton letters; as many letters as he, after diligent search, was able to find. He has carefully edited them and prefaced them with the best sketches of the three Hamptons that have ever been published.

It is no fault of Mr. Cauthen that the 177 letters are mostly concerned with inconsequential family matters, and fail to reveal in any great measure the thoughts of their writers during crucial moments of their careers. We fail to learn, for example, Wade Hampton III's thoughts when he came out of the many battles in which he participated; his reactions to the methods his friends used in bringing about the overthrow of the carpetbaggers; his private feelings about the methods used to disfranchise the black persons whose friend he professed to be; and to what degree he understood the tricks by which Ben Tillman undermined Hampton's political prestige. Nevertheless we are grateful to Mr. Cauthen for doing the best that was possible in revealing the activities of an eminent South Carolina family.

Francis B. Simkins.

Longwood College,  
Farmville, Virginia.



Rice Planter and Sportsman: The Recollections of J. Motte Alston, 1821-1909. Edited by Arney R. Childs, with an introduction by Mary Alston Read Simms. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1953. Pp. xviii, 148. Illustrations. \$4.50.)

In the 1890's J. Motte Alston, a septuagenarian living in the city of Washington, far from the scenes of his early life, wrote his reminiscences "as a labor of love for his grandson, who was keenly interested in family history." The manuscript, sealed for a quarter of a century (during which time the grandson died), was opened by a granddaughter, Mary Alston Read Simms, who read it and put it aside until recently, when she agreed to its publication. The resulting slender volume comprises an interesting and valuable account of a way of life that has long since disappeared and that was no more than a memory when the author of these recollections put pen to paper.

Alston was a member of a family of rice planters whose vast acres were located on the Waccamaw River near Georgetown, South Carolina. After the death of his mother, when the boy was only two years old, he was reared by grandparents who were among the aristocracy of the region. "Indulged, petted, spoiled," he enjoyed a life of luxury from which he learned, nevertheless, something of rice planting and much about the social position he would some day hold. Partly because of ill health his formal education was brief, but he could console himself with the thought that "mere book learning . . . went but a short way toward the building up of a gentleman." After the death of his grandfather the young man took to "rice planting as naturally as a duck took to water," superintended the clearing of a large tract of swamp land, and established himself as a successful planter in his own right. Shortly after he had retired to enjoy the sizable fortune which he had accumulated, the Civil War wiped out his investments.

The book gives a vivid account of rice planting and of the hunting and fishing which the author enjoyed thoroughly. Alston recalls with nostalgia his life before the war. Slavery



was a benevolent institution which transformed "the naked savage from Africa to the civilized, intelligent, polite and well attired gentleman and lady of color." There is nothing but praise for the "old-time negro," but later generations should be sent back to Africa. The Civil War "could have been avoided had the politicians on both sides seen fit to have done so," and the South was to blame for the election of Lincoln. Reconstruction was "that hell on earth."

The editor admits that he took "great liberties" in correcting errors, conventionalizing punctuation, and rearranging the textual matter as he prepared the manuscript for publication. Scholars frown on such changes, but in this instance they may be justified. The book reads smoothly and the picture which it presents would probably not be greatly different if the text meticulously followed the original.

James F. Hopkins.

University of Kentucky,  
Lexington, Ky.

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A Century of Georgia Agriculture, 1850-1950. By Willard Range. With Foreword by George H. King. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 333. Maps, charts, bibliography, and index. \$5.00.)

This is a very effective survey of major developments that occurred in Georgia agriculture during the century 1850 to 1950. Although primarily concerned with the economic, this account includes appropriate reference to those educational and political developments which influenced agriculture.

The text is divided into three approximately equal parts with a total of fifteen chapters. Part I, entitled "The End of the Golden Age, 1850-1865," draws a good picture of agricultural conditions in the state during the most prosperous decade of the ante-bellum period, and then records the impact of war as it tended to change those conditions. In some respects the ante-bellum Georgia farmer was prosperous. It was a prosperity, however, based upon an unintelligent and unscientific use of the land, upon use of slave labor, and an overemphasis on cotton production.



Part II, or "The Long Depression, 1865-1900," surveys the efforts made to lift Georgia agriculture from the depressed condition it occupied during the thirty years after the Civil War. These efforts were rewarded with only slight success. A general disrespect for "book-farming" and suspicion of new ideas served as obstacles to reform.

Part III, or "The Revolutionary New Century, 1900-1950," records the many developments of the past half-century. Significant among these was the development in Georgia of a much more diversified agricultural economy. By 1947 the state had twelve major sources of farm income, and the acreage devoted to cotton had been reduced by 80 per cent. Major improvements in agricultural education, livestock culture, and marketing practices were brought to pass. Despite these signs of progress the state continued to fall far short of equalling national averages in farm output in 1950.

The author has made a very thorough use of the sources for this study. He has been particularly adept at pointing up the significant and presenting an easily understood account. Although of major interest to Georgians, this account has very definite implications for other readers—particularly those who live in the cotton growing states of the South. The book has very helpful maps and charts, a good bibliography and index. Inclusion of a map showing county divisions would have assisted a reader who is unfamiliar with Georgia. This is a very readable, interesting, and attractive volume.

Cornelius O. Cathey.

The University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill.

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History and Bibliography of Alabama Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century. By Rhoda Coleman Ellison. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 209. \$4.00.)

This book names several Alabama newspapers published prior to 1901, gives a capsule history of many of them, and presents a list of issues available in over 34 depositories in 18 states and the District of Columbia. It is obviously the product of considerable research. The author, professor of



English at Huntingdon College, has gleaned her information primarily from the files of the newspapers themselves. Over 1,025 titles are cited. Despite its many shortcomings, it will be a valuable aid for students of Alabama history.

According to its jacket, "this book lists all known Alabama newspapers published during the nineteenth century. . . ." In the preface, however, the author states merely that it "attempts to name as many nineteenth century Alabama newspaper titles as possible. . . ." Actually it does neither. The reviewer's first inclination is to compare this work with Winifred Gregory, *American Newspapers, 1821-1936; A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1937). He soon discovers that scores of nineteenth-century Alabama newspapers mentioned in the earlier work are not included in the present compilation. This anomaly results from the fact that Dr. Ellison "regrettfully excluded" the vast holdings of some 70 Alabama county courthouses whose resources were listed in Miss Gregory's publication. Since collectively these depositories contain approximately one half of the holdings cited in the *Union List*, the scope of the present work is considerably smaller than it might have been.

More puzzling than serious is the author's failure to include the holdings of the Library of The University of North Carolina, where she received her doctorate in 1945. From that library's card catalogue, this reviewer noted three newspapers not mentioned by Dr. Ellison, earlier issues of six newspapers cited, and one newspaper for which the author found no files.

Although refusing to cite the *Union List* as evidence of a newspaper's existence, the author obtained many of her titles from references in contemporary periodicals. She does not call to the reader's attention, however, that hopeful publishers often drew up prospectuses for newspapers that were never issued, and that editors, then as now, were often careless in citing the names of contemporary publications. Students of American political journalism will readily catch an error on page 201. Among the newspapers listed under



"Location Undetermined" is "THE GLOBE. Named as one of the contenders for the job of House printer in Alabama in 1837 (see *North Alabamian*, Sept. 29, 1837). Its publishers were Gales and Seaton. They lost the contract to be printers for the extra session to the *Madisonian*, published by Thos. Allen. No files located." The story in the *North Alabamian* was an obvious reference to the rivalry for the Congressional printing in 1837 between three Washington, D. C., newspapers, Francis P. Blair's *Globe*, Gales's and Seaton's *National Intelligencer*, and Thomas Allen's *Madisonian*.

Despite the extensive amount of labor that went into the preparation of this volume, it is to be regretted that the net result is no better. One of the most serious objections is that it is difficult to use. When holdings from more than one library are indicated, it is not easy for the reader to tell where the list of one depository's resources ends and that of another starts. It would have been better if the author had begun each such list on a new line or had placed the symbols for the libraries in bold-face or contrasting type. The manner of indicating "skips" in fairly complete files is also confusing. Such issues could well have been placed within brackets or in a different type. Since this work supplements but does not supplant the *Union List*, it would have been better had Dr. Ellison used the same key symbols for depositories that were used by Miss Gregory and compilers of similar lists.

Edwin A. Miles.

University of Houston,  
Houston, Texas.

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The First Saratoga. Being the Saga of John Young and His Sloop-of-War. By William Bell Clark. (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 199. \$3.50.)

The American who identifies any particular ship in American naval history with the name *Saratoga* is likely to remember only the famed aircraft carrier which survived two Japanese torpedoings and a fierce attack by seven Kamikaze planes to perish in an atomic test at Eniwetok. But the naval history that attaches itself to the name *Saratoga* stretches



as far back as that of our nation itself; and William Bell Clark, in *The First Saratoga*, attempts to restore some of the forgotten glory that briefly belonged to John Young and his 150-ton sloop-of-war before they were lost in heavy weather while headed from Cap Francois in the West Indies to the Delaware Capes.

Captain Young of the *Saratoga* is unknown today. Even Mr. Clark admits the difficulty of discovering many facts about his appearance, his personality, or his life history except for that part dealing specifically with his naval career. Naval records give little more than the statistics regarding his service on several ships as seaman, mate, or master. What he looked like is unknown. He was a personal friend of John Paul Jones. Mr. Clark reports that by contemporaries John Young "was considered impetuous, venturesome, and courageous—'full of ardor,' as one put it." From Mr. Clark's account he appears to have been a daring captain who, while strict with his men, was able to draw from them admiration and loyalty as well as obedience. There is no doubt as to his bravery, but one act of deception which enabled him to capture two prizes would perhaps disqualify him as a hero of a romantic sea novel. When he substituted the Union Jack for the Stars and Stripes in order to get close enough to fire his cannon broadside at two merchant ships if they offered battle or tried to flee, he may in truth have been employing what was then "a common and justifiable strategem;" but the modern reader is likely to recall that this was also one of the commonest strategems used by pirate captains to sneak up on unsuspecting and often helpless victims.

During his war career which lasted from October 25, 1776, to March 18, 1781, John Young captured nineteen prizes (three with the aid of other American vessels). Of these, twelve were taken while he was master of the *Saratoga*. The fact that seven of his nineteen prizes were later recaptured by British vessels somewhat dims Young's record, but his total accomplishment is still a remarkable one.

*The First Saratoga*, though not a major addition to American naval history, is worthy and an interesting one. Mr.



Clark has been most industrious in searching out the material for his account; and some of his descriptions of naval engagements provide in brief the kind of excitement that readers get from the pages of Rafael Sabatini and C. S. Forester. Unfortunately, however, his writing style is occasionally marked by the journalistic clichés of Sunday supplement articles. Also, though "seeth" (p. 63) appears to be only a misprint for "seethe," the same cannot be said for "ladenened," which is used for "laden" on p. 94 and again on p. 136.

Mr. Clark has included three appendices listing John Young's pre-Revolutionary voyages, the muster rolls of his last two ships (the *Independence* and the *Saratoga*), and his nineteen prizes. In addition there are twenty-one pages of notes, a bibliography, and an index.

H. G. Kincheloe.

North Carolina State College,  
Raleigh.

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Confederate Agent: A Discovery in History. By James D. Horan.  
(New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 1954. Pp. xxvi, 326.  
\$5.00.)

In 1942 appeared George Fort Milton's *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* and Wood Gray's *The Hidden Civil War*, both treating opposition in the North to the Lincoln administration and devoting considerable attention to what today would be termed subversive activities. These were directed by the Confederate mission in Canada headed by Commissioners Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, and James P. Holcomb. Among their numerous projects were those to free Confederate prisoners stockaded in Camp Douglas, Chicago, to capture the U.S.S. *Michigan*, lone Union warship on the Great Lakes, to rob banks in St. Albans, Vermont, and to reduce New York City to ashes. The Milton-Gray accounts, excellent as they are, were prepared without examination of two pertinent collections of sources. The Baker-Turner papers, among the War Department records in the National Archives and dealing largely with subversive activi-



ties, were closed to scholars until 1953. The Thomas Henry Hines papers, dealing with the activities of one of the cleverest of the agents subject to the orders of the Confederate commissioners, were in the hands of descendants and apparently unknown to scholars until they were recently turned up by newspaperman-author Horan. They are now available in the Margaret I. King Library, University of Kentucky. Using these collections and others of less significance Mr. Horan has filled in some of the gaps left by Milton and Gray. Had he searched more assiduously in collections in the National Archives his account would have been even more complete. My chief criticism is that the author seemed unable to decide whether he was writing a biography of Hines or a narrative of "the Grand Conspiracy" (p. 285). Had it been the former, he should not have devoted long accounts to such episodes as the St. Albans raid and the New York arson attempt, with neither of which Hines is shown to have had more than a tenuous connection. Had it been the latter, he should not have devoted two parts of a five-part book to the pre-conspiratorial phase of the career of Hines and have subordinated the roles of Thompson, Clay and Holcomb.

W. Neil Franklin.

The National Archives,  
Washington, D. C.

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*Negro Slave Songs in the United States.* By Miles Mark Fisher. With a Foreword by Ray Allen Billington. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, published for the American Historical Association. c. 1953. Pp. xv, 223. \$4.00.)

*Negro Slave Songs in the United States* does not appear to have been written to prove a thesis, but it establishes one with clarity and conviction: so reasonable and natural that a reader fairly well acquainted with spirituals wonders why no scholar before had got at the essential facts about them and let them speak so clearly for themselves.

As with the traditional ballad, much—perhaps the showiest side—of the scholarship of the Negro spiritual has dealt with the vexed question of origins. But the trouble with the ballads



is that their origins are so far away, and the documentary and other kinds of evidence surviving have been so thin and scattered and ambiguous that no universally accepted explanation has been excogitated. Not so with the spiritual. Most of the evidence about it lies within written and printed documents of great variety, scope, and relevance, accumulated during the last two hundred years; and the spiritual is still a living art form, not a mere historical survival.

Dr. Miles Mark Fisher, himself a Negro, is a scholar of demonstrated competency. At the same time not too sophisticated to understand his people and perhaps enjoy their religion with them, but obviously a lively, warm-hearted, humorous, imaginative, educated man, he has simply gone to firsthand sources. These include manuscripts of missionaries, preachers, church officials and church records, Negro colonization societies, slaveowners, slaves and ex-slaves, etc.; the great song collections; the facts marshaled in earlier discussions of Negro songs; and a very impressive list of general social, political, economic, travel, governmental, and other works. In these he has found what has been said about Negro songs and singing, ordered his facts according to their logical relations, and let them suggest the truth about Negro spirituals. Then he sums up the truth. His method has its sanction in the preaching-success formula of one of his legendary predecessors: "Ah tells 'em what Ah gwine tell 'em; Ah tells 'em; 'n', w'en Ah gits froo, Ah tells 'em what Ah done tol' em."

Thus, toward the end of the resulting book (p. 176), "A spiritual may be defined as the utterance of an individual Negro about an experience that has universal application at whatever time that song was popular" (and the statement cites the words of the editors of the first great collection of spirituals). Further: "Besides giving impressions of real occurrences, spirituals are at the same time contemporary historical documents of those events. Spirituals gave the Negro side of what happened. . . . Without concern for the music of the masters, Negroes [who brought their own music from Africa] employed rhythmical songs to provide creature comforts, to accompany menial labor, to learn facts, to sell com-



modities, and to share religion" (pp. 177-178). The author points out eight kinds of material that went into the making of spirituals (pp. 178-179). Of these, one is African (important, as Lydia Parrish and James Weldon Johnson contended but did not strongly prove). One is nonhymnal European airs (Scottish and Irish, chiefly). Only one (and that presumably of relative unimportance, George Pullen Jackson and Newman I. White to the contrary) is white folks' hymns. The other Christian kinds are negligible. The remainder, the most powerfully operative, are secular and practical, realistic and homespun.

The chapters of the book, in order, examine the kinds of experience that shaped the spirituals. There were the revivals and camp meetings, as seen at all stages by contemporaries with no axes to grind. "Go Down, Moses," it would seem, gets its title from a character representing Moses at a Charleston revival, his songs "undoubtedly" carrying native African music. "Deep River" refers, not to the stream that John Bunyan's Christian had to cross, but to a body of water and a Quaker meetinghouse in Guilford County, North Carolina; and "crossing over" meant going to Africa, the home of camp meetings. "Steal Away" was equivalent to what convicts and soldiers do when they "go over the hill"—i.e., escape from slavery to Africa, or to take part in slave insurrections. "You'd Better Mind" originally referred to counsels of prudence in slave-and-master relations—to practical ways of getting along with ol' marster and his family. "The Promised Land" did not designate Heaven, but Africa or some other asylum of refuge, real or imagined, in this world. "When I Die" first contemplated, not spiritual transition to a city beyond the interstellar spaces, but reincarnation in Africa. "Look What A Wonder Jedus Done" is a figurative representation of the glory of emancipation and of the Negroes' progress thereafter.

This next-to-the-last chapter raises, in my mind, a question about what may be expected of the Negro race now that the last great artificial, legal barrier between the Negro and the possible realization of his full humanity has been removed. Also, whether the socially emancipated Negro may make as



important and beautiful a contribution to western culture as his slave ancestors did in the spiritual. If he does, credit may be due such wise and temperate and just leaders of his race as the author of this book would appear to be, from his handling of his controversial material.

Arthur Palmer Hudson.

The University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill.

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*Fleur de Lys and Calumet. Being the Pénicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana. Translated and edited by Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1953. Pp. xxviii, 283. \$4.00.)*

The narrative of André Pénicaut is one of the most valuable historical sources for the period when the fleur-de-lys, the emblem of French royalty, was being implanted along the Gulf Coast and in the Mississippi Valley. The relationship between the European adventurers and the Indian tribes of that area was sometimes symbolized by the smoking of the calumet, or pipe of peace, but at other times by less friendly actions. Several writers of early Louisiana history have made use of earlier editions of Pénicaut's narrative. To Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, Mary Collet Munger Professor of English in Birmingham-Southern College, we are indebted for this first complete English translation, based on a collation of four contemporary manuscripts of the narrative. In *Fleur de Lys and Calumet* the story also appears for the first time in any language as a book unto itself.

Pénicaut, a ship's carpenter who served in the French colonial empire from 1699 to 1722, began writing his narrative in Louisiana and finished it in France. During his twenty-three years in the New World he traveled up the Mississippi River as far north as present-day Minnesota, while his wanderings along the Gulf Coast extended from Florida to the Rio Grande. Written in the form of annals, his story has the usual faults of such memoirs: some of the dates have been proven inaccurate and there is an unmistakable tendency to exaggerate, although, in this case, apparently not to excess.



It is well to remember, however, that the work was written to support the author's claim for a pension after he had lost his eyesight in 1722.

The editor has furnished copious notes identifying place names, individuals, and incidents mentioned by Pénicaut. The book is well indexed, its format is attractive, and the illustrations are adequate, although some of the maps were reproduced too small for clear legibility. The story itself is sometimes fascinating but at other times dull. It is the most interesting when the author is describing his adventures among or the customs of the Indian tribes whose hospitality he enjoyed. As a narrative, the book's main virtues and faults are those of Pénicaut and not the editor, who, in his own words, "withheld every impulse" to improve the style of the author of what he regards as "perhaps the best sustained piece of literature portraying early French dominion in old Louisiana. . . ." Professor McWilliams has met well an obligation that historians have long owed to André Pénicaut.

Edwin A. Miles.

University of Houston,  
Houston, Texas.

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Galveston Island. The Journal of Francis C. Sheridan, 1839-1840. Edited by Willis W. Pratt. (Austin: The University of Texas Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 172. Illustrated. \$3.50.)

This little volume is an informative and entertaining work. Francis Sheridan, a young Irishman in the diplomatic service of Great Britain, sailed from Barbados to the young Texas Republic to observe conditions there and to report his findings to London. He landed at Velasco, remained there a couple of weeks, and proceeded to Galveston which he described as "singularly dreary" in appearance.

During his sojourn in Texas Sheridan made observations with considerable discernment and recorded them with a pleasant sense of humor and in a lively literary style. At times his descriptions of places and of people, such as the account of an auctioneer "with a red nose dressed in the deepest mourning mounted on a flour cask in the middle of the prin-



cipal street" of Galveston auctioning "a pair of bright bottle green Trowsers," are not far short of classic.

Apparently there was little of Texas life and customs that escaped the notice of this representative of the British government. He found Texas men chewing and spitting "all the blessed day and most of the night." Law enforcement he regarded as impossible, and going about unarmed in Texas was "a piece of neglect unheard of." The Texas navy, government finances, "villainy" in regard to land titles, fishing in coastal waters, the super-abundance of military titles, the bowie knife including its use as a toothpick, Texas Indians, Texas snakes, and "the most extraordinary creature," the horned frog, all received the attention and elicited the comments of Francis Sheridan.

The editing of this interesting volume is excellent. The publishers and the editor are to be congratulated on a job well done.

Jefferson Davis Bragg.

Baylor University,  
Waco, Texas.

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Valley of Democracy: The Frontier versus the Plantation in the Ohio Valley, 1775-1818. By John D. Barnhart. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. 1953. Pp. xiii, 338. \$3.75, paper bound.)

The stated purpose of Professor Barnhart's study is to test the validity of the Frederick Jackson Turner frontier doctrine by applying it to a specific place and time. The place chosen is the Ohio Valley; the time, the period of settlement and state-making in that region.

Some might question whether a single area is a sufficient testing ground for a theory of such wide application as the Turner thesis. Mr. Barnhart resolves this question, as did Turner, by pointing out that the frontier was a regenerative phenomenon that reproduced itself stage by stage across the unoccupied country. Mr. Barnhart gives substance to this assumption by adducing evidence to show that the Ohio Valley frontier had its natural antecedent in the older back-



country frontier of the seaboard states. He has by painstaking research traced the path of the Valley settlers back to their point of departure, showing that an impressive number of them began the westward trek from the southern piedmont and the Pennsylvania back-country.

The first chapters deal with these parent frontiers. The yeomen settlers of the piedmont, full of frontier aspiration for independence and self-rule, were forced to strive with the tidewater aristocracy. They were overcome in this struggle and many of them left for the bluegrass country and for other parts across the mountains. The states of Virginia and North Carolina controlled that part of the new country south of the Ohio and were therefore in a position to determine the initial forms of government and of economics. These parent states, themselves under the control of tidewater planter forces, foisted upon the new country the institutions that frontiersmen hated—slavery, the restricted electorate, property qualifications, and the rest. For Kentucky and Tennessee this work was accomplished through the joint influence of “aristocratic” elements in the mother states and in the new country. The ascendancy of plantation economics and planter control in the region south of the Ohio defeated the democratic impulses of the earliest phase of the frontier in that region. This defeat is most vividly symbolized by the downfall of the ill-starred state of Franklin. By comparison to the mother states, Kentucky and Tennessee showed some minor democratic gains, but these gains did not prevent the new states from being identified with the aristocratic regime of the Old South.

In the federal domain north of the Ohio, national policy, rather than state or regional policy, dominated early settlement and political development. Here the influence of New England and Pennsylvania was an important factor. The national policy, embodied in the Northwest Ordinances, secured a greater freedom for the true frontiersmen, the yeomen class and their leaders, to develop the institutions of free labor, manhood suffrage and the like, that were dear to them. The ordinances did not guarantee democratic devel-



opment, and indeed were wide of the democratic mark themselves. They did however offer an initial advantage, and a sort of protection, under which the frontier settlers were able, through much struggle, to secure democratic forms. The ordinances forbade slavery, a fact that deterred slaveholders from entering the northwest region in large numbers and establishing the plantation system and aristocratic government.

The conclusion is reached that the national government made a better colonizing agent than did the southern states, as measured by the opportunities given for the establishment of democratic institutions. This conclusion, *per se*, is not unduly stressed, but the contrast of the Old Southwest with the Old Northwest, which leads to the conclusion, is much stressed and is made one of the chief themes of the book. Tennessee and Kentucky symbolize on the one hand the failure of the democratizing frontier, while Ohio, Indiana and Illinois emerge on the other side as symbols of the democratic frontier triumphant.

Apart from the contrast of these two distinct sub-regions, the book's treatment of the main purpose, the testing of the Turner thesis, seems secondary. It appears doubtful whether Professor Barnhart should have stated his general conclusions with such close reference to Turner's as he did. To an extent, his study constitutes a modification of Turner's views; at the very least, it indicates some specific clarifications of the original theories. Mr. Barnhart notes a few clarifications, but not all of them. Rather often his general conclusions take the form of a single endorsement of Turner's general thesis. Implicit in his findings are opportunities to note additional clarifications of Turner's somewhat romantic view of the frontier phenomenon. For example, there is the opportunity to take another shot at the myth that has taken hold of some writers, including possibly Turner himself, concerning an assumed inevitability of the frontier march to democracy. In the treatment of the Old Southwest, he shows that the frontier spirit could be subdued, and in the case of the Old Northwest, that it was due to the interplay of a protective national policy and



the democratic will of the frontier people that the establishment of democracy was made possible. Apparently it took more than the frontier spirit by itself to achieve the hopes of yeomen settlers.

From the standpoint of technical scholarship, the book is impressive. The research is exhaustive and the factual presentation careful and clear. Within the limitations of the book, the story of the early political growth of the Valley region, with its conflicts of radicalism and conservatism, is lucidly told. Weight and color are given this story by an extensive use of contemporary newspaper materials, personal papers and other non-official sources. The bibliography, thirty-two pages in length, is splendid.

W. S. Tarlton.

State Department of Archives and History,  
Raleigh.

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The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull, Patriot-Artist, 1756-1843. Edited by Theodore Sizer. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1953. Pp. xxiii, 404. \$6.00.)

When the venerable Colonel John Trumbull published his *Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters* in 1841, "the book was a loss to the publishers and disappointed the distinguished author." The self-centered memoir had all the tediousness of an old man's tale and but little of the freshness of an eye-witness account of the stirring events in which the Colonel had had a part. The passage of a century has not improved the flavor of the book, but Professor Sizer in warming it over has discarded the dull appendices of the author and added some of his own, which with his admirable footnotes make the autobiography more complete and much more palatable.

Trumbull's life was a contradiction. Reared in practical, Puritan New England, he became an officer in Washington's patriot army; but before the Revolution was over he had thrust himself upon a deistic Europe in order to study painting with Benjamin West in London, the capital of the enemy. Ironically it was in Connecticut that Trumbull sowed wild oats and in England that he married. An artist of great talent



he justified his profession on the ground that his paintings accurately recorded the history of his country's birth. Nevertheless his finest canvas celebrated a British victory.

As director of the art gallery at Yale University, Professor Sizer was continually questioned, berated, and consulted about Trumbull, who at seventy-five had conveyed his collection of paintings to Yale in exchange for a life annuity. Having collected a mass of material on the patriot-artist, Professor Sizer began a biography of Trumbull, but found himself copying long passages from the autobiography into his life. He therefore abandoned the biography in favor of a new edition of the autobiography which had long been out of print. Although this edition is exceptionally well prepared, there is still a very real need for a first-class biography of Colonel John Trumbull.

William M. E. Rachal.

Virginia Historical Society,  
Richmond, Virginia.

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George Washington's America. By John Tebbel. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. 1954. Pp. 478. \$5.00.)

Part one of the five parts into which John Tebbel divides *George Washington's America* sets the geographical limits of the world of the British North American born before 1763. How Washington as a youthful surveyor, an emissary of the governor of Virginia, and an officer of the colonial militia in the French and Indian war helped to push these limits beyond the mountains that had hitherto been the western boundary is also described in this first part. Part two, "The Revolution: Journeys and Headquarters," contains many interesting anecdotes, some true, some labelled as probably untrue, illustrative of social life at headquarters, for wives followed husbands to army posts long before World War II. There are comments on some of the houses in which Washington lived and their present condition, which makes this section a good guidebook for the traveler of today. "Washington in New York City," and "Washington in Philadelphia," carry the reader back to 1776. The geographical organization



of the book necessitates this but to the general reader, for whom Mr. Tebbel says that he wrote it, this may be somewhat confusing. The description of New York as capital and Washington's years there as President is especially interesting. The fifth and last part, "Washington and the South," opens with a continuation of a topic taken up in Part two, presidential tours made for political reasons. In Part two the tour was through New England, in Part five through the Carolinas and Georgia. The book concludes with a discussion of Washington as a Virginia planter and of life at Mount Vernon. There is a map showing Washington's travels through his "World."

Mr. Tebbel's chief sources are Washington's *Diaries and Writings*, edited by Fitzpatrick, and Baker's *Itinerary and Washington after the Revolution*. The "Reference Notes" take the place of the usual bibliography, but they would be more useful if they gave the usual information as to date and place of publication. There is an error on p. 275. General Greene did not give his personal notes to the dishonest contractor, Banks, while he was quarter-master general, but during the period after Yorktown when as commander-in-chief of the Southern Department he was struggling desperately to keep his army fed and clothed.

In his introduction Mr. Tebbel says that the book is not intended for students or scholars. However, if not the scholar, certainly the student who may be a potential scholar, as well as the general reader, will find much in this book to stimulate his interest.

Clara G. Roe.

University of Akron,  
Akron, Ohio.

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Grant and His Generals. By Clarence Edward Macartney. (New York: The McBride Company. 1953. Pp. xiv, 352. \$5.00.)

Dr. Clarence Edward Macartney, author of *Lincoln and His Generals* and three other Civil War books, has been a student and lecturer in this field for forty years. The fruit of



this considerable research and reflection is his latest volume, *Grant and His Generals*.

The author, mindful of Plutarch's statement that: "the most glorious exploits do not always furnish . . . the clearest discoveries of virtue or vice in men," has not attempted to treat in detail Grant's campaigns, battles, and sieges. Instead, he regards the General in the light of his personal and military association with thirteen of his chief lieutenants, and in a final chapter with President Lincoln himself.

In succession the author treats these commanders: Thomas, courageous but stubborn; Meade, a tragedy of the war despite his victory at Gettysburg; McPherson, Grant's "best friend"; Rawlins, indispensable to his chief; Logan, the most capable of the civilian generals; Sheridan, whom Grant thought "had no superior as a general"; Wilson, who devised the plan to take Vicksburg; Halleck, "the most hopelessly stupid of all men McClellan met in high positions"; "Beast" Butler, "helpless as a child on the battlefield"; "Baldy" Smith, one of the ablest minds in the Union army; McClelland, the President's favorite; Burnside, magnanimous but incompetent; and lastly Sherman, "who never had the moral courage to order his whole army into an engagement."

The most important chapter concerns General W. F. ("Baldy") Smith who, in some respects, was the "greatest military genius" to serve under Grant, but whose readiness for intrigue and controversy eventually cost him all chance of a high command. Dr. Macartney was the first historian to have access to Smith's unfinished autobiography as well as his letters and papers. This collection has thrown a new light on the Butler-Smith controversy. It also contains some very interesting observations by Smith on Union generalship.

This book is a sound historical work enlivened by many well chosen quotations. The absence of footnotes detracts but little from a lively and readable volume.

John G. Barrett.

Virginia Military Institute,  
Lexington, Virginia.



American Constitutional Custom: A Forgotten Factor in the Founding. By Burleigh Cushing Rodick. New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. 244. \$4.75.)

Are we Americans really, as Crèvecoeur said, a "race of new men"? According to Professor Rodick, we are not. His chief emphasis is to the effect that the eighteenth century in America was largely a replay of the seventeenth in Great Britain. He reminds us of the common fund of political theory on which the two centuries drew and the common concern with the same major ideas - natural law, individual liberty, the social contract, balanced government, the right of revolution, and limited government. While there is nothing new in all of this, Professor Rodick pursues his parallel with admirable economy of statement and a sure instinct for the significant.

Professor Rodick's underlying purpose is to indicate the role of habit, custom, and tradition in our national political life down to 1800. In both policy and administration he notes numerous suggestive parallels with the English which he attributes to the influence of these factors. Thus, the United States "as a young nation played the same balance of power game that England had played." There was a neglect of remote areas just as under the English and, as the English attempted the Stamp Act, so we had the whiskey tax. The huzzas that greeted the Constitution were only a repetition of the traditional greeting to a new monarch. The Federalist development of the idea of implied powers was somehow attributable to the custom of the King to construe his prerogative broadly. And the disputants in the Bank struggle followed custom already made manifest when the Bank of England was established a century earlier. If these and other instances of custom in operation appear somewhat forced, it may be because we have thus far nowhere a full study of the part custom has played in our national life and are unaware of its impact on us. We can therefore be doubly thankful to Professor Rodick for this beginning in the field. I should add



that the notes are a treasury of quotations we would all like to have accessible.

Francis Paschal.

Duke University,  
Durham, N. C.

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*The Burr Conspiracy.* By Thomas Perkins Abernethy. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 301. \$6.00.)

Bold, ambitious, loquacious, visionary Aaron Burr, former vice-president and "bungler in intrigue," and florid, robust, swaggering James Wilkinson, commanding general of the United States army, governor of Upper Louisiana Territory and "the most skillful and unscrupulous plotter this country has ever produced," have been tried again for conspiring to separate the Southwest from the Union, conquer Mexico and form an independent state with Burr as the head.

Burr, primarily, was to revolutionize the Southwest, especially Louisiana, and Wilkinson, although in the pay of Spain, was to invade Mexico in collaboration with Burr and the Mexican Association of Louisiana. In the event of war with Spain, which was impending, Wilkinson could "liberate" Mexico without any apparent disloyal intentions. Then if fortune smiled, Mexico could be joined with the Southwest to form a vast autonomous domain. But Burr talked too much. Rumors linked Wilkinson's name with Burr, and Wilkinson quietly turned his coat, leaving Burr to implicate himself.

President Jefferson at first regarded the reports of Burr's intrigue as mere Federalist propaganda. Alarmed at last, but wishing to give Burr time to hang himself, he was charged by Federalists with being a party to the plot. When he finally proceeded against Burr, Federalists then came to Burr's defense. Among them was Chief Justice Marshall, who "became a real, though not an avowed, partisan of the defense," and hardly a shining hero. Double-crossing General Wilkinson, who "at the last minute betrayed his friend" and saved the Union, went "into a niche of infamy unique in American history."



This commendable book, thoroughly documented with considerable new evidence, establishes Burr's guilt beyond any reasonable doubt. Wilkinson, though, is the villain. Marshall's partiality is balanced against the fact that Jefferson made himself a party to the case. Surely, however, it was the proper function of the Administration to prosecute the case, the duty of the Court to sit in impartial judgment.

William T. Miller.

Nebraska State Teachers College,  
Chadron, Nebraska.



## HISTORICAL NEWS

The Department of History of The University of North Carolina reports the following news:

Wallace E. Caldwell sailed in July for Europe where he will spend six months in travel and study.

Loren C. MacKinney, who has been doing research in Italy for the past six months, resumed his duties at the University in September.

Allen Going of the University of Alabama is replacing Frank W. Klingberg who is taking leave during the 1954-1955 academic year.

The following recent graduates of the University have accepted teaching positions: W. Magruder Drake, who received his doctorate in August, on temporary basis as assistant professor at Davidson College; William D. Cotton, awarded his doctorate, as professor of history at Pfeiffer College; James G. Finch, M.A., Needham Broughton High School, Raleigh; and Dewey W. Stokes, M.A., assistant professor at Sullins College, Bristol, Tennessee.

Richard N. Current, professor of history at the University of Illinois, has been appointed the new head of the history department at the Woman's College, effective September, 1955. Prior to 1950 when he joined the University of Illinois faculty, Dr. Current taught at Mills College, Hamilton College, Lawrence College, Rutgers University, Maryland State Teachers College, and Northern Michigan College of Education. He has published several volumes of history, the latest being *Secretary Stimson: A Study in Statecraft* (Rutgers University Press). Since the death in 1950 of C. D. Johns, Louise B. Alexander has been acting head of the Woman's College history department.



Eugene E. Pfaff is taking leave of absence during the year 1954-1955 to be visiting professor of history at Florida State University.

Lawrence Graves, instructor of history, was awarded his doctorate in June at the University of Wisconsin.

The Duke University Department of History reports the addition of two instructors, Charles R. Young of Cornell, and Andrew Whiteside of Harvard.

Marvin L. Skaggs head of the Division of Social Studies at Greensboro College, attended the Quadrennial Convocation of Church Related College held at Denison University, Granville, Ohio, June 19-25.

Ernest M. Lander, Jr., of Clemson College was visiting professor at Western Carolina College during the first term of summer school.

The spring meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at Edenton and Bandon Plantation, May 14-15. In spite of rainy weather the attendance amounted to well over 100 and the sessions were evidently enjoyed by those present. On the afternoon of May 14 at the historic county courthouse Miss Elizabeth Moore of Edenton talked on "Historic Houses and Sites of Edenton" and a tour of the town followed. Then came a tea at the home of Mrs. Richard Elliott and a dinner at Saint Paul's Parish House, where Professor Richard Walser of Raleigh spoke on "Literary Highlights of the Albemarle." On Saturday morning at the courthouse Mrs. Sidney McMullan talked on "Historic Houses of Chowan County." There followed a tour of such houses and a luncheon at Bandon Plantation, at which the president of the Association, Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, spoke briefly.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians announces the establishment of permanent headquarters in Chapel Hill. Mrs. Musella Weeks Wagner, secretary-



treasurer of the group, will have charge of the Society's permanent files located in the Library Building.

On June 13 the Society conducted a tour of Surry County, led by Professor Felix Hickerson of Chapel Hill. On July 11 the Society went on a tour of Polk County, conducted by Mrs. Sadie S. Patton of Hendersonville and Carroll P. Rogers of Tryon.

The Gates County Historical Society held its organizational meeting at the home of Mrs. O. C. Turner, Gatesville, June 3. Elected to temporary offices were W. T. Cross, chairman, and S. P. Cross, secretary-treasurer. D. L. Corbitt assisted in organizing the group.

The organizational meeting of the Northampton County Historical Society was held in Jackson, June 4. Mrs. Nancy M. Froelich was elected temporary president and Miss Reba Long, temporary secretary. D. L. Corbitt assisted the group in organizational procedures.

The Rockingham Historical Society held its organizational meeting in Reidsville, June 18. During the meeting the group adopted a constitution, heard numerous future project proposals, and elected the following officers: Mrs. Bettie Sue Gardner, president; Miss Maude Reynolds, 1st vice president; Mrs. J. J. Van Noppen, 2nd vice president; J. Oscar Thomas, 3rd vice president; Lawrence E. Watt, secretary; and K. K. Lively, treasurer. D. L. Corbitt assisted in organizing the Society.

The Moore County Historical Society has acquired the Alston House, or "House in the Horseshoe," in that county. Mrs. Ernest L. Ives, president of the Society, was the prime mover in the acquisition.

At the meeting of the Currituck Historical Society, July 12, Reuben McPherson of near Northwest, Virginia, was declared winner of the cemeteries contest. McPherson submitted as the oldest marked grave in the present boundaries of



Currituck County a rubbing of a red sandstone marker, dated 1786, which he found at the edge of the Dismal Swamp, near the Virginia line. The marker inscription reads: "Here lies the remains of Edward Betts who departed this life July 30, 1786, Aged 25 years, 6 months and 1 day." The remainder of the Society's meeting consisted of a report by Mrs. E. L. Griffin on genealogical information; a report by Mrs. Frank Roberts on the progress of the Society during its first year and the suggestion for a group publication; a report by Mrs. Faytie Cox, nominating committee chairman; and the suggestion by General John Wood that a biography be written on the life of Samuel T. Ansell.

At the unveiling of a historical marker at Judson College, Hendersonville, June 15, the following speakers were heard: Edwin A. Miles of the State Department of Archives and History on "North Carolina's Marker Program"; Noah Hollowell, "The Western Carolina Baptist Convention"; William F. Lewis, "Old Judson College"; and Clarence W. Griffin, member of the executive board of the State Department of Archives and History, who presented the marker.

On July 31 a historical marker for Rutherford College was unveiled at the town of that name in Burke County. Mrs. A. T. Abernethy presided, Leonidas B. Hayes delivered the principal address, and Clarence W. Griffin represented the State Department of Archives and History.

The Tryon Palace Commission met in New Bern on June 30. Announcement was made that after the restoration is completed the sum of approximately \$1,000,000 will remain for an endowment fund for the Palace, and also that the Governor and Council of State had appropriated \$20,000 to purchase the filling station property needed for the restoration, at the corner of George and Pollock Streets. The Commission voted to request the General Assembly for an appropriation of \$100,000 for additional land acquisition.

Archibald Henderson, retired professor of mathematics at The University of North Carolina, has written the follow-



ing recently published articles and addresses: "John S. Henderson Played Notable Role in Difficult Post-War Years," in the *Salisbury Post*, January 31; "Samuel Eusebius McCorkle: Spiritual Father of the University of North Carolina," address before the Durham-Chapel Hill-Hillsboro Chapter, North Carolina Colonial Dames at Chapel Hill, April 21; "Archibald Henderson Sheds New Light on Disputed Mecklenburg Declaration," *The Chapel Hill Weekly*, June 18, 25; and excerpts from the dedicatory address at the presentation of a tablet in Memorial Hall, Chapel Hill, to George Davis, *The Chapel Hill Weekly*, June. 18.

Dean B. F. Brown, who had been a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History since March 10, 1950, and chairman since August 22, 1950, wrote Governor Umstead on May 1 that, since he had moved to Florida, he was tendering his resignation from that Board. On May 6 the Governor accepted the resignation.

On August 10 Josh L. Horne of Rocky Mount was appointed by Governor Umstead to fill the unexpired term of B. F. Brown as a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History. Horne, who is a newspaper publisher and president of several radio stations, has previously served as a member of the State Rural Electrification Authority and as chairman of the State Board of Conservation and Development. The term of this current board membership expires in March, 1955.

On August 20, McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro was elected chairman of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, Lewis succeeds B. F. Brown.

Edwin A. Miles, researcher for the Department of Archives and History since January 1, 1952, resigned effective July 31 to accept a position as assistant professor of history at the University of Houston. A graduate of Birmingham-Southern College, he was awarded in June the Ph.D. degree in history by The University of North Carolina.



On August 1 William S. Tarlton became researcher for the Department of Archives and History. A native of Marshville, he received his bachelor's and master's degrees at Wake Forest College and has done work toward the doctorate at Duke University. He taught for a while at Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee, and for the past two years has been researcher for Pettigrew State Historical Park near Creswell, where he assisted in the restoration of Somerset Place, the ante-bellum plantation of Josiah Collins.

Christopher Crittenden, at the request of the Warm Springs Memorial Commission of the State of Georgia, spent May 27 at the Little White House inspecting the property and later made to the Commission a report containing recommendations for future development of the property. On June 4 he attended at Woodlawn Plantation, near Mount Vernon, Virginia, a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. He spent the week of June 21 visiting historical societies and agencies in New England, seeking information on how various problems in the field are handled and searching for materials on North Carolina history. On June 28 he served as visiting lecturer to the Institute on Historical and Archival Management at Cambridge, Mass., sponsored jointly by Radcliffe College and the history department of Harvard University. On July 13 Dr. Crittenden addressed the Rotary Club of Winston-Salem on highlights of North Carolina history.

For the fourteenth consecutive year, Clarence W. Griffin, member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, has been elected historian of the North Carolina Press Association at its eighty-second annual convention held at Lake Junaluska, June 10-12.

Bath, the oldest incorporated town in North Carolina, is currently making plans for the celebration in 1955 of its 250th anniversary.



The Duke University Library announces the receipt of the late Senator Clyde R. Hoey's papers. A total of 32 mail bags arrived for processing. The contents include Hoey's official and personal correspondence since his entrance into the Senate in 1944, as well as a series of scrapbooks, containing everything written about him from the time he entered public life. The papers will be open for study only with permission of the Hoey family.

The State Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association, on August 27-28, held a joint meeting at Asheville Biltmore College, Asheville. Friday afternoon David H. Corkran of Black Mountain spoke on "The Unpleasantness at Stetcoe, 1753" and John Gillespie of Gatlinburg, Tennessee, made a talk on "Cherokee Music—The Study of a Vanishing Art Form." Following the speeches Miss Marjorie Pearson and Thomas Pearson held a reception at Richmond Hill. Friday night Miss Clementine Douglas spoke on "The Heritage and Development of Western North Carolina Crafts" and Mrs. Inglis Fletcher delivered an address. Saturday morning Miss Wilma Dykeman Stokely of Newport, Tennessee, gave a talk on "The Broken Pieces: Aftermath of the Civil War in the French Broad Country" and Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City told of "The Bechtler Coinage." The meeting adjourned following Griffin's address.

As a part of its records management program, the Department of Archives and History is preparing administrative histories and inventories of records in various state agencies. The purpose of each inventory is to establish schedules for records that possess administrative value only and to insure that records valuable for historical research will be transferred to the archives. This work has been done in the department of Agriculture, Labor, Public Instruction, Insurance, Health, Revenue, and Public Welfare, and in the Employment Security and Industrial commissions. These histories and inventories are prepared by Mrs. Beatrice Hardie, Mrs. Julia Jordan, and Miss Betsy Cannady under the direction of W. Frank Burton, State Archivist.



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